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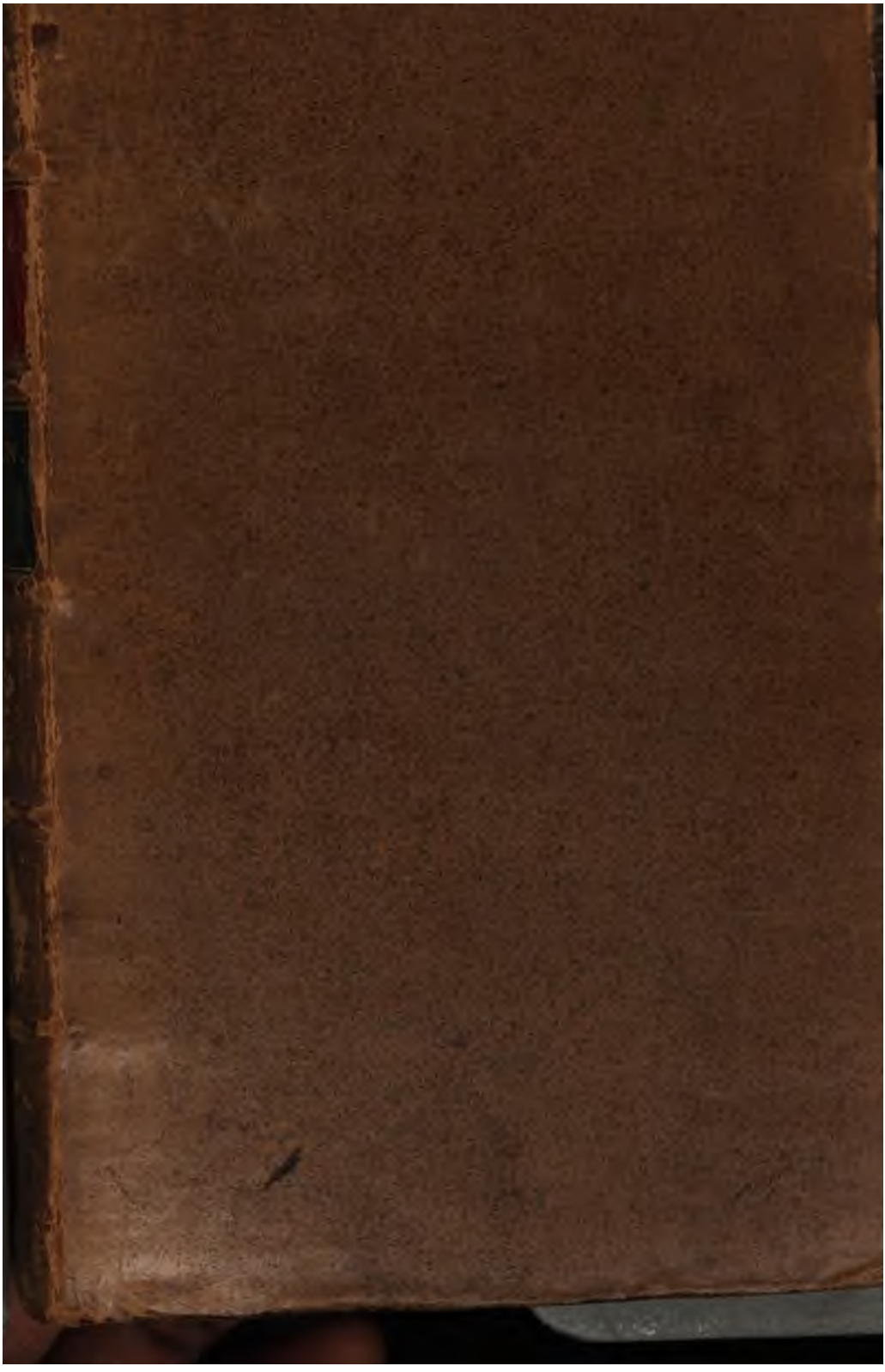

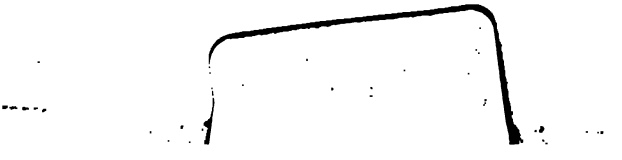

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

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Modern Hiſtory:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Univerſal Hiſtory.

The HISTORY of POLAND.

SECT. I.

Containing a Deſcription of Poland; *of the Manners of the People; the Religion, Laws, and Government; with every intereſting Particular relative to its preſent State.*

POLAND, called by the natives *Polſka*, is deduced from the word *Pole*, or *Poln*, which in the *Sclavonic* ſignifies a country adapted to hunting, becauſe the whole kingdom is compoſed of vaſt plains and foreſts, that yield excellent field diverſion[a]. In claſſic authors this country is known by the appellation of *Sarmatia*.

IN its largeſt extent it is bounded by *Pomerania*, *Brandenburg*, *Sileſia*, and *Moravia*, to the Weſt; and towards

[a] ÆNEAS SYL. Deſcrip. Polon. apud Piſtor. Collect. MARTIN CROMER, ibid.

Geographical description of **Poland.**

the East, by part of *Russia* and the *Lesser Tartary*; on the North it has the *Baltick*, *Russia*, the grand province of *Livonia*, and *Samogitia*; while its frontier towards the South is skirted by *Bessarabia*, *Moldavia*, *Transylvania*, and *Hungary*. Extending from forty-six degrees and a half to fifty-six degrees and a half northern latitude, it necessarily follows that the climate differs widely in the degrees of temperature. Intensely cold towards the North, the air gradually softens as you approach the southern quarter, where it may be deemed healthy, temperate, and serene, being less disturbed by violent storms than countries nearer the ocean, and abounding with larger mountains; and indeed it is remarkable, that in this vast extent of territory the only considerable mountains are the *Carpathian*, or *Crapach*, that craggy ridge which separates *Poland* from *Hungary*, from whence several considerable rivers flow to discharge themselves in the *Euxine* and *Baltick*. *Poland* has sometimes been complimented so far as to be called the vestibule of *Italy*, because of the beauty, the fertility of the country, and the mild temperature of the climate; but it was probably some honest *Russian*, struck with the superiority it had in these particulars over his own country, who made this observation: to the more southern and western inhabitants of *Europe*, *Poland* will not appear in so favourable a light.

Commodities.

It is with more reason that *Poland* hath been termed the granary of the North, no kingdom in *Europe* producing a greater quantity of grain. The corn of *Poland* formed the great staple commodity of the hanse-towns; it is now the chief article of trade at *Dantzick*, and supports great part of the *Dutch* commerce to the *Baltick*. Besides grain, *Poland* affords other exceedingly valuable commodities, the exportation of which composes the bulk of her commerce. The kingdom abounds in oxen, sheep, hogs, raw and dressed hides, flax, hemp, wood fit for house or ship building, honey, wax, amber, salt, vitriol, iron, copper, lead, nitre, coal, *&c.* yet such is the pride of the nobility who are above any attention to trade, and the ignorance or indolence of the peasant, that the imports greatly exceed the exports, and the balance of trade has and ever will be in favour of foreigners, until a total change be wrought in the manners and genius of the inhabitants.

Division of Poland *into palatinates.*

The general division of *Poland* usually made by geographers is the following. *Poland Proper*, *Lithuania*, *Samogitia*, and *Courland*; *Prussia*, *Massovia*, *Polachia*, *Polesia*, *Little Russia*, called likewise *Russia Rubra*, *Podolia*, and the *Ukrain*; but several of these divisions have been torn from the republic

in the war with *Turkey*, *Ruſſia*, and *Sweden*, as well as with the elector of *Brandenburg* and other princes of the empire. *Poland Proper* has two grand diviſions, the *Greater* and *Leſſer Poland*. The former contains eight palatinates; *viz. Poſnania*, *Caliſh*, *Rawa*, *Breſty*, *Siradia*, *Lanſchet*, *Plocſkow*, and *Inowlocz*. In *Poſnania* is ſituated the city *Gneſna*, or *Gnieſen*, an archiepiſcopal ſee, which gives title to the primate of all *Poland*, and the moſt powerful ſubject of the republic. The treaſure contained in this cathedral is deemed of great value: the building was plated over with ſilver by *Sigiſmund* III. and *Boleſlaus* II. decorated it with beautiful gates of finely wrought *Corinthian* braſs, brought originally from the monaſtery of *Corſuna* in *Taurica Cherſoneſus*.

As to the *Leſſer* or *Higher Poland*, it contains only the three palatinates of *Cracow*, *Lublin*, and *Sandomir*: in the former of which ſtands the capital of *Poland*, bearing the name of the palatinate, and eſteemed the largeſt, the moſt regular, and beautiful city in the *Poliſh* dominions. The hiſtorians of this country endeavour to deduce from the name, that this city muſt be of great antiquity. *Cracow*, they ſay, comes from *Cracus*, the firſt duke of *Poland*, which pedigree they trace, but imperfectly, up to the *Roman Gracchi*. Here *Caſimir the Great* founded an univerſity, now compoſed of eleven colleges, and endowed with conſiderable privileges, though the ſciences have made but little progreſs [b].

THE great dutchy of *Lithuania* forms the third general diviſion of the *Poliſh* dominions. It was united to the crown by *Jagellon* duke of *Lithuania*, who, on being elevated to the throne of *Poland*, aſſumed the name of *Ladiſlaus* V. This union was renewed in a general diet about half a century after, and confirmed in the reign of *John Albert*; yet may *Lithuania* be ſtill deemed an independent ſtate, rather allied than ſubject to *Poland*, governed by its own laws and officers, but ſubjected to the ſame ſovereign and the ſame repreſentative body of the whole dominion. *Lithuania* contains eight palatinates; *Wilna*, in which ſtands the capital of the dutchy; *Troki*, *Breſſici*, or as ſome geographers write it, *Braſlaw*, *Polosk*, *Novogrodeck*, *Minski*, *Meicſlaw*, and *Witeſp*. We ſhall not enter upon particulars which are to be found in every modern writer; ſufficient it is that *Wilna*, the capital of the whole province, is an epiſcopal ſee, hath an univerſity, and was formerly the reſidence of the dukes and ſovereigns of the province, where they ſtill keep in repair a *Deſcription of* Lithuania.

[b] BUSCHING's Geograph. tom. i. Introd. p. 576 & ſeq.

magnificent palace. By this we intend only ſuch a general ſketch of the topography as might be neceſſary to elucidate the ſubſequent hiſtory; the reader will probably be better pleaſed that we dwell upon the manners, religion, policy, and internal government of the *Poles*, which ſubject has been but vaguely treated by all the political writers we have peruſed, who have rather borrowed their accounts from modern travellers than deduced it from the *Poliſh* hiſtory. With reſpect to *Pruſſia*, we refer to a ſupplemental volume, and ſhall here cloſe our geographical account with a ſhort deſcription of the city of *Dantzick*, of which frequent mention will occur in the enſuing narrative.

Account of the city Dantzick.

DANTZICK, called by *Latin* writers *Dantiſcum*, and *Gedanum*, is ſituated near the mouth of the *Viſtula*, and is juſtly reputed among the chief in point of commerce of the hanſe-towns, and indeed of *Europe*. In the twelfth century it was no more than a petty village, endowed with certain privileges by king *Primeſlaus*, and walled round a century after by the knights of the *Teutonic* order, who at that time made a great figure in the North, and began to diſturb the peace of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Ruſſia*, and *Poland*. It encreaſed rapidly in wealth and power, and now is the principal, we may ſay the only, emporium of all the trade of *Poland*. The city is large and ſtrong, the public edifices magnificent, and the private buildings commodious. The granaries are waſhed by the water, and the ſhips load and unload cloſe by the walls. *Dantzick* hath paſſed into the hands of a variety of maſters, the *Danes*, the *Poles*, and the *Teutonic* knights, all of whom enlarged the privileges of the city, ſenſible of its advantageous commercial ſituation. The inhabitants acknowledge the dominion of *Poland*; but they are governed by their own magiſtrates in all civil affairs: they are thought to exceed two hundred thouſand ſouls; the greater number are *Germans*, and their juriſdiction extends forty miles round the city. The government is compoſed of twenty-ſix *Lutheran* and four *Calviniſt* ſenators, all other religions, and the prieſts of all perſuaſions being excluded, from ſenſible experience of the encroaching ſpirit of the clergy. The office of ſenator is for life, and the four oldeſt are ſtiled burgomaſters, one of whom is annually elected preſident of the ſenate. The magiſtrates next in dignity are the thirteen conſuls, who fill up from their body the vacancies in the ſenate, and chooſe all the inferior officers of the city, and among the reſt the twelve *ſcabbins* or judges, from whom the parties may appeal to the conſuls, from them to the ſenate, and finally to the court of *Poland*. His *Polish*

majeſty annually elects a burgrave out of the conſular body, who repreſents his perſon in the ſenate, ſigns capital ſentances, and executes other acts of ſovereignty; while the thirtieth ſenator receives the compliments of foreign miniſters, performs the functions of grand-maſter of the ceremonies, ſyndic and public orator or ſpeaker of the city. To limit the power of the ſenate, the government has wiſely provided that an hundred burgeſſes ſhall be annually elected, to inſpect the ſenatorial decrees, as well as the conduct of the individuals of that body; but we are no where told how far the power of the burgeſſes extend with reſpect to reverting decrees and puniſhing delinquents. This council of a hundred appoint to all vacant eccleſiaſtical benefices within the juriſdiction of the city; but their nomination muſt be approved by the ſenate, and the candidates for preferment muſt all paſs an examination before the college of eccleſiaſtics. We ſhall conclude the ſubject with obſerving, that *Dantzick* hath ſo frequently excited the jealouſy and avarice of neighbouring ſtates, as to have been reduced to the neceſſity of applying for the protection of the maritime ſtates, of which we meet with a remarkable inſtance in the reign of *Charles* XII. of *Sweden*, as may be ſeen in our account of that monarch [a].

Character of the Poles.

We proceed now to the perſonal qualities, the general character, the policy and religion of the *Poliſh* nation, which we hope will afford ſome entertainment, on account of the ſcarcity of writers who have treated the ſubject accurately. This people have been long celebrated for their courage, their ſtrength, and their longevity; no country in the world affording more extraordinary proofs of bodily vigour and an uninterrupted flow of health, which are juſtly aſcribed to the temperature of the climate, the temperance of the vulgar, and the conſtant habit in manly exerciſes. The continual uſe of the cold bath, even in the coldeſt parts of *Poland*, is ſuppoſed likewiſe to contribute greatly to that muſcular ſtrength for which they are ſo remarkable. The nobility are open, affable, liberal, and hoſpitable; polite to ſtrangers, rigid to their dependents, punctilious in points of honour, vain, oſtentatious, and magnificent in their apparel, equipages, and living, though that magnificence ſavours ſtrongly of barbariſm. They are early initiated in letters, ſpeak impure *Latin* with fluency; but ſeldom make any progreſs in matters of taſte or ſcience. Paſſionately fond of liberty, the *Poles* live in a perpetual ſtate of ſervitude to their

[a] Vol. xxxiii. Hiſt. Polon. Corp. t. ii.

avarice, their profuſion, and their neceſſities, whereby they are rendered the infamous penſioners of foreign ſtates, the creatures of their own monarchs, or the hireling tools of ſome political faction. Their political conſtitution has been the ſource of continual misfortunes; yet are they attached to it to a degree of enthuſiaſm, and eſpecially thoſe parts which produce the greateſt inconveniences. Poor in the midſt of a fertile country, they abhor the notion of improving their circumſtances by trade, and are the only nation in the world who have provided by law againſt raiſing a maritime power. Prodigality and debauchery are not reputed vices among this martial nobility: they borrow without intention of paying with the ſame freedom they ſquander. Conſtant in their friendſhips, bitter in their enmity, open to impoſition, unſuſpicious, opinionated, and haughty, their only care is to diſtinguiſh themſelves in arms, in finery, equipage, and ſplendor. As to the vulgar, they are mean, mercenary, ignorant, indolent, and indigent to an extreme (A). Such are the diſtinguiſhing features of the people, whoſe government we are going to deſcribe [a].

Political government of Poland.

FEW political conſtitutions are ſo little underſtood as that of *Poland*, and yet no form of government better merits attention, on account of its ſingularity, and thoſe particulars which bear no reſemblance to any model of ſtate antient or modern. The people have a ſovereign, and yet the government is called with great propriety a republic. The nobility of this country have more power than the great of any other; yet they deteſt the thoughts of ariſtocracy, becauſe they all reckon themſelves upon a level, every *Poliſh* gentleman regarding himſelf as inferior only to the monarch. The republic is compoſed of the king, the ſenate, and the nobility or *Poliſh* gentlemen, the peaſants being admitted to no ſhare of the government. Upon every new election the

[a] HAUTEVILLE paſſim.

(A) Nothing can be more abject or wretched than the peaſants of *Poland*. If one lord kills the peaſant of another, he is not capitally puniſhed, but only obliged to make reparation by another peaſant equal in value. The peaſants have no property, and all their acquiſitions ſerve only to enrich the maſter. They are indiſpenſably employed in cultivating the earth; they are incapable of entering upon any condition of life that might procure them freedom, without the permiſſion of their lords, and they are expoſed to the diſmal and frequently fatal effects of the caprice, cruelty, and barbarity of their tyrannical maſters, who oppreſs them with impunity, and laſh them with a rod of iron, without dread of retribution.

royal

royal prerogative has been retrenched, and the liberties of the diet and ſenate proportionably extended. This idea of independency is puſhed ſo far as to hazard the general ſecurity of the kingdom, the monarch not being permitted to garriſon even the moſt remote and neceſſary frontier towns; whence we ſee *Poland* has in all ages been made a kind of public route for the paſſage of hoſtile armies. Upon the death of the ſovereign, the whole body of the nobility aſſemble on horſeback for the choice of a ſucceſſor; and the unanimous voice conſtitutes a legitimate election, though there have been inſtances where a majority has been deemed ſufficient. Here the nobility aſſume a power of altering the government, and impoſing ſuch conditions on the new monarch as they think proper, and theſe they call the *Pacta Conventa*. This contract is drawn up, methodized, and approved by the ſenate and nobility, after which it is read aloud to the king by the great marechal, and ſworn to before the ceremony of his proclamation. We ſhall enumerate the principle articles, as this contract may be deemed the great charter of *Poland*, and the barrier of the privileges of the people againſt the encroachments of the crown. The firſt is, that the king ſhall not attempt to encroach on the liberty of the people, by rendering the crown hereditary in his family; but that he ſhall preſerve all the cuſtoms, laws, and ordonnances reſpecting the freedom of election: that he ſhall ratify all treaties ſubſiſting with foreign powers which are approved by the diet: that it ſhall be his chief ſtudy to cultivate peace, preſerve the public tranquillity, and promote the intereſt of the realm: that he ſhall not coin money, except in the name of the republic, or appropriate to himſelf the advantages ariſing from coinage: that in declaring war, concluding peace, levying troops, hiring auxiliaries, or admitting foreign troops upon any pretext within the *Poliſh* dominions, the conſent of the diet and ſenate ſhall be neceſſary: that all offices and preferments ſhall be given to natives of *Poland* and *Lithuania*; and that no pretence ſhall excuſe or palliate the crime of introducing foreigners into the king's council, or the departments of the republic: that the officers of his majeſty's guards ſhall be *Poles* or *Lithuanians*, and that the colonel ſhall abſolutely be a native of *Poland*, and of the order of nobility: that all the officers ſhall be ſubordinate to the authority of the marechal: that no individual ſhall be veſted with more employments than the law allows: that the king ſhall not marry without the approbation of the ſenate, agreeable to the antient laws of the conſtitution; and that

the houſhold of the queen ſhall be determined and regulated by the republic: that the ſovereign ſhall never apply his private ſignet to acts and papers of a public nature: that to preſerve his power and dignity, the king ſhall diſpoſe of the offices both of the court and of the republic; and regulate with the ſenate the number of forces neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom, inſpecting likewiſe the diſcipline obſerved in the army: that he ſhall adminiſter juſtice by the advice of the ſenate and his council: that the expences of his civil liſt ſhall be the ſame with thoſe of his predeceſſors, and poſſeſſed by his family only during the life of his ſovereign: that he fill up all vacancies in the ſpace of ſix weeks: that this ſhall be his firſt buſineſs in the diet, obliging the chancellor to publiſh his appointments in due form: that the king ſhall not diminiſh the treaſure kept at *Cracow*, but, on the contrary, endeavour to augment that and the number of the crown jewels: that he ſhall borrow no money without the conſent of the diet: that he ſhall not equip a naval force, without the conſent and full approbation of the republic: that he ſhall profeſs the *Roman* Catholic faith, promote, maintain, and defend it, through all the *Poliſh* dominions: and finally, that all their ſeveral liberties, rights, and privileges, ſhall be preſerved to the *Polanders* and *Lithuanians* in general, and to all the diſtricts and provinces contained within each of theſe great diviſions, without change, alteration, or the ſmalleſt violation, except by the conſent of the republic. To theſe articles a variety of others are added, according to circumſtances and the humour of the diet; but what we have recited form the ſtanding conditions, which are ſcarce ever altered or omitted [a].

The oath taken by the king.

To the obſervation of the *pacta conventa* the king ſwears, upon his knees at the altar, in the following manner. "We "——, elected king of *Poland*, and great duke of *Lithuania*, "*Ruſſia*, *Pruſſia*, *Maſſovia*, *Samogitia*, *Kihovia*, *Volhynia*, "*Podolia*, *Podlaſſia*, *Livonia*, *Smolenſko*, *Siberia*, and *Czer-* "*nicovia*, promiſe before the Almighty God, and ſwear "upon the holy Evangeliſts of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to obſerve, "maintain, and fulfil all the conditions ſtipulated at our "election by our ambaſſadors with the ſenators and deputies "of *Poland*, and of the great dutchy of *Lithuania*, and con- "firmed by our plenipotentiaries; and to execute the ſame "in all the clauſes, points, articles, and conditions ſpecified "in that contract, in ſuch a manner that the *ſpeciality* ſhall "not derogate from the generality; nor, on the contrary,

[a] HAUTEVILLE, pag. 124.

"the

"the *univerſality* from the *particularity*; all which we pro-"miſe ſolemnly to ratify on the day of our coronation."

NOTWITHSTANDING the king is without exception acknowledged, yet it is remarkable, that he cannot exerciſe all the functions of ſovereignty before the ceremony of his coronation. The ſpace between the election and coronation is a kind of inter-regnum, although the ſovereign be veſted with all the badges and external pomp of majeſty. One very peculiar ceremony is obſerved during this period. The marechal, at all proceſſions, carries his ſtaff bent downwards before the king; whereas, after the coronation, it is always held erect; and this is regarded as a certain proof that the election is imperfect, until it be ratified by the ceremony of coronation, previous to which the king can neither diſpoſe of offices or benefices, grant favours of any kind as a ſovereign, nor apply the great ſeal of the chancery to any act, deed, edict, or ordonnance. He appoints the day for performing the ceremony of his coronation, and it is uſually fixed on the day ſucceeding the funeral obſequies of his predeceſſor. All imaginable magnificence is obſerved in this ſolemnization; and a foreigner, unacquainted with the *Poliſh* conſtitution, would naturally conclude, that a monarch who aſcended the throne with ſo much pomp and ſplendor was neceſſarily veſted with very extenſive prerogatives. To the archbiſhop of *Gneſna* belongs the right of placing the crown on the king's head, and adminiſtring the oath; yet the hiſtory of *Poland* affords inſtances where this has been performed by the biſhop of *Cracow*. Indeed it hath been diſputed, whether a coronation ſolemnized by any other than the prelate of *Gneſna* be valid? But this queſtion implies an abſurdity; for as neither the king nor republic can appoint to vacant benefices, during the period between the election and coronation, the king could not be at all crowned, ſhould the archbiſhop happen to die in the intermediate time, or refuſe to perform that office. The archbiſhops have, indeed, claimed this right to themſelves; but it has been ſet aſide on particular occaſions [a].

Situation of the queen.

As the king of *Poland* is tied down by the *pacta conventa* to conſult his people, with reſpect to marriage; ſo their conſent is neceſſary to the diſſolution of the nuptial engagements. He can neither divorce the queen, nor ſeparate from her bed, without the approbation of the diet, unleſs he was married before his election. Her majeſty hath no diſtinct houſhold, except a marechal, a chancellor, and ſome inferior domeſtics. She is furniſhed with money by the king to defray the ex-

[a] CROM. Ann. p. 97.

pences

pences of the civil liſt; and, with reſpect to her domeſtic œconomy, is little more than his houſekeeper, or ſteward. The king's whole revenue, for the ſupport of the regal dignity, does not exceed four hundred thouſand crowns. Excluſive of which, there is a maintenance for the queen-dowager, his conſort, and children, in caſe of his death; though the latter are denied the privilege of all other ſubjects, of riſing to places of truſt and profit, leſt this ſhould give them an aſcendant in the future elections [a]. The revenues appointed for the maintenance of dowagers ariſe from certain *ſtaroſties* applied to this purpoſe; but as they are often reverſionary, and cannot be ſeized before the death of the poſſeſſors, the queens are frequently reduced to great diſtreſs.

The general diet. WE come now to the diet of *Poland*, which is compoſed of the king, the ſenate, biſhops, and the deputies of the nobility or gentry of every palatinate, and called, in their collective capacity, *comitia togata*; that is, when the ſtates aſſemble in the city without arms and horſes; or *comitia paludata*, when they meet in the fields armed, as during an interregnum, at the diet of election [b]. It is a prerogative of the crown to aſſemble the diet at any particular place, except on occaſion of a coronation, which the cuſtom of the country requires ſhould be celebrated at the capital. For a number of years, indeed, the diet regularly aſſembled at *Warſaw*; but, on complaint made by the *Lithuanians*, it was agreed, that every third diet ſhould be held at *Grodno*. The general rule is to meet once at leaſt in three years, though there have been many exceptions. When it is propoſed to hold a general diet, the king, or, in caſe of an inter-regnum, the primate, iſſues writs to the palatines of the ſeveral provinces, ſpecifying the time and place of the meeting. A ſketch likewiſe is ſent of the buſineſs to be deliberated by the aſſembly, the ſenate is conſulted in this particular, and ſix weeks are allowed the members to prepare themſelves for the intended ſeſſion. It is remarkable, that the diet never ſits more than ſix weeks in the moſt critical conjunctures and preſſing emergencies: they have been known to break up in the middle of an important debate, and to leave the buſineſs to a future meeting. This hath been juſtly eſteemed one of the greateſt defects of the *Poliſh* conſtitution, which probably owes its origin to convenience; but is ſuperſtitiouſly regarded from whim and caprice. On receipt of the king's writ, the palatine communicates the meeting of the diet to all the caſtellans, ſtaroſtas,

[a] GUAGNINI, p. 22.

[b] BUSCHING's New Syſtem of Geogr. tom. i. p. 583.

and

and other inferior officers and gentry within his juriſdiction, requiring them to aſſemble on a certain day to elect deputies, and take into conſideration the buſineſs ſpecified in the royal ſummons. Theſe meetings are called *petty diets*, or *lantage*, in the language of the country [a], every gentleman poſſeſſing three acres of land having a vote, and matters being determined by a majority; whereas in the general diet decrees are only valid when the whole body is unanimous. The indigent gentry are always directed by ſome perſon of ſuperior fortune, influence, or ability. They ſeldom examine the ſubject of debate; but remit it wholly to the judgment of their repreſentative. Every palatinate has three repreſentatives: the buſineſs devolves on one, who is elected for his ability and experience; and the other two are added only to give weight to this leading member, and do honour by their magnificent appearance to the palatinate they repreſent. As theſe deputies, ſince the reign of *Caſimir* III. have ſeats in the diet, it naturally divides the general aſſembly into two bodies, the upper and lower; the one being compoſed of the ſenate, the ſuperior clergy, and the great officers; the other of the repreſentatives of the palatinates, who prepare all buſineſs for the ſuperior body [b]. Thus we ſee how near an affinity the general conſtitution of the *Poliſh* diet hath to a *Britiſh* parliament, and indeed to the original form of government among all northern nations, however they may vary in particular circumſtances, and be altered by the influence of time (A).

The firſt buſineſs of the aſſembly is to chuſe a marechal; upon which occaſion the debates and tumults run ſo high, that the whole time for the ſeſſion of the diet is conſumed in altercation and wrangling about the election of a ſpeaker,

[a] BUSCHING's Geogr. p. 583. [b] MART. CROMAR. lib. ii.

(A) It is uſual to depute, from the general diet, ſixteen ſenators, choſen out of the body of biſhops, palatines, and caſtellans, to attend the king's perſon, ſerve him as a privy-council, and direct that he ſhall not infringe the conſtitution. Whatever is ordained by theſe deputies, and has the royal ſanction, becomes valid, as an act of the whole diet. It is therefore adopted, as a part of the conſtitution, that four, at leaſt, of the number ſhall conſtantly reſide at court, as guardians of the public liberty, and inſpectors of the king's conduct. Penalties are annexed to any remiſſneſs in their duty; and they are fined, for abſence, at the rate of two thouſand livres for a layman, and ſix thouſand for an eccleſiaſtic (1).

(1) *Hauteville, p.* 131.

who

who has now nothing further to do than return quietly to his own home. The ſpeaker muſt be a native of *Great* or *Little Poland*, or of the dutchy of *Lithuania*. After his election, he kiſſes the king's hand; and the chancellor, as the royal repreſentative, reports the matters to be deliberated by the diet. Then the marechal acquaints the king with the inſtructions of the deputies from their conſtituents, the grievances which they want redreſſed, and the abuſes they require to be remedied. He likewiſe requeſts of his majeſty to fill up the vacant offices and benefices, according to law; and he is anſwered by a ſet ſpeech from the chancellor, who reports the king's inclination to ſatisfy his people, as ſoon as he hath conſulted his faithful ſenate. There is ſomething very peculiarly abſurd in ſome of the cuſtoms obſerved by the *Poliſh* diet: one, in particular, merits attention. Not only an unanimity of voices is neceſſary to paſs any bill, and conſtitute a decree of the diet, but every bill muſt likewiſe be aſſented to unanimouſly, or none can take effect. Thus, if out of twenty bills, one ſhould happen to be oppoſed by a ſingle voice, all the reſt are thrown out, and the diet meets, deliberates, and debates for ſix weeks to no purpoſe[a]. It is aſtoniſhing that a rule ſo contradictory to common ſenſe, and attended with ſuch fatal conſequences, can maintain its place among a people by no means devoid of underſtanding.

To add to the other inconveniences attending the conſtitution of the diet of *Poland*, a venal inclination in the deputies, and a general corruption, hath ſeized all ranks and degrees in that aſſembly. Here, as in ſome other countries, the cry of liberty is kept up for the ſake of private intereſt. Deputies come with a full reſolution of profiting by their patriotiſm, and not lowering their voice without a gratification. Determined to oppoſe the moſt ſalutary meaſures of the court, they either withdraw from the aſſembly, proteſt againſt all that ſhall be tranſacted in their abſence, or elſe excite ſuch a clamour as renders it neceſſary for the court to ſilence them by ſome lucrative penſion, donation, or employment. Thus not only the buſineſs of the aſſembly is obſtructed by its own members, but frequently, by largeſſes from neighbouring powers, and ſometimes by the liberality of an open enemy, who has the art of diſtributing his money with diſcretion.

The uſual form of paſſing laws and decrees, of any kind, is that it ſhall be propoſed by the deputies, and approved by the king and ſenate. Firſt, it is reviſed by the marechal, attended by two of the deputies, or elſe by three ſenators and

[a] Alex. Guagn. Veron. Hiſt. p. 49.

ſix

ſix deputies: then it is read in the ſenate in the king's preſence; after which the chancellor aſks, with a loud voice, whether the king, ſenators, and deputies, agree to have the bill ſanctified by the royal ſeal, and the arms of the republic. Having paſſed through theſe forms, it is lodged in the regiſter at *Warſaw*, or in the great chancery of the kingdom, until printed copies are made and diſperſed among the ſeveral palatinates [a].

THE affairs of which the diet takes cognizance are the declaring war, or concluding peace, the forming alliances, the election or marriage of the monarch, the impoſition of taxes, framing of laws, and levying of forces, together with the final determination of civil and criminal cauſes, there being an appeal from all the inferior courts to the general diet. It is here too that foreigners are naturalized, and admitted to all the rights of natives; and peaſants, who have wealth and ambition ſufficient, are advanced to the rank of nobility. The afflux of people, which the diet occaſions, is altogether aſtoniſhing. Wherever it happens to ſit, thirty or forty thouſand people are added to the uſual number of inhabitants. Here the *Poles* rival each other in pomp and profuſion. The nobility, who are not deputed, attend with their families for pleaſure: they drink deep of their favourite liquor, *Hungarian* wine; and feaſting and mirth are more purſued than the buſineſs of the ſtate. In conſequence of their feſtivity, the deputies come frequently intoxicated into the diet, affront the king, excite tumults, harangue with the moſt abuſive and factious eloquence, and ſometimes occaſion the diſſolution of the aſſembly [b]. From this general view it appears how inadequate the diet is to the original intention. It was deſigned for the ſupreme ſenate of the nation: it is, in fact, little more than a factious corrupted maſs, collected out of form, conducted with indecorum, and diſſolved with as little reaſon as it was aſſembled; only becauſe a certain number of weeks have elapſed, without regarding whether the buſineſs of the meeting hath been tranſacted. Such is the idea of the *Poliſh* diet we have been able to acquire, from the careful peruſal of the beſt authorities. It would almoſt be unneceſſary to remark upon the abſurdity of requiring an unanimity of voices to every bill, by which a power is lodged in every capricious corrupted member of rendering the meeting of this great aſſembly of the nation of no effect. This was intended as a barrier to liberty; but it has unfortunately been the channel of corruption, faction, and confuſion. The *Poles* imagined,

[a] HAUTEVILLE, c. xv. [b] Id. ibid.

that

that by this regulation they ſhould ever prevent the crown from gaining too great an aſcendant; for though it was poſſible to obtain a majority, it was not at all probable the royal influence ſhould ever be able to bribe every individual of the diet to ſurrender the rights and intereſts of his country. Thus, to avoid deſpotiſm, they in ſome meaſure gave a ſanction to anarchy. Indeed, ſo ſenſible are the *Poles* of the inconveniences of their conſtitution, that ſome reformations have been frequently attempted; and the moſt ſenſible of the nation acknowledge, that, in almoſt all their wars with the *Turks* and *Tartars*, their preſervation was intirely owing to the immediate interpoſition of the Deity, and not to human prudence or foreſight [a]. Yet, after all, it muſt be confeſſed, that a politic prince may mould this turbulent multitude agreeable to his inclinations, by ſoothing, cajoling, treating, and making pecuniary preſents. Beſides, it is ſeldom that an individual dares venture to exert his privilege of denying his aſſent to what all the other members have voted; the ſtronger party being ſometimes extremely liberal of that moſt convincing of all proofs—a ſound drubbing.

Diet of the election.

BESIDES the regular triennial great diets, the *Poliſh* conſtitution requires that a particular diet ſhould meet, on the vacancy of the throne, in a large field in the neighbourhood of *Warſaw*. Upon the death, depoſition, or abdication of the ſovereign, the chief power devolves on the primate, archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, who iſſues circular letters to all the provinces, ſummoning the diet to aſſemble againſt an appointed day. A kind of booth, of prodigious extent, is erected, at the expence of the crown, to protect the electors againſt the weather; and this they call, in the *Poliſh* language, *Szopa*. Deputies are elected, in the uſual manner, in the petty provincial diets. A marechal is choſen by order of the nobility, who muſt be confirmed by the approbation of the ſenate. This preliminary being adjuſted, the ſenate and nobility form an aſſociation, which they confirm by the moſt ſolemn engagements, to keep faſt in the ſame intereſt; not to nominate a king, until one of the candidates hath obtained the unanimous conſent; to preſerve all the rights and immunities of the republic; to declare whoever ſhall treſpaſs upon public liberty an enemy to his country; to enter upon no engagements with any of the candidates, or their ambaſſadors, until all the abuſes, irregularities, and grievances of the republic be fully redreſſed; to inſiſt upon the repeal of all the decrees of the ſeveral courts, and even of the royal ſtatutes, that have

[a] CONNER's Hiſt. of Poland, tom. ii. lett. 3.

any tendency to encroach on public liberty; to proteſt in favour of all judgments given previous to the publication of the inter-regnum, and ſupport the court of juſtice eſtabliſhed for preſerving order, enforcing the laws, protecting the ſtate, coining money, and performing all the functions of the executive power, during the vacancy in the throne; to prohibit all ſtrangers from approaching the diet; to forbid the carrying fire-arms to this electoral aſſembly; to oblige the principal military officers to ſwear fidelity to the ſtate; to exert no undue influence, and to uſe the army only againſt the enemies of their country, to defend the frontiers, and ſecure the honour and liberty of *Poland* and the great dutchy of *Lithuania*; to oblige the officers likewiſe to ſwear that they will aſſert the public intereſt, in caſe of any ſedition or revolt; that they will reſtrain the ſoldiers from all violence; and that they will receive money upon no pretence or conſideration from the clergy, laity, candidates, or their ambaſſadors. They alſo engage to oblige the officers not to advance to the heart of the kingdom with their troops; not to approach the diet; to review their forces in camp, and make an exact muſter; and neither augment nor diminiſh the army, but by conſent of the diet. Laſtly, the treaſurers of the crown are forbid iſſuing out money, without the approbation of the primate and his council, except for the pay of the army; and the deputies of certain cities refuſed a ſeat in the diet, until they have proved their title.

When the marechal is elected, and a court of juſtice or *kaptur* eſtabliſhed, the diet then enters upon buſineſs, with drawing out their bill of grievances, abuſes, and exorbitances, either with reſpect to the republic, or to individuals, which they intend ſhall be redreſſed. Then a certain number of ſenators are deputed to the army to keep them ſteady, and to aſſiſt the generals with their advice. Senators and deputies are appointed to take an inventory of the crown-treaſure and jewels depoſited in the citadel of *Cracow*, a report of which muſt be made to the diet. Eight ſenators are then charged with the treaſure, and a particular ſeal and key given to each, that none of the keepers may have acceſs ſingly. The ſame form is obſerved with reſpect to the crown-revenue, an exact eſtimate of which is given in to the diet[a].

During the ſeſſion of the electoral diet, which is limited to fourteen days without prorogation, all courts of juſtice, except the marechal's, are ſuſpended, and private affairs of property deferred until the ceremony of the coronation is over.

[a] Hartnoch, lib. ii. cap. i. p. 291.

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Foreign miniſters, and a legate from the pontiff, uſually attend; and the diet aſſumes the title of *moſt ſerene* during this ſeſſion, it being veſted with all the ſovereign powers of the republic. Formerly the arrival of ambaſſadors was notified to the primate, who appointed them lodgings, and *Poliſh* gentlemen to inſpect their conduct, under the maſk of doing them all the duties of hoſpitality. At preſent the diet expreſſes leſs jealouſy, and ſeldom obſerves this precaution. Still, however, the utmoſt delicacy of conduct is required in foreign miniſters; and all who had their audience of leave before the death of the late monarch, are ordered by the archbiſhop of *Gneſna* to depart in eight days [a].

THE next proceeding is to give audience to the plenipotentiaries of foreign powers, and the advocates of the candidates to the crown. The pope's legate is honoured with the firſt notice, as being the repreſentative of *Chriſt*'s vicar, the ſovereign of princes. Next comes the ambaſſador of his imperial majeſty, who is ſucceeded by thoſe of *France*, and other Catholic powers; *Spain* having declined, ſince the reign of *John* III. to ſend a miniſter to the diet. They make their harangues in *Latin*, and are anſwered by the primate, who preſides at the ſenate, and the marechal of the deputies. Indeed, it is not eloquence and the moſt perſuaſive oratory that can gain the eſteem of a *Poliſh* diet: the deputies deſire more ſubſtantial arguments, and expect that their paſſion for money and wine ſhall likewiſe be gratified. Addreſs in this particular, and in ſecuring the intereſt of the clergy, are the chief qualities requiſite in a candidate for the crown; and they judge of the diſpoſition of the maſter by the liberality of his repreſentative. Immediately before they proceed to election, public prayers are read, and the whole join with one voice in beſeeching that heaven will direct their choice, and judge them according to the integrity with which they conduct themſelves in an affair of ſuch conſequence to the republic; than which nothing can be more abſurd and impious before foreign miniſters, who know that their voices are purchaſed, and the public good the leaſt object of the diet's regard. Next the deputies of each palatinate give their votes in particular *rotas*, the archbiſhop alone preſerving his ſeat. The firſt ſenator of every palatinate numbers the votes, which afterwards are tranſmitted in a roll to the nuncio-marechal. Should all the votes prove unanimous in favour of one candidate, the primate or preſident demands thrice, with a loud voice, whether the grievances have been redreſſed, and then proclaims the

[a] HAUTEVILLE, p. 143. PIASECIUS ad An. 1632.

king,

king, the marechals of the crown and dutchy obſerving the ſame ceremonies. In caſe of a conteſted election and divided voices, the ſenate aſſembled in a particular part of the *Sczopa*, labour by perſuaſion, promiſes, and menaces, to bring all the electors to one opinion; and ſhould this be found impracticable, the majority is declared, and their opinion paſſed for a legitimate election, notwithſtanding this is diametrically oppoſite to the fundamental conſtitution. The *Poliſh* hiſtory affords a variety of inſtances of this violation of the rights of the republic; but the firſt and moſt notorious was in the election of *Stephen Batori*, prince of *Tranſylvania*. The election of a ſucceſſor during the life of the monarch is no leſs contrary to the laws of *Poland*; yet an inſtance of this too occurs in the reign of *Sigiſmund* I. who had the addreſs to have his ſon nominated to the ſucceſſion in his own lifetime. Foreign princes indeed generally oppoſe this breach of the conſtitution, which tends to exclude their right of offering themſelves candidates; and in the year 1661, the emperor ſent an ambaſſador to the general diet, to oppoſe a meaſure which, by uſe, might terminate in rendering the crown hereditary. With reſpect to the candidates, it is now deemed a part of the conſtitution, that they ſhall not be natives of *Poland* or *Lithuania*; that they ſhall not be preſent at the election; that the elected be not an abſolute neighbouring prince; that he be unmarried; and that he profeſs the Catholic faith, at leaſt before his coronation. It is imagined, that the ſpirit of equality, which reigns among all the *Poliſh* nobility, gave birth to the law, that a native ſhould not be raiſed to the ſovereignty. Avarice, and the poverty of the gentry, probably rendered it convenient that the candidate ſhould be rich and munificent: however, almoſt all theſe regulations have occaſionally been infringed, the religion of the monarch alone excepted. Upon the whole, it muſt be confeſſed that *Poland* might derive conſiderable advantages by retaining in the hands of the republic the right of election, were merit alone regarded; but as this circumſtance weighs but little with the ſuffragans, the *Poles* feel all the inconveniences, with ſcarce any of the real advantages of their conſtitution [a].

PERHAPS the moſt reſpectable department of the *Poliſh* government is the ſenate, compoſed of the biſhops, palatines, caſtellans, and ten officers of ſtate, who derive a right from their dignities of ſitting in that aſſembly; in all amounting to one hundred and forty-four members, who are ſtiled ſenators of the kingdom, or counſellors of the ſtate, and have the title *The ſenate.*

[a] PIASECIUS, ad An. 1633.

of excellence, a dignity imparted by no position or emolu-ments accidentally annexed [a]. The senate presides over the laws, is the guardian of liberty, the judge of rights, and the protector of justice and equity. The members are nominated by the king, and they take an oath to the republic before they are permitted to enter upon their functions. Their honours continue for life: at the general diet they sit on the right and left of the throne, according to their dignity, without regard to seniority. They are the mediators between the monarch and the subject, and, in conjunction with the king, enact all the laws passed in the assembly. The value they put on their dignities makes them despise all other honours: even the titles offered by the emperor have been rejected by *Polish* senators, who thought their present dignities superior to that of princes of the empire. "We are gentlemen of *Poland*, say they, and have power to treat of peace "and war with our monarch: your imperial majesty there-"fore injures us, by imagining that we shall be made greater "by the barren title of princes of the empire, than we are as "real senators of the republic of *Poland*." Such was the answer of the senators who accompanied king *Sigismund* to the emperor, when his *Polish* majesty visited the court of *Vienna*. As a senator is bound by oath to maintain the liberties of the republic, it is thought no disrespect to majesty that they remind the prince of his duty. They are his counsellors, and this freedom of speech is an important prerogative of their office. All the bishops are senators, in consequency of their episcopal functions, and they precede the secular members here. Formerly the bishops amounted to fifteen; now they are only thirteen in number, *Cracow* being seized by the *Turks*, and *Smolensko* and *Kiovia* being in the hands of the *Muscovites*: still, however, the titular honours are retained, and eagerly sought after, because they give a right to sit in the senate. The primate, archbishop of *Gnesna*, sits at the head of the senate, and indeed is second only to the monarch in the republic: there have been instances where their ambition struggled for an equality of power and dignity. He is likewise apostolical legate, *ex officio*; and possesses such a variety of privileges as gives him very extraordinary weight, not only in the senate, but in the commonwealth. It is capital to draw a sword, and even to speak irreverently in his presence. During the inter-regnum the primate coins money, under certain restrictions; and has power to convoke the senate, and oppose the conduct of the monarch, whenever he acts

The primate's power and privileges.

[a] Busching's New System of Geography, vol. i. p. 579.

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contrary to the conſtitution. His marechal is a ſenator and caſtellan of the republic: the croſs is carried before him, or held behind his chair, when he ſits, by an almoner. When the primate viſits the king, he is met at the bottom of the ſtairs of the palace by the chamberlain, or one of the chief officers of the crown. His marechal bows his ſtaff only before the king. Another great officer attends him at the top of the ſtairs, and conducts him to the royal preſence, while the king advances to meet him at the door. He receives the viſits of ambaſſadors, without being expected to return their civilities: he is the head and ſovereign of the republic during a vacancy of the throne; he regulates the diet of election, iſſues out writs for holding the petty and general diets, and performs divers other acts of ſovereignty, aſſiſted only by the ſenate, the other members compoſing rather his council than his colleagues. It is probable that the *Poles* annexed theſe extraordinary privileges to the dignity of the primate, rather than to that of any lay-ſenator, or officer of ſtate, becauſe they were ſecured by his ſacred profeſſion from his aſpiring at the crown; and indeed it is obvious, from the court paid to him by the ambaſſadors of all the candidates for the ſovereignty of *Poland*, that they imagine he has the principal direction of the diet, his negative alone being ſufficient to render void an election, otherwiſe unanimous, and the moſt legitimate. Such are the privileges with which this prelate is endowed, both in his ſenatorial and archiepiſcopal capacity [a].

THE ſecular members of the ſenate are forty-ſix in number, including the ten ſtate-officers who have ſeats in that auguſt aſſembly. The firſt in rank are the thirty-two palatines, three caſtellans, and one ſtaroſta. Notwithſtanding, however, that the palatine order is ſuperior in rank to the caſtellan, there is one extraordinary exception in favour of the caſtellan of *Cracow*, who is the firſt member of the ſecular part of the ſenate, to which dignity he was elevated by *Baldwin* III. in the year 1103, in conſequence of ſome ſignal ſervices performed for that monarch. The ſecond and third places belong alternately to the palatines of *Cracow* and *Poſnania*. It would be unneceſſary to purſue all the inferior members through their rights of precedency: ſufficient it is, that the quality of caſtellan and ſtaroſta is in general inferior to that of palatine; yet there are four among the former who poſſeſs almoſt the firſt ſeats, as lay-ſenators.

[a] HARTNOCH, lib. i. CONNOR, tom. ii. HAUTEVILLE, cap. ix.

Palatines. THE better to elucidate our ſubſequent hiſtory, we ſhall, in a few words, deſcribe the ſeveral offices and the powers annexed to the dignities of palatine, caſtellan, and ſtaroſta, independent of their ſenatorial capacity. A palatine may be regarded as the governor of a province, who levies and leads the troops of his own juriſdiction to join the army of the republic. His civil power is likewiſe conſiderable, as he preſides at the aſſemblies of his palatinate, rates the prices of all commodities and merchandize in the province, regulates the weights and meaſures, and judges and defends the *Jews* within his juriſdiction. This part of his function is particularly ſpecified, that a ſet of men the moſt uſeful and induſtrious in *Poland* may not be oppreſſed; the king being likewiſe obliged, by his oath, to afford them the protection of the laws and his ſovereignty. Under him is appointed a ſubſtitute, or vice-palatine, who takes an oath to his ſuperior, and muſt be poſſeſſed of a land-eſtate to a certain value.

Caſtellans. As to the caſtellans, they are likewiſe divided into the great and ſub-caſtellans, the former amounting to thirty-two, and the latter to forty-nine in number. They act as ſenators, as lieutenants, or as deputies of the palatines, and heads of the nobility within their reſpective juriſdictions. In war they command a certain portion of the provincial forces: hence they derive their names, and not from the *Latin* word *caſtellanus*, as the affinity would ſeem to indicate.

Staroſtas. STAROSTAS are military officers of certain diſtricts, either with or without civil juriſdiction. Thoſe who have any juriſdiction are governors of fortreſſes and royal cities, who hold leſſer courts every fortnight, and greater once in ſix weeks. Their juriſdiction extends equally over the gentry and peaſants within certain precincts: they are charged with levying the king's revenue, and deduct a fourth for their ſalary. They have judges, clerks, and bailiffs, ſubject to their orders, to enforce juſtice, in caſe of reſiſtance. The ſtaroſtas without juriſdiction have ſome peculiar privileges: they act as limited juſtices of the peace in trivial affairs; but are greatly inferior in dignity and power to the former, who, beſides the rights mentioned, are the executive miniſters of all ſentences, ſee public executions performed, are the conſervators of the peace, and unite the functions of judges, juſtices, and ſheriffs, with certain reſtrictions [a].

THOUGH we have already deſcribed the general character of the *Poliſh* gentry, it will be neceſſary to enter more particularly on their privileges, in order to convey a diſtinct idea of the ſituation of this republic, and the nature of her civil government. The nobility or gentry poſſeſs all the lands and

[a] HAUTEVILLE, cap. x.

offices

offices in the kingdom of *Poland* and dutchy of *Lithuania*. The peaſants are ſlaves, and the burghers regarded as mere mechanics, who poſſibly may poſſeſs ſome eſtates in houſes, and ſmall parcels of land round the ſeveral towns and cities; but not ſufficient to place them upon an equality with the gentry, who are the guardians of all the different departments of the ſtate, the protectors of the laws, the conſtitution, and the ſovereign; who beſtow the crown and ſceptre upon whom they think proper; who appoint counſellors to the king, frame their own laws, and determine the degree of obedience which they owe to the prince, and the reciprocal duties they are to expect. They are, in fact, like the freeholders of *Great Britain*, who, being too numerous to aſſemble in one body, devolve their rights upon a certain number of repreſentatives, whoſe conduct they may limit by inſtructions. This is a degree of importance to which no foreigner can ever attain, let his ſervices be ever ſo conſiderable. He is deprived the benefit of ever becoming a landholder; nor can he even riſe in the army above the rank of major-general, and colonel of a regiment, except by the decree of naturalization, which likewiſe is clogged with a variety of reſtrictions (A.) *Privileges of the Poliſh nobility.*

THE *Poliſh* gentry are warlike by inclination; yet they cultivate peace with the neighbouring powers from views of policy. Their frontier lies expoſed, the whole kingdom is naked of fortreſſes and towns of ſtrength, and might therefore become an eaſy prey to an aſpiring potentate in the vicinity of the republic. When ſuch events happen, the king aſſembles the *poſpolite*, or *Poliſh* gentry, by circular letters, to oppoſe the enemy; but unhappily the conſtitution requires that three ſuch circular letters ſhall be ſent, at ſtated periods, to each palatinate, before which time the enemy may poſſibly overturn the kingdom. The landholder is exempted from the public ſervice, unleſs he be the chancellor or ſtaroſta of frontier places. The *poſpolite* is not obliged to march above three leagues beyond the limits of the *Poliſh* dominions; nor can the nobility be legally compelled to remain in arms above ſix weeks at a time, whence reſult manifold inconveniences. It is likewiſe obſervable, that during this ſtate of hoſtile preparation, an intire ſtop is put to the courſe of juſtice, all tribunals are ſhut up, and every caſe, whether criminal or civil, whether relative to life or to property, muſt be deferred until the diſſolution of the *poſpolite*. Theſe are defects in the *Poliſh* conſtitution too obvious to require animadverſion; but yet there is ſcarce a poſſibility of removing them without pro-

(A) Count *Brukl*, a *Saxon* officer, affords a living inſtance of the breach of this law.

ducing greater enormities, except by new-modelling the whole conſtitution [a].

NOTHING can have a more formidable appearance than this army of military nobility, fighting, *pro aris & focis*, for religion, liberty, property, and life, not like hirelings who let out their bodies at a certain price to the government, either to oppoſe the enemies of the kingdom, or trample upon the liberties of the people, juſt as they are ordered by an ambitious monarch; but the *poſpolite* want diſcipline to direct and regulate their ſtrength and valour. They are mounted on horſeback, and generally form only a tumultuous body, difficult to reſiſt at the firſt onſet; but, if once broken, eaſily overthrown. Of this we ſhall ſpeak more minutely, when we come to treat of the army of *Poland*, and the military power of the republic.

IT is the privilege of the *Poliſh* gentry not to march againſt the enemy at the command of the ſovereign, until he has redreſſed all the grievances of which they complain; and it is not uncommon for them to ſeize occaſions of the greateſt public danger for preſenting remonſtrances to the throne. They claim another privilege, attended with equal bad conſequences. A *Poliſh* gentleman cannot be arreſted upon the moſt heinous and probable accuſation. He muſt firſt be cited to a tribunal: if he refuſes to obey the ſummons, he is declared contumacious; if he appears, and is convicted, he is then arreſted, impriſoned, and afterwards tried more legally and formally. Thus, ſhould he be conſcious of his guilt, the greateſt risk he runs is the being declared contumacious, in conſequence of his not paying the proper regard to the citation. There have been occaſions, however, where this privilege hath been infringed; and M. *Hauteville* relates, that he was witneſs to an inſtance of this nature, though he ſays the crime was ſo heinous that the nobility could not, without ſhame, avoid waving their privilege [b].

WHATEVER appearance of injuſtice this part of the conſtitution may have, there is another privilege attached to the rank of a *Poliſh* gentleman ſtill more grievous to the nation, and deſtructive of the firſt and ſimpleſt principles of equity, of natural right, and the doctrines of Chriſtianity: we mean the abſolute and deſpotic authority with which every gentleman is veſted over his vaſſals and peaſants. They have the power of life and property in their hands, which they ſometimes abuſe in a manner the moſt groſs and wanton, reducing this unhappy order of people to a ſtate ſcarce above the brute

[a] CONNOR, p. 35, 61, 68. [b] HAUTV. p. 79, 119.

creа-

creation. Their wives and daughters are expoſed to the moſt brutal uſage from a drunken or laſcivious maſter, without preſuming to make the leaſt reſiſtance, or expreſs the ſmalleſt reſentment. But we ſhall drop a ſubject ſo ſhocking to humanity, to take notice of one more conſiderable privilege claimed by the *Poliſh* gentry (A). It is, that no ſoldier or officer of the army can be quartered upon them; and ſhould any of the military gentlemen attempt to violate this privilege, he is ſummoned before the firſt general diet, and condemned to death, or at leaſt infamy, being deprived the benefit of ever acquiring a vote, or holding any office or employment. Such are the

(A) M. *Hauteville* relates, that a gentleman, who is deſirous of cultivating a certain piece of land, builds a little wooden houſe, in which he ſettles a peaſant and his family, giving him a cow, two horſes, a certain number of hens, geeſe, *&c.* and a ſmall quantity of rye, to maintain him for the firſt year, and to improve for his own future ſubſiſtence, and the benefit of his lord. In return, he obliges him to till a certain quantity of land, and to pay ſuch a number of live animals out of the produce of the original ſtock. In the autumn all the peaſants are employed in cutting down and reaping the maſter's harveſt, who appoints overſeers to reward the diligent, and puniſh with ſtripes the indolent. Pillories are erected in every village, on which theſe wretched beings are frequently obliged to ſtand for a whole day for crimes very trivial in their nature. One bleſſing, however, attends the unhappy ſituation of the *Poliſh* peaſants, which is their inſenſibility. Born ſlaves, and accuſtomed to hardſhips and ſevere labour from their infancy, they ſcarce entertain an idea of better circumſtances and more liberty. They regard their maſters as a ſuperior order of beings, and hardly ever repine at that ſevere lot which has deprived them of all the comforts of life, in order to heap them on a cruel, deſpotic, and unworthy tyrant. They ſeldom want for proviſions, and they reckon that a man can never be very wretched while he can eat. A total want of ſentiment, and of the enjoyments of the mind, prevails through the whole order, as if Providence had wiſely mixed the ſtupifying drop, to render more tolerable the nauſeous draught of ſervitude. The peaſant children are bred up like the young of the brute creation; and it is indeed confidently reported, that they are frequently ſuckled by bears in the woods. Until they are four or ſix years of age, they go naked as when they were born, are waſhed almoſt every day in cold water, without regard to the ſeaſon of the year; and M. *Hauteville* relates, that he hath frequently ſeen them playing naked upon the ice, without their parents apprehending any bad conſequences (1).

(1) *Hauteville, c.* xxii. *& paſſim.*

immunities of the *Poliſh* gentry, ſome of which they ought to ſurrender from a regard to the dignity of human nature, and compaſſion for the ſpecies. That is but a wretched authority that extends only over the moſt abject ſlaves [a].

We have obſerved, that every *Poliſh* gentleman muſt be poſſeſſed of a landed property, or a ſhare in the ſalt-works, or the revenues of the port of *Dantzic*, which is attended with equivalent advantage to an actual eſtate in land. In general, the *Poliſh* eſtates are royal, eccleſiaſtical, or patrimonial. The greater number, and indeed the moſt conſiderable, conſiſt in ſtaroſties, which muſt be given away by the crown ſix months after a vacancy, without the ſovereign's being able to appropriate the revenues to himſelf a ſingle day longer. They are regarded as the rights of old military officers, and the rewards of their long and faithful ſervices, as the word *ſtaroſt*, old age, imports. Each ſtaroſta pays a fourth of his revenue to the republic; but, with good intereſt at court, may ſecure the reverſion of his ſtaroſtie to his wife and family. Eccleſiaſtic eſtates conſiſt of benefices, biſhoprics, abbecies, priories, canonries, curacies, and all the land poſſeſſed by the regular clergy, to a vaſt extent. Some of the biſhoprics exceed one hundred thouſand livres yearly: an immenſe ſum of money in a country that does not abound in ſpecie. As to the patrimonial eſtates, theſe compoſe the real ſolid wealth of the *Poliſh* gentry, becauſe they are intirely independent on the court, and deſcend by inheritance from generation to generation. They conſiſt of lands, houſes, towns, villages, woods, and eſpecially peaſants, which are valued, as in our colonies, at ſo much a head, according to their age, ſtrength, conſtitution, and capacity. In general, they are reckoned worth a hundred livres each yearly to the maſter, and have only one chance for becoming free, by entering into orders, and enrolling themſelves in the long catalogue of prieſts and friars; to intitle them to which a ſlender portion of learning is required. It is the intereſt of the maſter to diſqualify them early from a function which would deſtroy ſo much of his property: with this view, therefore, he obliges his peaſants to marry at an early age, and by this means not only preſerves but increaſes his wealth, by the multiplication of the ſpecies. It is not cuſtomary in *Poland* to leaſe out farms and eſtates for a certain annual rent in money, except thoſe of beer, brandy, and public inns and taverns. All other rents are paid in corn, fiſh, poultry, and cattle, which the peaſants rear up with the utmoſt care, being anſwerable to

[a] Connor, tom. ii.

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the master for every loss that might possibly be attributed to negligence. Upon every manor a *podstaroſta*, or inferior gentleman, officiates as steward on the estate, and collects the corn, cattle, and other rents, part of which he sends to his master's kitchen, and disposes of the rest, for which he is accountable to the landholders. From this it appears how difficult it is to ascertain the yearly revenue of *Poland*, or of any individual. We shall therefore only observe, that some of the nobility are reputed to possess an annual income of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, with which they have attended the diets with a train of a thousand persons, and have maintained occasionally, for the service of the government, a corps of three thousand able bodied men [b].

Of the Polish army.

One of the most extraordinary parts of the *Polish* constitution is the manner of raising and maintaining an army, which has nothing similar in any civilized state on the face of the globe. In the infancy of the *Polish* government, the people were rather forced by an arbitrary power than directed by indulgent laws, to defend their country and extend their frontiers. Since the reign of *Boleslaus* III. every palatinate and district hath been obliged to raise a certain number of horse for the public service, and every town and city a company of a stated number of men, to be ready at the shortest notice, with their provisions and ammunition. We have already mentioned the time allowed to the palatine to get his troops in readiness: this is what is termed the *pospolite* or militia of *Poland*, assembled at an appointed place to obey the commands of the king, assisted by his senate or council. Originally *Poland* was an open country as at present, without castles, fortresses, or places of strength. In course of time the government ordered fortifications to be erected in the cities, to oppose the incursions of the enemy. They were subject to royal authority, and defended by regular well appointed garrisons. This it was found strengthened the hands of the monarch, and composed a kind of standing army, with which some ambitious prince might destroy the liberties of the people. The citadels and fortifications were therefore neglected, and some of them demolished: they were then usurped by neighbouring lords, who by this means extended their authority over burghers and citizens, as well as over the peasants on their own estates. Governors and garrisons were sometimes kept up by the government; but as the governors were generally chosen out of the neighbouring nobility, they applied the revenues to their own purposes,

[b] Id. ibid. Hauteville, c. xxii.

and

and ſuffered the garriſons to make excurſions for their maintenance into the adjacent country [c]. This was the practice in the few remaining fortreſſes in *Poland*, from which the garriſons were frequently abſent above half the year; ſo that in fact *Poland* is intirely an open country, liable to be overrun without reſiſtance by an enterpriſing and rapid enemy, as was apparent in the laſt general war with *Sweden*. Theſe are evils which the government cannot remedy, becauſe they affect the intereſt of the body of gentry in general, who compoſe the bulk of the legiſlature.

WHEN upon any preſſing emergency circular letters are diſpatched to the palatines, all landed gentry able to bear arms, are obliged to attend the orders of the government; all gentlemen who live in cities or towns upon the intereſt of money; all tenants who have procured leaſes for a term of years (a thing extremely rare in *Poland*;) all the king's tenants; the eccleſiaſtical *ſculets*, or advocates in the ſpiritual courts: and in caſes of imminent danger, all citizens in general, and even the gentry impriſoned for high crimes and miſdemeanors, are diſmiſſed to attend the *poſpolite*, being bound afterwards to return to their confinement, to ſtand trial, and ſuffer the juſt puniſhment of their crimes, unleſs they have merited pardon by ſome ſignal acts of valour and gallantry in the ſervice of their country.

AT preſent the *poſpolite* is entirely compoſed of cavalry; formerly every twentieth peaſant was armed with a long gun, a ſcymetar, and a pole axe, as a foot ſoldier; and now there is a ſmall body of infantry raiſed occaſionally, though ſeldom applied to any uſeful purpoſe. This foot corps is raiſed at the expence of citizens worth four thouſand florins; burghers more wealthy being obliged by the conſtitution to find a horſeman completely armed. In the great dutchy of *Lithuania*, the clergy are obliged to fit out a number of men, in proportion to their temporal and ſpiritual poſſeſſions; but only the temporal eſtates of the clergy are ſubjected in *Poland*. Perſons poſſeſſing eſtates in different palatines, are obliged to appear only in behalf of one manor. The poorer gentry may either appear in perſon, or ſubſcribe to equip one horſeman for a certain number of ſmall eſtates. Brothers, who are joint proprietors, may depute one perſon to repreſent the whole fraternity. The king's court and retinue are exempted from public ſervice, unleſs his majeſty takes upon him the command of the army. Several of the queen's court are likewiſe exempted from taking the field.

[c] HARTNOCH, lib. ii. c. iii. iv.

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The primate is alſo veſted with a power of protecting a certain number of the gentry within his juriſdiction from appearing in a military capacity; and this privilege is ſometimes claimed by the biſhop of *Cracow*, and other prelates, if their attendance be otherwiſe required by the republic. Staroſtas left in garriſons, and their tribunes, claim an exemption from ſerving in the field; and laſtly, the governor of the citadel of *Cracow*, with his deputy, the burgraves, and two captains of foot, may refuſe to obey the general ſummons to take arms and march againſt the enemy. Several palatinates have, beſides, peculiar privileges; and in the palatinate of *Maſſovia* ſix brothers, though they ſhould happen to have as many diſtinct eſtates, ſend but one repreſentative to join the *poſpolite*.

THE numbers that appear at the general rendezvous of the militia of *Poland* are formidable. *Boſko*, a writer of that country, alledges, that in his palatinate only two thouſand cuiraſſiers and four thouſand light horſe took the field in the reign of *Boleſlaus* III. and *Starovoſcius* relates, that *Uladiſlaus* led one hundred thouſand horſe againſt the knights of the *Teutonic* order, beſides great numbers left for the defence of the provinces. It is certain indeed that *Poland* can at this day arm an equal number of horſemen, and the dutchy of *Lithuania* above ſixty thouſand cavalry, well appointed, exclusive of infantry, upon whom the *Poles* place but little dependence. *Starovolſcius* and *Fredro* are both of opinion that *Poland* and *Lithuania* united can ſend two hundred thouſand men againſt the enemy, without depopulating the country [a].

EXCLUSIVE of this prodigious national force, the *Poliſh* government has frequently taken twenty or thirty thouſand foreign auxiliaries into ſervice; and king *Stephen* in particular employed ſixteen thouſand *German* and *Hungarian* mercenaries, all cavalry, in his expedition againſt the *Swedes* in *Livonia*. We have already mentioned the manner of aſſembling the *poſpolite*, by circular letters from the king to the palatines; it is ſufficient to obſerve in this place, that the *Poliſh* gentry are annually muſtered and regiſtered by proper officers, in order to inform the crown what ſtrength can be drawn forth on critical junctures. It is however equally difficult to get the *poſpolite* under arms, and afterwards to make them wield them with diſcipline, obedience, and the neceſſary regard to ſubordination. Every man believes himſelf qualified for a general, and aſpires at an in-

[a] CONNOR, tom. ii. lib. vi. STAROVOLSCIUS, p. 92. HAUTEVILLE, chap. xxi.

dependent

dependent command. All are ambitious of being officers, and none can be brought to ſupport with temper the rank of a private ſoldier; whence proceed perpetual plots, conſpiracies, and deſertions. No magazines are ever formed for the ſubſiſtence of the army; and hence it is that the *Poliſh* ſoldiers are reduced to the moſt diſtreſſed circumſtances in every expedition, and the moſt important enterprizes frequently relinquiſhed juſt as they are on the brink of being brought to a happy iſſue.

THE *poſpolite* of every palatinate being aſſembled at the place appointed, they are led by their proper officers to the general rendezvous, where the palatines ſurrender their ſeveral charges to the commander in chief. In their march they are not to be quartered on the gentry, but obliged to encamp in the open fields. The *Poliſh* nobility ſquander the bulk of their eſtates in making a magnificent appearance on theſe expeditions, and furniſhing themſelves with glittering arms, fine horſes, rich trappings, and elegant apparel, as well as in the maintenance of a numerous retinue. Frequently their own fortunes are inſufficient to defray all their charges, as they receive no pay for ſome time, and this obliges them to ſqueeze and oppreſs the wretched peaſants, entirely deſpoiling them of the hard earned reward of patience and labour. This ſpecies of oppreſſion prevails thro' the whole army, the ſuperior officer defrauding his inferiors of their ſhare of thoſe contributions levied upon the public to ſupply the deficiences of regular pay from the government, and this obliges the ſoldiers to rob and pillage wherever they happen to be quartered. Repeated remonſtrances have been made to the diet to remedy an evil ſo groſs and enormous; but they all proved fruitleſs. It has been propoſed to keep the army encamped, under ſtrict diſcipline; but neither the temper of the *Poles* will brook this military ſervitude, nor does the diet chuſe to throw ſo much power into the hands of a general, who holds his commiſſion of the king as well as the republic, and whoſe intereſt it is to cloſe in with the meaſures of the court. Thus the ſoldiers continue to rob, pillage, and deſtroy the country with impunity, and without the leaſt proſpect of redreſs; nor can we avoid attributing the whole to the miſmanagement of the finances, and the irregular manner in which ſubſiſtence money is iſſued out to the forces. A ſoldier ſeldom is paid above once in the year, often once in two years, half of which time he lives upon his own credit and addreſs in pillaging and defrauding the peaſant, who makes up for all deficiences, and ſuffers for

all

all miſtakes in the conſtitution, or miſmanagement in the adminiſtration.

WHEN pay is iſſued out from the treaſury for the army, commiſſioners are deputed by the diet to regulate the diviſion, and endeavour to make ſome abatement or ſaving for the government, or rather for themſelves, becauſe they are ſeldom accurate in their accounts. Should the government happen to prove unuſually remiſs in advancing the arrears, then the ſoldiers enter into confederacies, and bind themſelves with an oath to obtain juſtice. Having ſent remonſtrances to the diet, which are poſſibly neglected, the inferior officers aſſemble and form what they call a *rokoz* in the *Poliſh* language, or a general deſertion from the commander in chief. They chuſe out of their own number a marechal and a lieutenant, to whom they ſwear obedience, until the cauſes of the confederacy are removed, and the army paid to the laſt farthing. The conſequences are dreadful; the eſtates of the nobility are over-run and laid deſolate, with all the fury of an enraged enemy, and neceſſity is made the pretext of the moſt terrible diſorders and ſhocking inhumanities. While a foreign enemy perhaps is laying waſte the extremities of the republic, the *poſpolite*, her natural protectors, are tearing her very bowels, and gnawing her vitals. There is indeed a law which renders theſe confederacies capital, and declares the eſtates of all who accede to them forfeited; but this is a law which the conſtitution has not power to enforce, and which would be in itſelf unneceſſary, were there more regard paid to the management of the treaſury.

ANOTHER flagrant defect in the military conſtitution of *Poland* is, that the commander in chief holds his employment for life, and cannot, even for miſconduct, be ſuperſeded by the royal authority, or the power of the republic (A). Beſides, the dignity is frequently conferred on ſome powerful nobleman, wholly unacquainted with the art of war, but formidable by the number of his dependents: need it therefore be matter of ſurprize that the *Poles*, with all their ſtrength and courage, ſhould meet with frequent defeats from an enemy greatly inferior in numbers and perſonal courage,

(A) Dr. *Connor* in his hiſtory of *Poland* alledges, that a new conſtitution paſſed in his time, limiting the duration of the general's office to the ſpace of three years (1). We have however been told, that the palatines complained of this as an infraction of their rights, and had influence enough to have the general's commiſſion placed upon the antient footing.

(1) *Connor*, *l.* vi. *t.* ii.

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but better disciplined, more numerous, and obedient. To this we may add, the little regard paid to the orders of the government for assembling at a certain day. Scarce half the army is found at the place and time appointed. The officers drop in with their corps perhaps a month after the army should have taken the field, and return home again before half of the campaign is finished. This is one of the unhappy consequences of that ill-directed liberty of the *Polish* constitution, which tends to often rendered the republic a prey to her enemies, and to her own subjects.

We come now to a more particular description of the *Polish* army, which is entirely composed of cavalry; for as to the infantry, it is called the foreign army, though possibly more than half the troops may have been natives of *Poland*; however, as they receive their orders in the *German* language, and are paid in the manner of that country, they are regarded as auxiliaries. The cavalry is divided into *hussarys* and *tartarys*: the former are chosen men and horses, both defended by close armour; the latter covered only by a breast-plate, gorget, and helmet. Lances, sabres, and pistols, are the arms of the hussarix; and carabines, bows, and arrows, of the tartarix: the former dart their lances at a considerable distance, and if they miss their aim, recover them by means of a silk cord wound round the wrist. All the cavalry are stuck over with the wings of storks and other large birds, and cloaked over their armour with the skins of wild beasts, to give them a fierce appearance and terrify the enemy's horses, who, unaccustomed to so extraordinary a spectacle, cannot be brought up to the charge. As to the *Polish* light horse, they differ in little else from the other troops than the name, being armed like them with coats of mail, helmets, &c. they are however sent upon all foraging parties and expeditions which require celerity, because they are less incumbered with baggage and equipages. No ladies being admitted into the camp, every *Polish* officer must be provided with provision, and whatever can be wanted in the course of a campaign, which he is obliged to carry about in his march at his own expence, providing waggons and horses, without any assistance from the government.

Though the great art of war consists in celerity, a knowledge of the enemy's motions, a perfect acquaintance with the situation of the country, and the most profound secrecy, the *Poles* give themselves no trouble about these matters. They pay little regard to opportunity, seldom reconnoitre the enemy or the ground, and ostentatiously publish all their designs to the whole world, depending upon strength and courage,

courage, and deſpiſing the thoughts of clandeſtinely ſeizing an advantage, which they think reflects highly on the national honour. Thus an expert and cunning enemy is certain of victory; but it has been the fortune of the *Poles* to have waged their moſt bloody wars with nations as unſkilful as themſelves; with the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Muſcovites*, who have only of late years ſtudied the military art. Yet with all theſe inconveniences, the *Poliſh* cavalry have performed prodigies of valour in action; and we ſhall ſee in the ſubſequent hiſtory ſmall parties of the *poſpolite* diſperſing numerous armies of *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Walachians*, and *Ruſſians*.

To conclude this account of the *Poliſh* forces, we muſt obſerve, that when the king does not command in perſon, that dignity devolves to the great general of *Poland*, and his rival in power the great general of *Lithuania*, each of whom have particular lofty titles. The authority of theſe generals is mutually independent; they act in concert, rather from inclination than in virtue of their inſtructions. Each poſſeſſes the entire conduct of his own army, and may march where he pleaſes without conſulting the other; whence have flowed manifold inconveniences. Their commiſſions give no title to a voice in the ſenate; but they are generally choſen out of that aſſembly, in order to impart reſpect and dignity to the office. On ſome occaſions the generals have been ſenators, great marechals, or great chancellors, uniting all the dignities, and thereby gaining a very extraordinary influence over the army. At preſent this commiſſion is beſtowed on palatines and caſtellans, who enjoy no court places, or offices in the republic. Each of the generals has his lieutenant-general, who enjoy all their power in the abſence of the ſuperior. Beſides theſe, the *Poliſh* conſtitution requires there ſhould be generals of the frontier guards, diſtinct in office, and wholly independent on the former, though ſubordinate in rank and authority. They receive orders only from the king and the diet. The power of the general of the *Coſſacks* was eſtabliſhed in the year 1661, and remains the ſame at this time; inferior in rank to the great generals, but not ſubject to their orders. Next in rank ſtands the colonel of the king's guards, who uſually takes the name of general; and neareſt to him in dignity is the general of artillery, called the great maſter of the ordinance. He is immediately followed in rank by the *piſzacz* or *intendant*, the great ſtandard bearer, the camp marechal, the captain of the guard or watch, and the majors generals, who are immediately above the colonels. We muſt take notice of two officers, which

which always attend the *Poliſh* army, extremely uſeful in themſelves, but in a manner peculiar to the *poſpolite*; theſe are a camp notary and the *rota magiſter*. The one takes every three months an exact account of the number of troops in the whole army, and reports the deficiencies in particular corps; and the other, being a centurion of the frontier guards, ſends the government a faithful eſtimate of the ſituation of the borders, and the forces left for their defence. Upon the whole, the military power of *Poland* is extremely formidable; but it ſtands at preſent upon ſuch a footing as renders all her ſtrength contemptible, and places this nation in the loweſt rank in point of diſcipline, knowledge, œconomy, and all that conſtitutes the art of war, of any people in *Europe*. This is fully evinced by the preſent conduct of the republic, conſcious of her own inability to repel the inſults of the contending northern powers, and ſuffering her monarch to be ſtripped of his hereditary dominions, on the one hand by *Pruſſia*, and the *Poliſh* dominions to be traverſed with impunity by multitudes of barbarous *Ruſſians* on the other. In a word, ſhe ſits the tame ſpectator of a bloody conteſt, which may one day terminate in her ſervitude, by permitting the czarina to gain a footing in the empire, which ſhe never could effect, while the *Poles* exerted any degree of that ſpirit which once eminently diſtinguiſhed the nation, and compenſated the errors of the conſtitution[a].

Religion. We proceed now to the religion of *Poland*, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, topics of at leaſt as much conſequence as any we have yet treated. In the reign of *Miteſlaus* I. about the year 964, the *Poles* were firſt converted from idolatry to the Chriſtian religion. *St. Adelbert*, afterwards archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, was the great inſtrument of this happy revolution; and the arts of the church of *Rome* have kept the *Poliſh* government faſt in the intereſt of the pontiff ſince that time, and the moſt ſtrenuous advocates for his ſupremacy and infallibility. The Catholic doctrines may be termed the national religion, as perſons of that perſuaſion only are permitted to ſit in the ſenate, riſe to eminence in the army, or preſide in the courts of juſtice; yet the government not only tolerates, but is bound to protect *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, *Jews*, *Armenians*, and *Greeks*. Formely *Poland* was over run with ſectariſts of all denominations, Huſſites, Picards, Arians, Anabaptiſts, Tritheiſts, Manicheans, Photians, Ebionites, Bruniſts, Neſtorians, and Socinians: now theſe ſects are almoſt extinguiſhed, and Socini-

[a] Connor, Hartnoch, & Starovols. paſſim.

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niſm ſuppreſſed by the government (A). The bulk of the Proteſtants reſide in *Poliſh Pruſſia*, at *Dantzick*, *Elbing*, *Thorn*, and *Marienburg*, where they enjoy privileges of which they are deprived in all the other provinces. The *Poles* gave them the appellation of *Saxons*, becauſe *Luther* taught in *Saxony*, though they ſometimes diſtinguiſh the *Calviniſts* by the name of *Zborocoi*, from the *Poliſh* word *Zbor*, ſignifying an unlawful aſſembly.

In *Poland* the monks are wealthy, profligate, debauched in their manners, and irregular in their morals. They are often ſeen drunk, and led from taverns, without apprehending any diſgrace to the ſacred function, or dreading the cenſure of their ſuperiors, who themſelves require equal indulgence. Their faſts conſiſt in abſtaining from eggs, milk, and boiled fiſh at night: in any other manner they are permitted to eat that ſpecies of food, which forms almoſt the whole aliment of other *Roman* Catholics on faſt days. We may indeed affirm, that though no clergy on earth are ſo attached to the ſee of *Rome* as the *Poliſh*, yet they prefer good living even to the opinion of the pontiff, and therefore very prudently confine their abſtinence from animal food wholly to the evening, believing that quite ſufficient to their future ſalvation.

As for the ſecular clergy, they admit of pluralities, and hold profitable benefices in the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom, without being ever ſuppoſed to perform any of the duties of their function. A canon gives two pence to a poor ſcholar or a monk for going through the drudgery of prayer as his ſubſtitute. Even the biſhops are ſo negligent

(A) The anti-trinitarian doctrines of this ſect ſprung from *Fauſtus Socinus*, a native of *Sienna* in *Italy*, about the year 1574, and were firſt brought into *Poland* by *Spicillus*, a *Dutchman*, a diſciple of the celebrated *Eraſmus*, a maſter in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* languages, and generally known in hiſtory by the name of *Fricius*. It is true his doctrines, tho' ſimilar to thoſe of *Socinus*, were not then termed Socinianiſm, but uſually confounded with Calviniſm, in which ſenſe they were embraced by the monarch, and diſperſed with aſtoniſhing rapidity over the face of the country. More than half the nobility of the kingdom embraced the tenets of *Spicillus*; the palatine of *Podolia* erected a printing-houſe, and founded an academy for the uſe of the ſect; their catechiſm was publiſhed, and their boldneſs at length demanded the attention of the government. In conſequence, they were expelled by *John Caſimir* in 1658, and only three years allowed them to diſpoſe of their eſtates.

about the due execution of epiſcopal duties, that they are forced to wink at the enormities of their inferiors. With all this careleſſneſs about religion, the *Poles* put on all the exterior of devotion. The few clergy who attend the duties of their ſacred profeſſion have all the appearance of piety; and the laity make up for every other deficiency by their bounty to the church. They will grind the face of the poor to enrich a monaſtery; cheat, cozen, and defraud, for the bleſſing of beautifying or enriching an altar. In theſe particulars, *Poland* is now what the more civilized nations of *Europe* were two centuries ago: their adoration is paid not to the Almighty, but to the miniſters of his holy word, whom they regard as the mediators between God and man. The preſents which have been made to them are immenſe: all their churches are built by donations: they are in general rich and magnificent; and the Jeſuits at *Leopold* have a chalice ſet with jewels, ſaid to be worth a million of livres. So zealous are the *Poles* in the Catholic faith, that they draw their ſwords at maſs, in teſtimony of their readineſs to defend their religion. Formerly they would not intermarry with heretics, contract any alliances with them, nor accept of their aſſiſtance in war; and the biſhops preſide in the ſenate for no other purpoſe than to watch that no decree ſhall paſs which is contrary to the Catholic doctrines eſtabliſhed by law. As to the erudition of the clergy, it conſiſts entirely in that ſpecies of ſophiſtry known by the name of ſchool-divinity, in an unmeaning metaphyſical jargon, and the moſt uſeleſs logical diſtinctions. The divines of this country pique themſelves on adapting the metaphyſics of *Ariſtotle* to the doctrines of Chriſtianity, by which they render the latter in all reſpects as profound and unintelligible as the former. They pay no regard to church hiſtory, but ſolve all difficulties by the affirmations of the *Stagyrite*, and the deciſions of the pontiff. In a word, they are ignorant, obſtinate, opinionated, and ſuperſtitious; a mixture of pride, arrogance, ſtupidity, avarice, and low cunning [b] (B).

[b] Vid. Auct. ſup. citat.

(B) No country on earth contains ſuch a number of Jews as *Poland*, and they are indeed the only induſtrious body of people in the kingdom. Their number hath been computed at two millions, and they pay fifty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix rixdollars yearly, for the protection of the government, beſides the general impoſts (1).

(1) *Engliſh Geography*, vol. i. p. 513.

It has been repeatedly obſerved, that the peaſants are the abject ſlaves of their lords, who hold courts within their ſeveral jurisdictions. Indeed the civil courts are in the hands of a variety of judges. The ſtaroſtas hold courts within the extent of their ſeveral territories; and every city enjoys a privilege of giving judgment in certain caſes. The ſtaroſta's court ſits the moſt conſtantly; but the palatine, marechal, and chancellor have likewiſe their courts; and, in truth, every gentleman holds a tribunal of juſtice upon his own eſtate. Civil or criminal cauſes of greater importance, are finally decided by the king, ſenate, and diet, or the general courts of the nobility, of which there are two for *Poland*, and one for the great dutchy of *Lithuania*: the former holding their ſeſſions at *Peotrocow* or *Lublin*, and the latter at *Minſk* or *Vilna*. Theſe courts are compoſed of a certain number of the clergy and laity of each palatinate. Judgment is given by a plurality of voices; but in matters purely eccleſiaſtical, the number of clergy muſt be equal to that of the laity. The lay members are elected every four years, the eccleſiaſtics once in two years. At *Radem* and *Vilna* are likewiſe courts relative to the finances, where all matters of property between the crown and the ſubject are debated. The affairs of merchants and foreigners come before the marechal's tribunal; they belong wholly to his juriſdiction, and ſeldom are brought to any other court, tho' indeed the officers of juſtice ſhew ſo barefaced a partiality to *Poles* againſt ſtranges, that it is almoſt unneceſſary to bring the matter in diſpute to a legal trial, the event being perfectly known before the parties make their appearance in court. This co-operates with a variety of other reaſons to depreſs induſtry, and prevent commerce from ever lifting up her head among this haughty indolent people. *Courts of juſtice.*

To conclude, the errors of the *Poliſh* conſtitution are groſs and numerous; but they are not incapable of reformation. Were the true intereſt of the kingdom known, and duly purſued, this republic might ſtill become one of the moſt formidable powers in the North. The revival of the antient ſpirit of the people, aſſiſted by their greater progreſs in ſcience and the arts, would produce an intire change; one able monarch or miniſter might raiſe *Poland* from its preſent deſpicable ſituation, to a very reſpectable height of power and authority in the ſcale of *Europe*. Would a ſpirited diet once revoke the abſurd tribunative power of the *liberum veto*; were ambitious foreigners and perfidious ſubjects cut off from the poſſibility of fruſtrating the laudable intentions of the republic, and oppoſing the deſigns of men who are able and willing

ling to promote the intereſt of their country, *Poland* would thereby recover a real active government, be happy in its internal conſtitution, and reſpectable in its external policy, which at preſent are the contempt and pity of all *Europe*.

SECT. II.

Containing the Hiſtory of the firſt Claſs of Poliſh *Monarchs, from* Lechus *or* Lecht, *to the tragical Death of* Popiel.

A PASSION for removing their origin to the remoteſt antiquity, has involved the earlier ages of all nations in fable and abſurdity; we have had repeated occaſions to confirm the truth of this remark in our hiſtory of the northern kingdoms, whoſe annals were for centuries entruſted wholly to oral tradition, and couched in the ſongs and tales of thoſe bards and *ſhenacheighs* maintained for the pomp and amuſement of the great. *Poland* wants even this feeble aſſiſtance; it was not the practice of the country to entertain itinerant poets, and we are obliged wholly to the neighbouring ſtates for the imperfect accounts tranſmitted of the ſeries of the firſt *Poliſh* monarchs (A). The writers of *Denmark* and *Sweden* reflect conſiderable light upon our ſubject; they are ſerviceable in filling up chaſms, but not ſufficient materials for a complete and uninterrupted thread of hiſtory. It is to *Guagnini*, *Cromer*, and *Mathew* of *Michovia*, we are obliged for the moſt regular deduction of narrative, though they are ſo replete with fiction, that it is difficult to determine what to retain and what to reject.

THE firſt ſovereigns of *Poland* were only called dukes, or generals (*duces* in *Latin*) as if their office was properly to lead the armies into the field. For a great number of years the ceremony of coronation was unknown, and *Boleſlaus Chobry* is ſaid to have been the firſt of the princes who aſſumed all the badges of royalty. Hiſtorians are unanimous in placing *Lechus* or *Lecht* at the head of the *Poliſh* princes; and to render his pedigree more illuſtrious, they pretend to

(A) The learned *Piſtorius* hath collected into one large volume, all the treatiſes wrote upon the origin and remote hiſtory of the *Poliſh* nation, and to this uſeful compilation we are indebted for a variety of facts which have not been mentioned by any modern hiſtorians.

call

call him a lineal deſcendant from *Japhet* the ſon of *Noah*. He is ſaid to be the founder of the nation; and ſome writers think that he migrated, at the head of a numerous body of men, from ſome of the neighbouring countries, and ſettled in *Poland*; but all allow, that both the prince and his people were the deſcendants of the *Slavi* or *Scalvi* [a]. To this day the *Tartars* call *Poland* the kingdom of *Lechus*, by which name it is diſtinguiſhed by a variety of eaſtern nations (A). Little more is recorded of this prince, than that he founded *Gneſna*, now the archbiſhop's ſee; and *Poſnan*, the capital of *Poſnania*. The manner of his death, and the name of his ſucceſſor, are diſputed. One writer alledges [b], that a ſon called after his own name ſucceeded to his dominions; another affirms [c], that, like *Alexander the Great*, he left his authority to the moſt deſerving; and a third [d] ſcruples not to write a kind of life of *Viſcimir*, as the nephew and ſucceſſor of *Lechus*. We have adhered to the laſt as the moſt approved and plauſible opinion, though numberleſs ſtories are related of this prince which ſavour ſtrongly of fable.

Lechus. A. D. 550.

He is reported for inſtance to have extended his conqueſts to the very bowels of *Denmark*, ſubduing provinces and building cities, particularly the city *Wiſmar*, which he called after his own name. Our author puſhes matters ſo far, as to deſcribe a battle fought between *Viſcimir* and the *Daniſh* monarch, in which, after a bloody conteſt, victory declared for the former, and the latter was taken priſoner, and carried in triumph to *Poland*. After obtaining his liberty, thro' the generoſity of *Viſcimir*, the *Dane* ſtill thirſted for revenge, begin-

Viſcimir.

[a] Anc. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xvii. GUAGN. apud Piſtor. tom. i. MATH. de Michov. ibid, tom. ii. KADLUBKEN pref. pag. 8.
[b] MAT. de Michov. p. 7. [c] LAURENT. Corvin apud Piſtor. tom. iii. p. 49. [d] GUAGN. p. 52.

(A) The learned *German* profeſſor *Buſching*, in his New Syſtem of Geography, lately publiſhed, gives an account of the origin of the *Poles* ſomewhat different, and rejects as fabulous all the dukes of *Poland* before *Piaſtus*, though it doth not appear upon what authority. *Sarmatia*, he obſerves, was an extenſive country, inhabited by a variety of nations of different names. He ſuppoſes them to be the deſcendants of the *Lazi*, a people who lived in the antient *Colchis*, near the *Pontus Euxinus*; hence the *Poles* are called *Polazi*, which he falſly ſpells *Polacy*. Croſſing ſeveral rivers they entered *Poſnania*, and ſettled on the borders of the *Warta*, while their neighbours, the *Zechi*, ſettled on the *Elbe*, in the 550th year of *Chriſt*.

and joining the *Swedes* and *Holſteiners*, marched directly for *Poland*, met *Viſcimir*, gave battle, and was a ſecond time defeated, in conſequence of which the *Poles* again over-ran *Denmark*, and carried deſolation wherever they appeared. *Viſcimir* beſides kept a powerful fleet, and in particular one large ſhip, which proved the terror and deſtruction of all his enemies: however, it is remarkable that not a trace of theſe wars is to be met with in any of the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, nor the leaſt mention of a *Poliſh* prince of the name of *Viſcimir*. After a long and glorious reign, this hero reſigned his laſt breath, leaving his people in the utmoſt diſtreſs and confuſion, on account of the diſputes that aroſe about a ſucceſſor, and whether the ſame form of government ſhould be continued.

The ducal government aboliſhed, and twelve palatines appointed.

ALTHOUGH there are ſtrong reaſons for doubting whether the ducal government was aboliſhed on the death of *Viſcimir*, yet the unanimous voice of hiſtory declares, that the nobility were on the point of electing a ſovereign, when the people, harraſſed with the wars carried on by *Viſcimir*, oppreſſed by his victories, and almoſt ruined with his conqueſts, unanimouſly demanded a different form of government, and that they ſhould no longer be made the ſacrifices of ambition and tyranny. It was eaſy for the nobility to conjecture that they ſhould be able to profit by this humour of the people; they pretended however to yield reluctantly to their ſolicitations, and at laſt determined upon a mode of government which brought the whole power into their own hands. Twelve palatines or vaivods were choſen, and the *Poliſh* dominions divided into as many provinces. Theſe vaivods aſſumed a deſpotic authority within their ſeveral juriſdictions, and aggravated the miſery conſequent on their tyranny, by perpetual wars among themſelves, and a ſeries of the moſt deplorable civil diſſentions. The people ſoon perceived that they had only changed one tyrant for a number; and, diſappointed of the liberty which they expected under the vaivods, they were eager to return to the old form of government, held a general aſſembly for this purpoſe; but could for a long time come to no agreement, on account of the oppoſition made by the palatines, and their ſtruggles to be continued in their dignities. The people however determined upon electing a prince; but the choice was attended with a thouſand difficulties. To reſtore order, to repel the invaſions of neighbouring nations, to reconquer the territories wreſted during the late troubles from the *Poliſh* dominions, and re-eſtabliſh the national honour, required a prince of extraordinary talents in the field and the cabinet. Affability and generoſity

The ducal government reſtored.

generoſity were wanted to engage the affections of the people, firmneſs and ſtability of ſentiment to ſuppreſs the machinations and plots of the vaivods, and courage and a martial ſpirit to check the inſults of foreign enemies, and recover all the loſſes which the commonwealth had ſuſtained. So many qualities are ſeldom found united in the ſame perſon. The *Poles* however caſt their eyes on *Gracus* or *Cracus*, whoſe wealth, popularity, and ability had raiſed him to the higheſt pitch of credit among his countrymen. The *Poles* alledge, that he was a native of *Poland*, and one of the twelve vaivods; on the contrary, the *Bohemians* claim him as theirs; and they agree only in deducing his origin from the *Roman Gracchi*, who, according to them, were baniſhed into this country during the monarchical ſtate of the city. We are told by *Mathew* of *Michovia* that he firſt ſignalized himſelf in a dreadful battle with the *Francs*, who had over-run *Pannonia*, and threatened deſtruction to all the northern kingdoms. *Cracus* was ſcarce ſeated on his throne, when he raiſed an army, marched againſt the barbarians, and after one of the moſt obſtinate conflicts recorded in hiſtory, obtained a complete victory, and drove the enemy out of the province. It was with the ſpoils of the *Francs* that he built the city *Cracow*, which he made his own reſidence, and the capital of his dominions. *Cracus* anticipated every wiſh of his happy ſubjects; he was always victorious in war, and conſummately prudent in peace; he framed many admirable laws, was the darling of his people, and the terror of his enemies. Without extending his frontier, he rendered his dominions powerful, merely by dint of good order, unanimity, and harmony, in all the different departments of the government. At laſt, oppreſſed with years, and covered with glory, he expired, or as ſome writers alledge, was aſſaſſinated by a nobleman who aſpired at the ſovereignty. It is remarkable, that *Cracus* ordered his remains to be buried on the ſummit of a high hill in ſight of *Cracow*, that the inhabitants might always have their founder in view, and cheriſh his memory [a] (A). Cracus I.

CRACUS

[a] Mat. de Michov. in Collect. Piſtor. tom. ii. lib. i. cap. v. Dugloss. lib. i. Micral. l. ii.

(A) There are different opinions about the period when this prince flouriſhed. Some will have it, that *Lechus* I. lived about the year 550 of the Chriſtian æra, and *Cracus* towards the beginning of the ſeventh century; while *Dugloſſius* and *Michovia* place the latter four hundred years before the birth of

Cracus II. *CRACUS* left three children, who ſucceeded by regular ſucceſſion to his dominions. The reign of *Cracus*, the eldeſt ſon, was ſhort. He fell a victim to his brother's ambition,

Lechus II. by whoſe hands he periſhed. *Lechs* or *Lechus*, the fratricide, was raiſed to the ſupreme dignity, by the unanimous voice of the people, who were ignorant of the horrid crime he had committed; but Providence did not ſuffer him long to enjoy the fruits of his villainy, nor to hold the reins of government with thoſe hands that were polluted with the blood of his lawful prince and ſovereign. The nature of *Cracus*'s death was diſcovered by an accident; the murderer's own conſcience betrayed him; he was depoſed with all poſſible marks of ignominy, deſerted by ſociety, and ſuffered to periſh with remorſe and grief in want and obſcurity [b].

Vanda. IT is a proof of the attachment of the *Poles* to the memory of the excellent *Cracus*, that upon the depoſition of *Lechus*, they raiſed his ſiſter, and the youngeſt child of *Cracus*, to the higheſt dignity in the commonwealth. This princeſs indeed merited the moſt extraordinary diſtinctions, poſſeſſing, in an eminent degree, all the beauty and ſoftneſs of the female, joined to manly ſenſe and truly maſculine courage. She was prudent, juſt, temperate, and eloquent: her affability ſecured all the hearts which her beauty gained. She reigned with glory, and her people were enjoying all the bleſſings of tranquillity, and a wiſe adminiſtration, when

[b] Michov. ibid, pag. 11.

of *Chriſt*. This is a wide difference; and, in truth, both chronologies appear to be erroneous; for admitting the former opinion, there would be only three reigns, and a ſhort inter-regnum, to fill up a period of near two centuries; and if we embrace the aſſertion of *Dugloſſius*, the chronology will be ſtill more defective, and a chaſm of above a thouſand years unneceſſarily introduced into the *Poliſh* hiſtory. We muſt beſides obſerve, that all that is related of this prince by *Guagnini*, hath ſo much the air of the marvellous, that we cannot give it a place in our text, though it may be proper to mention it in the notes. According to this ſuperſtitious writer, a terrible dragon infeſted the neighbourhood of *Cracow*, and, with his poiſonous breath killed thouſands of the inhabitants. A ſtratagem contrived by *Cracus* rid *Poland* of this monſter. He ordered the hide of an ox to be filled with combuſtibles, upon which the dragon ſeized as a prey, and devouring it greedily, was conſumed by the fire kindled in his bowels (1).

(1) *Guagn. p.* 55. *tom.* i. *apud. Piſtor.*

Rithogar,

Rithogar, a *Teutonic* prince, ſent ambaſſadors to demand her in marriage, and to declare war againſt *Poland* ſhould *Vanda* reject his propoſals. He was in hopes that the terror of his arms would force the princeſs into compliance; but he was miſtaken. *Vanda*, according to ſome hiſtorians, had rendered herſelf incapable of entering upon the nuptial ſtate, by a vow of perpetual virginity. Other writers alledge, that ſhe was too prudent and too ambitious to ſhare her authority with a huſband; while a third hiſtorian is equally poſitive, that her lofty ſpirit would not ſuffer her to think of a barbarian, who had preſumed to addreſs her with menaces. Certain it is, that ſhe prepared for war, aſſembled an army, animated her troops, and in perſon led them againſt the enemy, over whom ſhe obtained a complete victory, without ſtriking a blow. At the head of her army ſhe harangued *Rithogar*'s troops with ſuch irreſiſtible eloquence, that the officers, enchanted with the beauty of her perſon, and the force of her perſuaſion, refuſed to lift their hands againſt ſo amiable a princeſs. Even the ſavage breaſts of the ſoldiers were ſoftened into complacency: they quitted their ranks, and threw down their arms before *Vanda*, whom they worſhipped as a divinity. *Rithogar* himſelf was ſtung with remorſe; and, yielding to the violent impreſſions of deſpair and ſhame, plunged his ſword in his own boſom. Having pardoned the hoſtile army, and diſmiſſed her enemies enraptured with her virtues, ſhe returned in triumph to *Cracow*, to reap with her ſubjects the fruits of that tranquillity which ſhe had now eſtabliſhed by the powerful influence of her wit and beauty. *Mathew* of *Michovia* alledges, that, repenting of the vow of virginity ſhe had made, ſhe reſolved to attone for it by the ſacrifice of her life. Others affirm, that ſhe was deeply afflicted at the unfortunate end of *Rithogar*, with the elegance of whoſe perſon ſhe was ſmitten, at the very moment he ſtruck the fatal blow, and that in deſpair ſhe flung herſelf from the bridge into the *Weiſſel*. All agree, that ſhe was drowned in this river; though they differ about the circumſtances which occaſioned this violent death[c]. From this princeſs the ſurrounding country took the name of *Vandalia*, according to *Michovia*; though, if we admit the etymology, ſhe could not have flouriſhed ſo late as the year 750, the period aſſigned by the bulk of hiſtorians.

THE tragical death of the amiable *Vanda*, and the intire extinction of the family of *Cracus*, left the *Poles* a ſecond time

[c] GUAGNINI res Polon. p. 56. Michov. ibid. HERBURT de Fulſtin. p. 12.

at

at liberty to enjoy the ſweets of freedom, had they underſtood how to profit by the opportunity. They had already experienced the conſequences of divided power, and electing a number of ſovereigns; but they attributed the calamities they felt more to the miſconduct of the perſons, than to the fault of the conſtitution; or, rather, they became the dupes of the ſuperior policy of the ambitious nobility. They determined, as before, upon an ariſtocratical form of government, choſe twelve vaivods, divided the ſtate into as many provinces, and had, as before, cauſe given them in a ſhort time of repenting that inſtability of diſpoſition which induced them to prefer a worſe mode of government, only becauſe it was more novel. The vaivods abuſed their power: *Poland* became the theatre of bloody wars, and a ſcene of the moſt grievous oppreſſion. Equally expoſed to external enemies and internal factions, deſtitute of leaders, of troops, and of conduct, the *Poles* had almoſt fallen the victims of their own imprudence, when *Premiſlaus*, a private ſoldier, delivered them from all their misfortunes, and was raiſed to the ſupreme dignity, in reward of his extraordinary ſervices. *Poland* was at war with the *Hungarians* and *Meravians*, whoſe numerous forces were oppoſed by a handful of men, who, on the enemy's approach, were ready to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Premiſlaus*, whom ſome call *Leſkzo*, a goldſmith by trade, reſolved to ſupply the want of numbers by addreſs and ſtratagem. This hero, whom a natural intrepidity of mind, and fertility of genius, joined to long experience, had formed for the ſaviour of his country, obſerving that the *Hungarians* were wrapped in ſecurity; that they preſerved no diſcipline, but lived careleſs, as if they had already been conquerors, aſſembled his friends, repreſented the calamities of his country, the neceſſity of ſome extraordinary exertion of valour, and the facility of gaining a complete victory, if they would take the reſolution to attack the enemy unprepared. To make his corps appear more numerous, he contrived helmets and breaſt-plates of the bark of trees, which he daubed over with ſome glittering paint, and fixed upon poles in ſuch a manner, that the eaſtern ſun ſhould reflect upon them. Then dividing his band, he attacked the enemy about dawn, in ſeveral quarters, with the utmoſt impetuoſity. The alarm immediately ſpread through the camp, that a numerous army was advancing: all was in confuſion; fear deprived the *Hungarians* of the means of defence; they were totally defeated, prodigious ſlaughter was made, and victory and the ſovereignty of *Poland* were the rewards conferred on *Premiſlaus* for this ſignal proof of his courage, conduct, and

Twelve vaivods.

Premiſlaus.

A. D. 750.

and patriotiſm (A). He was no ſooner raiſed to the ſupreme authority, than he ſtudiouſly cultivated the arts of peace, and the means of rendering his people happy: the reputation of his warlike genius preſerved them unmoleſted by foreign enemies; but with reſpect to the duration of his government, and the manner of his death, hiſtory is ſilent. We only know, that he died deeply regretted, and without iſſue; by which *Poland* once more became a ſcene of confuſion; fortune, however, prepared a ſucceſſor[a].

SEVERAL lords, of nearly equal merit, influence, and power, aſpired at the ſovereignty; and with their factions and contentions threatened the nation with a civil war. To prevent the calamitous effects of a ſcene of domeſtic diſcord, the *Poles* aſſembled, and unanimouſly declared they ſhould acknowledge him for their prince who ſurpaſſed all the reſt in the ſwiftneſs of his horſes. Antient hiſtory makes mention of a nation who choſe their king by the neighing of his horſe. The *Poles* determined upon this as the moſt effectual method to prevent fraud; but they were deceived. A ſtone pillar was erected in the neighbourhood of the capital, upon which were laid all the badges of the ducal authority; and at the ſame time a herald declared him ſovereign who ſhould firſt reach the goal from the river *Pruderic*, whence the competitors were to ſtart. A *Poliſh* lord, named *Lechus*, reſolved to ſecure fortune by a ſtratagem; for which purpoſe he ordered iron ſpikes to be driven all over the courſe, reſerving only a path for his own horſe. The fraudulent deſign was accidentally diſcovered by a young man, for whom fortune deſigned her favours; but he did not immediately divulge his diſcovery, in hopes of turning it to his own advantage. The day appointed for the trial arrived, and the competitors ſtarted; but ſome were ſuddenly arreſted in their courſe, as if by the

[a] MAT. de Michov. cap. vii. lib. ii.

(A) The manner of gaining this victory is variouſly related. One writer ſays, that the *Hungarians*, upon ſeeing rows of helmets, miſtook them for the *Poliſh* army, and advanced to give battle: upon which *Premiſlaus* ordered the helmets to be removed, and retired to a thick wood behind; whither he was purſued by the enemy. Here their ſuperiority of numbers could be no advantage to them; they were incapable of extending their flanks, or forming regularly. The *Poles* attacked them on all quarters from concealed places, and obtained an eaſy and complete victory (1).

(1) *Herbert de Fulſtin, p.* 12.

hand

hand of fate; others were diſmounted, and ſeverely hurt by their fall; while *Leacknochus* alone flew like lightning to the goal, and was crowned amidſt the acclamations of the people. Juſt as this ceremony was performing, the peaſant, who had diſcovered the artifice, had the courage to oppoſe the pretenſions of *Lechus*. His boldneſs, and the confidence with which he inſiſted upon the fraud, determined the people to ſuſpend their judgment, and examine the fact, which was found to be really as the peaſant had deſcribed. Reſentment at the inſult offered their underſtanding immediately took place of admiration: they tore *Lechus* to pieces, and raiſed the informer to the ſupreme dignity [a].

A. D. 774. Lechus III.

THE name of this prince too was *Lechus*: he governed with great wiſdom, and the happineſs which the people experienced under his adminiſtration ſoon obliterated the memory of the meanneſs of his birth. *Lechus*, however, never forgot that he was born a peaſant; and, in order to ſecure himſelf from the ſeducing attacks of pride, he cauſed the deſpicable habit he wore, before the *Poles* veſted him with the ducal dignity, to be conſtantly carried before him on all public ceremonies. His humility had the deſired effect: *Lechus* was more eſteemed than if he had procured his elevated ſtation by birth-right. He ſtudied not only the qualities of a pacific prince, but he obtained the reputation of a warrior: he repelled the enemies of the ſtate, and removed the ſeat of war from his own frontier to the heart of their country. The *Bohemians* and *Moravians* felt the weight of his proweſs: he defeated them in ſeveral battles, extended his dominions, and became the terror and admiration of all the neighbouring powers. In a word, *Lechus* was prudent, moderate, brave, liberal, the patron of merit, and the protector of the injured. In the decline of life he was forced into a war, for the defence of his dominions, againſt the encroachments of the enterpriſing emperor *Charlemagne*; and ſome writers relate, that he fell in a battle fought with this powerful monarch. *Mathew of Michovia* is, however, of opinion that he died a natural death, when he was ſo advanced in years that the ſprings of life were intirely decayed [b].

A. D. 803. Lechus IV.

IT is the concurring opinion of hiſtorians, that *Lechus* was ſucceeded by his ſon of the ſame name, and the rival of all his father's virtues. After acquiring great reputation, by the wiſdom and ſpirit with which he cruſhed an inſurrection that appeared in the provinces, he led his army againſt the *Italian*

[a] HERBURT de Fulſtin, p. 13. [b] Id. ibid. GUAGNINI, p. 59.

and

and *Greek* legions, who had over-run *Pannonia*. Here he diſplayed all the talents of a great general, having firſt reduced the enemy to great extremities, gained the advantage of ſituation, and then forced them to a battle upon unequal terms, in conſequence of which they were totally defeated. Nor was the clemency of the victorious *Lechus* leſs glorious than his valour. He diſmiſſed all his priſoners without ranſom, demanding no other condition than their promiſe never again to diſturb the peace of his people, or of the allies of *Poland*. Incontinence is the only vice with which this great prince is charged. He left about twenty natural ſons, and but one legitimate child, who inherited his dominions. It was perhaps the moſt impolitic act, during the whole reign of *Lechus*, that he inveſted his natural ſons with the ſovereignty of divers provinces, upon the ſole condition of paying homage to their brother. This was laying the foundation of perpetual contentions, and can only be excuſed by paternal affection. Similar errors had almoſt occaſioned the ruin both of *Denmark* and *Sweden* [d].

LECHUS was ſucceeded by his only legitimate ſon *Pomilius*, *Popiel*, or *Offerich*; by all which names we find him mentioned by hiſtorians. *Popiel* was a moderate, wiſe, and pacific prince, who never had recourſe to arms, but from neceſſity, either to ſupport the honour of the nation, or to defend his frontiers againſt the attacks of ambitious enterpriſing neighbours. He transferred the ſeat of government from *Cracow* to *Gneſna*, and from thence to *Cruſwitz*, a city which he had newly founded, confining himſelf intirely to the interior adminiſtration of the kingdom, preſerving order, diſtributing juſtice, promoting induſtry, rewarding merit, and ſecuring that repoſe to which he was naturally inclined [e]. Popiel I.

THIS excellent prince was ſucceeded by his ſon *Popiel*, a minor. While *Poland* was governed by a regency, the people were ſcarce ſenſible of the loſs of their gracious monarch: the guardians of the young prince cloſely purſued the maxims of the ſage *Popiel*, and their adminiſtration was fruitful of numberleſs bleſſings to *Poland*; but as ſoon as young *Popiel* was of age to take into his own direction the helm of ſtate, he removed his uncles from the government, treated them with the utmoſt contempt, baniſhed them the court, and ſuffered a diſpoſition naturally bad to be ſeduced into worſe meaſures by the artful inſinuations of an ambitious deſigning woman, to whom he was unfortunately married. This lady, Popiel II.

[d] Hiſt. Bohem. cap. xi. lib. ii.

[e] MAT. de Michov. cap. xi.

not

not ſatisfied with removing the faithful uncles from the court and adminiſtration, repreſented to the credulous *Popiel*, that they had formed a deſign upon his life, and projected the means of getting the reins of government into their own hands. "Will you ſuffer them, ſays ſhe, to ſupplant you in "the affections of the people; and while theſe ſteps are continually approaching your throne, will you take no meaſures to diſappoint their unnatural ambition? To what "purpoſe is their popularity, which they ſo aſſiduouſly cultivate, but to deprive you of your authority? Even their "ſervices are calculated to this effect; and, under the pretence of promoting your intereſt, they are laying a ſolid "foundation of glory to themſelves, that will one day prove "your ruin. Should their views upon your perſon be baffled, "you ought to tremble for your children; and prudence dictates, that you ought to ſacrifice to the ſafety of your family "a knot of daring, ambitious, and cunning men, who ſeize "every opportunity of rendering you odious to your people, "by making compariſons between your conduct and their "own adminiſtration." The weak and voluptuous *Popiel* could not reſiſt inſinuations enforced with all the blandiſhments of feigned love and artful beauty. He fell into the ſnare laid by his ambitious wife; and the more eaſily gave credit to her ſuggeſtions, that his uncles had juſt remonſtrated to him upon his miſtaken meaſures, and unmanly conduct. Determined on revenge, *Popiel* put on the hypocrite, pretended indiſpoſition, kept his bed, and aſſembled his uncles, under the pretext of wanting their advice in the preſent critical conjuncture. "Should it pleaſe the gods to cut him off "in the bloom of years, his people, he ſaid, would be left "without a head, and oppreſſed with all the miſeries conſequent on a long minority. They had already exhibited "proofs of their wiſdom and integrity; they ſtood high in "the opinion of the people; and he ſhould eſteem himſelf "happy if they would take charge of his infant ſon, and govern the nation with the ſame maſterly conduct they had "ſhewn during his own minority." In a word, the falſe *Popiel* acted his part with ſo much addreſs, that his uncles, entertaining no ſuſpicion of his deſign, promiſed all he required; and at parting drank off a cup of poiſon, which he ordered to be adminiſtered. The uncles died under the moſt excruciating torments, and the cruel *Popiel* extended his inhumanity beyond death itſelf. Under pretence that he had only anticipated the deſigns of his uncles, extinguiſhed a formidable conſpiracy, and catched them in the ſnares laid for him, he prohibited the laſt honours to be paid to their remains.

mains. Some writers alledge, that *Popiel* propagated a report, that the terrible death of his uncles was a juſt judgment inflicted on them by the gods, for the treacherous projects they had ſet on foot againſt him and his children. To grant them the uſual honours paid to the dead would, he ſaid, be oppoſing the will of heaven. Accordingly the bodies were left expoſed to the open air; but the diſfigured remains ſoon produced the avengers of the crimes of this brutal prince. All hiſtorians agree, that a ſwarm of rats iſſued from the putrid carcaſes, purſued *Popiel*, his wife, and children, wherever they went, through fire, water, and the ſtrongeſt barriers. Nothing was capable of ſkreening the murderers from their vengeance. Firſt the children, next the wife, and at laſt *Popiel* himſelf, became the victims of the reſentment of theſe animals: they were inſtantly devoured, and their memory conſigned to infamy (A). Nor was the anger of the gods appeaſed with the puniſhment of the guilty *Popiel* and his family: their thunder was poured down on the heads of his innocent people. *Poland*, deſtitute of a chief, ſoon became the ſcene of diſcord and blood. Contending intereſts produced a civil war, in which rapine, murder, and devaſtation, with every other act of the moſt cruel oppreſſion, were committed with impunity. All the nobility ſtrove for ſuperiority: different factions daily reared their heads, and the weakeſt became a prey to the more powerful. The enemies of the nation cheriſhed thoſe diviſions, and converted them to their own advantage. They aſſiſted the weakeſt, with a view of ſacrificing all; and held the ballance ſo long equal, that both parties were exhauſted; upon which they appeared in the field, and openly avowed their deſigns. Happily, however, this apparent misfortune proved the greateſt bleſſing to *Poland*. It not only carried with it its own remedy, but proved an effectual cure to all the other diſorders which had reduced the ſtate to the verge of deſtruction. The nobility, ſtruck with the impending ruin, united for their mutual defence. A regard to the general welfare extinguiſhed every ſpark of particular animoſity. They had no other alternative than either becoming the ſlaves of a perfidious enemy, or ſuddenly dropping their ambitious purpoſes, and joining in the election of a prince, whoſe courage, prudence, and popularity, ſhould be

Extinction of the firſt claſs of princes.

Civil wars in Poland.

(A) Notwithſtanding the concurring teſtimony of all writers, this tragical ſtory ſavours ſo much of fable, that we ſhould have omitted it, were it not that we propoſed ſhewing how ſuperſtition, ignorance, and hypocriſy diſfigured the earlier annals of all nations.

able

able to ſtem the torrent of misfortune, and aſſociate thoſe independent chiefs in the general defence of the ſtate. Before we proceed to the particulars of this election we ſhall cloſe the ſection; as with *Popiel* ended the firſt claſs of the dukes of *Poland*, according to the general diviſion of preceding hiſtorians [a].

[a] MAT. de Michov. cap xi. lib. ii. HERBURT de Fulſtin, lib. i. p. 14. FLOR. Poloń. cap. xli. p. 22.

SECT. III.

Containing the Hiſtory of the ſecond Claſs of the Sovereigns of Poland, *concluding with the Extinction of the Poſterity of* Piaſtus, *in the Perſons of* Caſimir III. *and of* Lewis, *King of* Hungary, *elected King of* Poland.

Second claſs of princes.

A. D. 830.

THE family of *Popiel* being extinct, the nation threatened by powerful foreign enemies, and the nobility jealous of each other, all ambitious of the crown, and now united only from motives of neceſſity, a general aſſembly of the nation was held at *Cruſwitz* for the election of a ſovereign. Great diſputes aroſe; and the multitude of people, together with the long continuance of the ſeſſion, occaſioned ſuch a ſcarcity of proviſion, that even the moſt wealthy nobility were unable to purchaſe ſufficient ſupplies. In this ſituation the aſſembly was relieved from their diſtreſs, and directed in their choice of a prince, by a miracle, if we may credit the ſuperſtitious hiſtorians of thoſe times. The ſtory is variouſly related. *Dugloſſius* alledges, that in the extremity of famine, when the people were dropping dead in the ſtreets with hunger, two angels in human forms came to *Cracow*, and took up their reſidence with one *Piaſtus*, a wheelwright, the ſon of *Coſſiſco*, a citizen of *Cruſwitz*. *Piaſtus* was celebrated for his piety and extenſive charity. He had nothing left but a ſmall caſk of the common liquor of the country, and this he preſented to his new gueſts, who, charmed with his hoſpitality, promiſed him the crown of *Poland*. The faith of *Piaſtus* was equal to his other virtues: he implicitly believed the word of his gueſts, and piouſly followed their directions in every particular. He was ordered to diſtribute the liquor out of his little caſk to the multitude: he did ſo, and found that it was inexhauſtible. The people were aſtoniſhed; all cried out a miracle,

Piaſtus *raiſed to the ducal dignity.*

miracle, and the electors determined to chuſe a perſon in whoſe favour heaven had ſo viſibly declared: *Piaſtus* was accordingly taken from his ſhop, and raiſed to the ducal dignity [a].

SUCH is the relation of the canon of *Cracow*, which differs in many particulars from the account given by *Guagnini* [b], and ſeveral other hiſtorians. According to them, *Piaſtus* had prepared a ſmall collation, to entertain ſome friends aſſembled at the birth of a child. Two pilgrims, *Paul* and *John*, afterwards murdered at *Rome*, came about this time to *Cracow*. They begged charity at the door of the election-hall, and were rudely repulſed; upon which they ſtumbled on the houſe of *Piaſtus*, and were kindly received. The miracle we have mentioned was wrought by them; and the two pilgrims, and not angels, were the inſtruments of the elevation of the hoſpitable wheelwright. Though we pay but little regard to the marvellous means by which *Piaſtus* aſcended the ducal throne of *Poland*, it would be preſumptuous intirely to omit a fact atteſted by all the writers upon this ſubject: we have therefore given it a place in our hiſtory, and leave the reſt to the reader's judgment.

PIASTUS, being now raiſed to the ſupreme dignity, was not intoxicated with his proſperity. The ſame charity, benevolence, and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition remained: nothing was altered but his power of doing good. He was truly called the father of his people. The injured never returned unredreſſed, nor merit unrewarded. *Piaſtus* wiped the tear from the eyes of the widow; and was himſelf the guardian of the orphan, and the general patron of the poor and diſtreſſed. His excellent inclinations ſerved him in the room of great abilities, and the happineſs that his people enjoyed made them forget that their prince was not born a ſtateſman and a warrior. Several inteſtine commotions aroſe during his adminiſtration, all which he quelled by the mildneſs and clemency of his nature: his nobility were aſhamed of rebelling againſt a ſovereign who devoted his whole life to render his people happy. He removed the court from *Cruſwitz*, a city which he deteſted, becauſe it was the ſcene of *Popiel*'s crimes and tragical end, and fixed his reſidence at *Gneſna*, where he died, beloved, eſteemed, and even adored by his ſubjects [c] (A).

PIAS-

[a] DUGLOSS. lib. i. [b] GUAG. p. 64. HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii. MAT. de Michov. cap. xii. lib. ii. [c] Id. ibid.

(A) It is in memory of the natives of *Poland*, who this excellent prince, that all have been ſince promoted to

A. D. 861. Ziemovitus.

PIASTUS had, some years before his death, associated his son *Ziemovitus* with him in the government, on account of his age and infirmities. By this means the young prince was early initiated in the mysteries of the cabinet. His heart was formed by the admirable example and the wholesome instructions of his father, while his understanding was improved and his capacity enlarged by business and experience. The people reaped the fruits of this happy education. *Ziemovitus* no sooner ascended the throne, and took upon himself the intire management of public affairs, than *Poland* experienced a vast accession of importance. The nation was happy in the late reign; now it was formidable. The prince maintained a respectable army, and took great pains to acquire a perfect knowledge of the art of war. He was the first who introduced any kind of discipline among the *Polish* troops, who divided them into distinct regiments and companies, and established degrees of subordination among the officers. It was the eager desire of *Ziemovitus* to distinguish himself, as a war was kindled between the republic and the *Hungarians*, *Moravians*, and other nations of the *German* continent. In all his battles he was victorious; and he gained not only what had been lost during the civil wars subsequent to *Popiel*'s death, but considerably extended his dominions. Upon the whole, he was the greatest prince who had ever filled the ducal throne; magnanimous, warlike, wise, and just: he died at *Gnesna* the darling of his subjects, the terror of his enemies, and the admiration of mankind[a].

Lechus V.

THOUGH the ducal dignity was almost invariably continued in the same family, yet the people claimed the right of election. Accordingly, on the death of *Ziemovitus*, they assembled at *Cracow* to appoint a successor; and their choice was unanimous in favour of the son of the late glorious prince. *Lechus* was a minor when he was raised to the supreme authority, and this obliged the diet to appoint a regency. When he was of age to take upon himself the government, he closely imitated the example of his grandfather; was just, pacific, and pious, like him; and died as much the idol of his subjects as the beneficent *Piastus*, after a reign of twenty-one years, undisturbed by a single accident.

[a] DUBRAV. lib. v.

the ducal or regal dignity, tradistinction to the foreign- were called *Piastes*, in con- ers (1).

(1) *Vide Hartnoch, lib.* i. *cap.* ii. *Connor, tom.* i. *lett.* ii. *p.* 23. *Mat. de Michov. cap.* xii. *lib.* ii. *p.* 15. *apud Pistor.*

OUT

OUT of respect to the memory of *Lechus*, and from motives of justice to the merit of his son, the people raised *Ziemomislaus* to the ducal dignity. His disposition was mild and gentle, and, like his father, he studiously cultivated peace; but without incurring the imputation either of timidity or indolence. A certain dignity in his manner, a firmness of mind, and boldness of expression, when occasion required, convinced all men that his love of peace proceeded from an attention to the interest of his subjects, rather than from any deficiency in point of courage. He died in the year 964, was buried at *Gnesna*, and succeeded without opposition by his son *Mieczslaus*, surnamed the *Eye of Christianity* [a]. Ziemomislaus.

THIS prince was born blind, and restored to sight in a manner deemed miraculous at that time; whence the magi and sages of *Poland* predicted, that some extraordinary events would occur in his reign. It was indeed a little extraordinary that he should gain his sight at the age of seven years, without the assistance of art; nor need we be surprised that such a circumstance, however natural it might be, should, in that age of superstition, be construed into a miracle. About this period several of the northern nations began to embrace the doctrines of Christianity. *Bohemia*, and all the adjacent states, had in particular abjured idolatry; and *Poland* was on the point of being received into the bosom of the church. There are a variety of accounts of the manner in which this happy conversion was effected. The most probable is, that *Mieczslaus* having, by ambassadors, made his addresses to the princess *Dabrowka*, daughter of the duke of *Bohemia*, the lady rejected his hand, unless he would first consent to be baptized. The duke's passion was strong: he determined, at all events, to obtain the princess, accepted her conditions, was instructed in the principles of her religion, and then declared himself a Christian; upon which the nuptials were celebrated [b]. *Mathew of Michovia* relates, that *Mieczslaus* had seven wives, previous to the offer of marriage which he made to the princess of *Bohemia*; but having no children, he was told, by some itinerant sages, he could never expect issue until he divorced all his pagan wives, and married a christian princess. This determined him to the alliance with the court of *Bohemia*. The same writer alledges, that he was voluptuous and indolent on his first accession, devoting his whole time to women, and paying little regard to the affairs of government; but that, after his conversion, he became a true apostle, propagated the Mieczslaus I.

[a] DUBRAV. lib. v. HARTN. lib. i. cap. ii. [b] CROMER, lib. iii. p. 44.

gospel by his own preaching, broke down the idols of superstition with his own hands, and confirmed, by his practice, the truth and divine origin of the doctrines which he recommended. He founded the archbishoprics of *Gnesna* and *Cracow*; and appointed St. *Adalbert*, sent by the pontiff to propagate Christianity in *Poland*, primate of the whole republic. On the birth of his son *Boleslaus* he redoubled his zeal, founded new bishoprics, and several monasteries; ordering likewise, that, when any part of the gospel was read, the hearers should half draw their swords, in testimony of their zeal to defend the truths of Christianity. In truth, *Mieczslaus* was too superstitious a Christian to execute all the duties of a sovereign. He spent his whole time among the clergy, and suffered his dominions to be torn from him by his barbarous neighbour the duke of *Russia*. If he has been transmitted to posterity as a prince of great virtues, we may attribute a character which he did not merit to his extraordinary liberality to a set of men, who measured the piety of princes by their donations to the church, and estimated merit by the number of convents founded. With all his complaisance for the clergy, he could not obtain the regal dignity from pope *Benedict* VII. though he had warmly solicited that honour; but it was afterwards conferred on his son, who succeeded to all his dominions [a].

BOLESLAUS I.

A. D. 999. *BOLESLAUS*, surnamed *Chrobry*, was of a character very opposite to his father's. He professed and cherished Christianity; but he did not commence preacher and apostle. His valour was unquestioned as his faith: nothing was too arduous for the courage of *Boleslaus*, and the severest toils of war constituted his greatest pleasure. The first transaction of his reign, however, was in that strain of piety which formed the religion of his times. He removed the remains of a saint from *Prague* to *Gnesna*, which he had purchased at a considerable price. The emperor *Otho* III. made a pilgrimage, on account of a vow, to the tomb of this saint. He was hospitably received by *Boleslaus*, whom, in return, he vested with the badges of royalty; an act that was confirmed by the pontiff. His new dignity added nothing to the power of *Boleslaus*; but it increased his consequence with his own subjects. The vulgar are always attracted by appearances. The king affected more state than usual: his body guard was considerably augmented, and he was constantly attended by a numerous and

Boleslaus Chrobry I. *raised to the regal dignity.*

[a] Mat. de Michov. lib. ii. cap. iv.

splendid

ſplendid retinue, whenever he ſtirred out of his palace. *Boleſlaus* was a politician; he had his deſigns in this, and they produced the expected effect. Hitherto the *Poles* had ſcarce maintained any wars with the *Ruſſians*, except in their own defence: they had been frequently victorious; but they knew and dreaded the power of that vaſt and barbarous people. The king was deſirous of inſpiring them with a high opinion of their own importance; and he perhaps could not take a more effectual method than dazzling their eyes with the ſplendor of a court. As ſoon as he had ſufficiently prepared their minds, and levied an army, he was meditating an attack on *Muſcovy*, when ſome diſturbances on the ſide of *Bohemia* diverted his intentions.

THE duke of *Bohemia* ſaw with jealouſy the elevation of *Boleſlaus* to the regal dignity, and his alliance with the imperial family by marrying *Rixa*, niece to the emperor. He regarded thoſe marks of diſtinction paid to his rival as affronts to himſelf: it ſeems he had demanded the badges of royalty, and was refuſed. Filled with reſentment, he entered *Poland* at the head of a numerous army, without ſo much as declaring his reaſons for ſo extraordinary a proceeding, and marked his way with blood and deſolation. The king flew to the defence of his dominions, and the *Bohemians* retired at his approach with the utmoſt precipitation. Scarcity of proviſion, and the inclemency of the ſeaſon, prevented *Boleſlaus* from purſuing; but as ſoon as circumſtances altered, he marched at the head of a well appointed army into the enemy's country, with a full reſolution of taking ample revenge. He endeavoured, by every poſſible ſtratagem, to draw the duke to a battle; but neither the ravages committed by the *Poliſh* army, nor the deſtruction of their cities, could inſpire the *Bohemians* with ſufficient courage. *Boleſlaus* laid ſiege to *Prague*, and the inhabitants made an obſtinate defence; but were forced to ſurrender their city to be pillaged, after they had for two years withſtood all the king's efforts. The reduction of *Prague* was a ſignal to the leſſer cities to yield to the victorious arms of *Boleſlaus*; but though he was in poſſeſſion of almoſt all *Bohemia*, the king could not believe his conqueſts complete, until he made himſelf maſter of the duke's perſon. This unfortunate prince had ſhut himſelf up, with his ſon *Jaremir*, and a numerous garriſon, in his only remaining fortreſs of *Wiſſogrod*, where he imagined he ſhould be able to foil all the attempts of *Boleſlaus*. The event ſhewed he was miſtaken: the *Poliſh* monarch inveſted the place, and advanced his approaches with ſuch rapidity, that the garriſon, apprehending a general aſſault, refuſed to ſtand the conſe-

His military exploits.

quences. The duke uſed promiſes, prayers, and arguments, to keep them in their duty; but the terror of *Boleſlaus* made a deeper impreſſion than all his rhetoric. The garriſon capitulated, the duke and his ſon ſurrendered priſoners, and *Boleſlaus* ſtained his victory by his cruelty. It is reported, that he put out the eyes of the old duke, and ſent his ſon into perpetual and cloſe confinement[a]. *Moravia* followed the fate of *Bohemia:* this province acknowledged the power of *Boleſlaus* the moment he appeared on the frontier, and his clemency confirmed to him the acquiſitions of his valour. All his conduct breathed nothing but the moſt conſummate prudence and humanity, his behaviour to the duke alone excepted.

He conquers Bohemia *and* Moravia.

THE king's ſucceſs in *Bohemia* and *Moravia* rendered him the more eager for conqueſt. He now thirſted after the reputation of a warrior, and burnt with a deſire of raiſing *Poland* above all the powers of the North. Filled with this notion, *Boleſlaus* reſumed the intention of attacking *Ruſſia*, and a fairer opportunity could not offer, as that country was divided into factions, and cruelly oppreſſed by a civil war, which had raged with violence among the children of duke *Volodomir*. Paternal affection had induced that prince to make an equal partition of his dominions among his ſons: the elder reſented the injury done to his birthright: he took up arms againſt the father, gained ſome advantages, and broke the heart of his aged parent. *Jariſlaus*, for that was the name of the young prince, was afterwards defeated by his brother; but recruiting his army, he gave battle a ſecond time, and by a ſtratagem obtained ſo complete a victory as obliged the vanquiſhed *Suantepolk* to ſeek refuge in *Poland*. Here he exerted all his addreſs and eloquence to perſuade *Boleſlaus* to undertake an expedition for which he had before prepared. The pretext, however, was now more plauſible than before: it was given out, that the king had no other object in view than reinſtating in his dominions a prince who had claimed his protection. A numerous army was levied, the king moved towards the frontiers of *Ruſſia*, and ſoon penetrated to the very heart of that vaſt country. At laſt he found his career ſtopped by the river *Bog*, on the oppoſite banks of which prince *Jariſlaus* was encamped with a prodigious army. For ſeveral days, aſſiſted by the rapidity of the river, he kept the *Poles* at bay: divers attempts were made to croſs; but they were all baffled by the activity of the *Muſcovite*, and the difficulty of the enterprize. *Boleſlaus* grew impatient, and reſolved

Attacks Ruſſia.

[a] MAT. de Michov. lib. ii. cap. v. apud Piſtor. p. 23.

to hazard all, rather than be checked in the midſt of conqueſt. Summoning up all his ſkill and intrepidity, he formed his cavalry in the beſt manner for breaking the ſtream, and expoſed his own perſon to the utmoſt violence of the torrent. Fired by his example, the *Poles* imitated his conduct, and advanced breaſt-high in water to the oppoſite ſhore, from whence the enemy gave them all the annoyance in their power. The *Poles* at laſt gained the bank, and ſoon obtained a complete victory, obliging *Jariſlaus* to retire to *Kiovia*. This city was immediately inveſted; but the *Ruſſian* prince was too expert a general to ſuffer himſelf to be cooped up within walls: he retired farther into the country to recruit his army, while *Boleſlaus* continued the ſiege, and at length compelled the half-famiſhed garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion. Here the immenſe treaſures which had for years been collecting by the dukes of *Ruſſia* became the reward of *Poliſh* valour. The king ſeized the booty, and diſtributed great part of it among his ſoldiers.

He ſubdues all his enemies.

THOUGH *Boleſlaus* was now in poſſeſſion of the greater part of *Ruſſia*, he was ſenſible of the difficulty of retaining the conqueſt, except by placing a natural ſovereign over the inhabitants. This conſideration it was that induced him to reinſtate the fugitive *Suantepolk*. His pretenſions, however, were ſtill diſputed by *Jariſlaus:* he had formed a flying camp, and meditated a project of ſurpriſing and carrying off his rival brother; but this ſcheme being defeated by the vigilance of the *Poliſh* monarch, the unfortunate *Muſcovite* retired to *Novogrod*, where the attachment of the inhabitants enabled him to make ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, until he was again attacked and defeated by *Boleſlaus* [a].

SUANTEPOLK had no ſooner attained to the height of his ambition than he forgot his obligations to the *Poliſh* monarch, and repaid all his ſervices with the moſt perfidious ingratitude. He conſidered himſelf as a kind of dependent on *Boleſlaus*, and therefore reſolved by any means to get rid of a prince, the luſtre of whoſe glory intirely obſcured his own grandeur. He regarded the king as his greateſt enemy, for no other reaſon than becauſe he could not repay his favours; and he ſet on foot a conſpiracy for maſſacring him and his whole army. The execution of this barbarous project was already begun when intelligence came to the king, who mounted his horſe, aſſembled part of his army, and marched againſt the inſidious enemy. His approach intimidated *Suantepolk*, who wanted ſufficient reſolution to ſupport ſo horrid a crime; he

[a] HERBURT de Fulſtin, lib. i. cap. iii. CONN. lib. iii. p. 49.

placed his ſafety in flight; *Boleſlaus* entered *Kiovia* a ſecond time, which he delivered up to be pillaged; after which he led back his army to *Poland*, loaded with glory and the ſpoils of all *Ruſſia Nigra*.

The Ruſſians *revolt, and are defeated.*

BOLESLAUS had no intention of retaining *Ruſſia* as a conqueſt; but he imagined himſelf perfectly ſecure from any attacks in his retreat, having, as he ſuppoſed, given a deciſive blow to the power of the two brothers. The active *Jariſlaus* had however aſſembled freſh forces, and come up with the king on the *Boriſthenes*, juſt as half his army had croſſed the river. Prudence and valour were equally neceſſary to keep up the ſpirit of his own troops, and to reſiſt the enemy: both were exerted in an extraordinary manner on this occaſion. The king drew out his remaining forces, animated the officers and ſoldiers by a ſhort ſpirited harangue, placed himſelf at the head of a choſen battalion, begun the attack, performed prodigies of valour, and bore down all before him; but the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, and the intrepidity of *Jariſlaus*, kept the victory long in ſuſpence. The battle raged for ſeveral hours, and both princes broke and diſcomfited the enemy wherever they appeared. Each ſide fluctuated between hope and fear, when at laſt part of the *Poliſh* army repaſſed the river, attacked the enemy in flank with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, puſhed on to the center, and intirely broke, routed, and diſperſed the whole *Ruſſian* army. A dreadful carnage enſued: the numbers reported to have been ſlain in the purſuit are incredible; and *Jariſlaus*, in the hurry of flight, was obliged ingloriouſly to quit the enſigns of his dignity. The victory was complete, but it was not deciſive. The vaſt extent of the *Ruſſian* dominions furniſhed the vanquiſhed *Jariſlaus* with freſh reſources, and the ſpirit of that prince ſeemed to riſe with his misfortunes. Other concerns, however, called upon the attention of *Boleſlaus*, who withdrew his army, and ſuffered the brothers to exhauſt themſelves, and ruin their dominions by bloody civil wars. It is not impoſſible that prudence dictated this retreat: the king had ſufficiently experienced the valour, activity, ſtrength, and perſeverance of his enemy, to know that *Ruſſia* would not be an eaſy conqueſt. One defeat would have blighted all the laurels he had collected with ſo much toil and bloodſhed: he therefore determined to relinquiſh the enterprize, for another as glorious, and leſs hazardous. It was this, and the deſire of continuing his troops in the habit of victory, that drew the *Poliſh* army into *Saxony*. The inhabitants of this country had reſiſted all attempts on their freedom, and they now ſtruggled hard for liberty; but were at laſt forced to acknowledge the

the sovereignty of the *Polish* monarch, and receive the laws dictated by *Boleslaus*. After a variety of unfortunate battles and skirmishes, the brave *Saxons* were forced to retire into an impenetrable wood, leaving the country to be desolated by the conquerors. Here they defended themselves against all the efforts of *Boleslaus*; but were, in the end, compelled by famine to quit their retreat, yield to their fate, and bow their necks to the yoke. But it was only during his short residence in *Saxony* that *Boleslaus* exerted the prerogatives of sovereignty. On withdrawing his army, he left the people to their liberty, and contented himself with a rich booty, and fixing the boundaries of his dominions on the banks of the *Elbe*, where he erected two iron columns, which likewise answered the purpose of transmitting the memory of his conquests to posterity. Boleslaus conquers Saxony, Pomerania, and Prussia.

When the king had brought the *Saxon* war to this happy issue, he meditated the reduction of *Prussia* and *Pomerania*, the latter of which provinces had in the former civil wars been dismembered from *Poland*. It had been given by *Lechus IV.* to his natural sons, as a fief of the ducal crown of *Poland*; but these petty princes taking advantage of the distracted state of the republic, after the death of *Popiel*, threw off their allegiance, and claimed an independency, which they maintained until *Boleslaus* forced them again to obedience. Besides the recovery of this province, the king had another motive for undertaking the war. Idleness would enervate the courage of his soldiers, and the mere want of employment give birth to cabals, revolts, and conspiracies among their leaders. It was necessary to keep them in action to make sure of their loyalty; for which purpose *Boleslaus* once more assembled his army, and put himself in motion towards the frontiers of *Pomerania*. The very terror of the conqueror's name effected all the purposes of an army: he had no occasion to strike a single blow; the princes acknowledged his sovereignty, and received his conditions, the moment he appeared. Nor did *Prussia* make more resistance: the people equally feared and admired the *Polish* monarch, and willingly entered into the subjection of a prince whose reputation was sufficient to protect them against all their enemies.

It was now full time to sheath the sword; the character of *Boleslaus* could not be raised higher by conquest; and to fill the measure of his glory, nothing was wanting besides a display of his pacific talents. It was now his care to enjoy with his people the fruits of so many victories, and to render them happy as he had made them powerful. With this view he gave the closest application to the interior government of the kingdom; he framed excellent laws, and saw

them rigidly executed; but in the midſt of this happy tranquillity a new war was kindled by the reſtleſs *Jariſlaus*, and the venerable king was once more obliged to cover his hoary head with a helmet. Age had indeed enfeebled the arm of this glorious monarch; but he ſtill retained the fire and ardour of youth, tempered by wiſdom and experience. He knew the great abilities and implacable reſentment of *Jariſlaus*; he received intelligence that the moſt numerous army which *Ruſſia* ever aſſembled was ready to enter *Poland*; but he was not intimidated. With admirable compoſure he collected his army, and marched with confidence againſt an enemy triple his number. He came within ſight of *Jariſlaus*, on the banks of the *Boriſthenes*, a river rendered famous by the former defeat of that prince. He reminded his troops of this circumſtance; taught them not to fear, but at the ſame time adviſed them not to deſpiſe their enemy. While the armies lay in ſight, an accident brought on a battle before the princes had determined upon their meaſures. The *Poles* croſſed the river by ſwimming, and attacked the enemy before they were drawn out in order of battle, with ſuch impetuoſity as ſoon produced a complete victory. A panic had ſeized the *Ruſſians*, and all the endeavours of *Jariſlaus* could not ſtop their flight. He was hurried away by the torrent, and almoſt trampled to death in the tumultuous croud of fugitives. *Boleſlaus* had checked the ardor of his ſoldiers, and put a ſtop to the carnage; but ſeveral thouſand priſoners were taken, and *Jariſlaus* forced to receive the conditions dictated by the conqueror. They proved however extremely moderate; the king contented himſelf with inconſiderable tribute; he diſmiſſed the priſoners without ranſom, after he had engaged their eſteem by his kind uſage: in a word, his well-timed clemency produced a better effect than all his victories; the *Ruſſians* admired his virtues, and voluntarily became his ſubjects. Having thus by prudence and valour extended his dominion with the addition of a vaſt empire, *Boleſlaus* reſigned his laſt breath, with the character of the greateſt monarch of his age, after a glorious reign of twenty-five years. It would be unneceſſary to enter upon a detail of the virtues of this prince, as the whole ſeries of his conduct ſpeaks his panegyric; it is ſufficient that he obtained and juſtly merited the ſurname of *Great*[a]. His mo-

Conquers Ruſſia a ſecond time.

A. D. 1025. *His death and character.*

[a] HARTNOCH, lib. i. p. 74. MAT. MICHOV. apud Piſtor. lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 24. HERB. de Fulſtin. lib. ii. CROMER, lib iii. Hiſt. Bohem. p. 52. CRANTZ. Annal. lib. ii. cap. xxxvii. DUBRAV. lib. vi.

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deration was not the leaſt of thoſe ſhining virtues which were united in the perſon of *Boleſlaus*; and it redounds more to his honour than all the victories, that he never made the ſmalleſt attempt upon the liberty of his ſubjects. It was his ſaying, that he choſe to be the ſovereign of a free people, and the *Poles* ſhewed their gratitude to his memory by the regard they expreſſed for his family. The aſſembly of the nation met at *Poſnania* immediately upon the death of *Boleſlaus*, and with one voice choſe his ſon to ſucceed to his crown and dominions.

MIECZSLAUS II.

MIECZSLAUS was in the prime of life when he was appointed to direct the helm of government, and the people entertained the higheſt expectations from a prince bred under ſo great a maſter in the art of reigning as their late ſovereign. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when an occaſion offered for the full exertion of his abilities. The death of his father was the ſignal of a general revolt of all the *Poliſh* conqueſts in *Ruſſia*, *Bohemia*, *Pruſſia*, *Moravia*, and *Saxony*. No longer awed by the dread of that hero, they all prepared to attempt the recovery of their liberty, and begun with refuſing payment of the ſhameful tribute impoſed by *Boleſlaus*. The two brothers *Fariſlaus* and *Mieczſlaus*, dukes of *Ruſſia*, were the firſt who took the field with numerous forces; they penetrated into *Poland*, laid all waſte with fire and ſword, reduced and pillaged *Czerwienſko*, overwhelmed the kingdom with conſternation, carried ſome thouſands of the inhabitants into captivity, and threatened the intire deſtruction of *Poland*. The approach however of the *Poliſh* army ſtemmed the torrent. *Mieczſlaus* forced the *Ruſſian* frontier, ſeized the perſons of ſeveral of the chief nobility, and retained them as pledges of the fidelity of all their dependents. This ſpirited meaſure broke the ſcheme of the dukes, and for a time ſuppreſſed, though it did not extinguiſh, the ſparks of a rebellion. Mieczſlaus II.

MATTERS went otherwiſe on the ſide of *Bohemia*. This country continued to pay a tribute to *Poland* from the time it was conquered by *Boleſlaus*. That prince had retained one of the duke's ſons as a hoſtage: he bred the young prince at his court, with all the attention paid to the education of his own children, and when he grew up he diſtinguiſhed him by very particular marks of his regard. *Udalric* was an entire maſter in the art of diſſimulation; and he ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the eſteem of the *Poliſh* monarch, that he was not

not only suffered to return to *Bohemia*, but sent back with a sincere reconciliation, and furnished with the means of supporting his dignity with great splendor. During the life of *Boleslaus* he put on the exterior of the deepest gratitude; but *Poland* was no sooner deprived of her sovereign, than *Udalric* resolved to throw off his dependency, which he effected in a manner equally treacherous and cruel, ordering the *Polish* garrisons to be barbarously massacred, while they were wrapped in profound security. The *Polish* monarch, it was soon perceived, did not possess any of those great qualities which had so eminently distinguished his royal parent. They saw that his indolence, profusion, and debauchery, rendered him contemptible to his natural subjects. The success of the revolt in *Bohemia* kindled the same spirit in *Moravia*, and the flames of war soon diffused themselves into *Prussia*, *Pomerania*, and *Saxony*. So general a commotion would have given full employment to the vast capacity of *Boleslaus*; but it was disregarded by *Miecislaus*, too voluptuous, and too indifferent about national honour, to regard what became of the provinces, provided their defection put no stop to the course of his pleasures. In consequence of his inactivity, the *Polish* garrisons were forced and barbarously massacred or carried into slavery. The governors of these territories assumed the title of sovereignty, disavowed all obedience to *Poland*, and supported their usurpation by the aid of their *German* neighbours, with whom they were connected by commerce and a variety of intermarriages. At last the clamours of the whole *Polish* nation awaked *Miecislaus* out of that insensibility in which he had continued since the *Muscovite* expedition. He was prevailed, from the apprehensions of a rebellion of his natural subjects, to attempt chastising the insolence of the provinces. He levied an army, began his march against the rebels, and was attended by three *Hungarian* princes, who proved the chief instruments of his success. The spirit, discipline, and emulation in glory, excited in the *Polish* troops by *Boleslaus*, was not yet extinguished. They entered *Pomerania*, and soon obliged this province to acknowledge the sovereignty of *Miecislaus*; after which this prince, as if he had fully secured his frontier, completed the reduction of the provinces, and acquired immortal glory, shut himself up in his palace for the remainder of his life, where, devoting himself to his former voluptuous courses, he was seized with a phrenzy that terminated only with his dissolution, in the year 1034[a].

Death of Miecislaus.

[a] Vid. CROMER, MAT. de Michov. HARTNOCH, GUAGN. &c. in locis citat.

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HOWEVER vitious *Mieczſlaus* was in his own diſpoſition, he was not inſenſible of the benefits of a virtuous education. His ſon *Caſimir* was therefore bred up under the moſt learned and prudent perſons of the age, and he is reputed to have been the firſt of the *Poliſh* princes who had acquired a taſte for letters, and made a progreſs in ſcience. His natural diſpoſition was good, his underſtanding excellent, and improved by all that education could impart; yet the contempt in which the people held his father occaſioned his being ſet aſide at the enſuing election. The aſſembly of the ſtates met to fill the vacancy in the throne, and ſome of the nobility propoſed *Caſimir*; but the people fearing he might devote himſelf to the vices of *Mieczſlaus*, ſuſpended his election, without diſqualifying him from wearing the diadem, and put the reins of adminiſtration into the hands of his mother *Rixa*, who was declared regent of the kingdom. Thus endeavouring to avoid one error, they fell into a worſe, and dreading a voluptuous ſovereign, they choſe a tyrannical regent. *Rixa* ſoon exhibited ſpecimens of her arbitrary diſpoſition. The people were overwhelmed with taxes, and freſh exactions raiſed upon frivolous pretences. *Germans* were preferred to all places of truſt and profit, and the adminiſtration was entirely in the hands of foreigners. Theſe compoſed her council, and directed all her meaſures. Many had amaſſed great fortunes in the ſpace of a ſingle year, with which they retired out of the kingdom. The *Poles* complained, and fruitleſs remoſtrances daily beſet the throne. *Rixa* not only refuſed to redreſs their grievances, but treated with contempt thoſe who had the courage to ſtand up in defence of the privileges of the nation. Incenſed at her conduct the *Poles* flew to arms, and broke through thoſe feeble ties which had bound them to their ſovereign. *Rixa* was baniſhed the kingdom; but as if ſhe had foreſeen her fate, ſhe firſt ſent away the immenſe treaſures amaſſed by the victories of *Boleſlaus*, and by means of her wealth laid claim to the emperor's protection.

The kingdom put into the hands of a regency.

THE crimes of *Rixa* drew down the vengeance of the *Poles* upon her innocent ſon; *Caſimir* was driven out of the kingdom, and the people fell into confuſion and anarchy, the deſerved puniſhment of their unjuſt rigour. The conſequent diſorders were innumerable, and almoſt fatal. The kingdom was filled with blood; every man aſpired at the crown; no means were thought too baſe or cruel to gain their purpoſes; the laws were diſregarded; the moſt enormous crimes committed with impunity; all ſubordination ceaſed; the nobility oppreſſed the peaſants, and theſe retaliated

Civil wars.

liated by murdering their maſters; the public roads were impaſſable; barefaced robberies, and the moſt barbarous murders, were daily committed: no aſylum was ſacred from the depredations of numerous bands of deſperate villains, who infeſted every quarter; even the churches were plundered, and the miniſters of *Chriſt* maſſacred by thoſe impious wretches. A foreign war completed the calamities of *Poland*, and rendered the people more miſerable if poſſible. The duke of *Bohemia* ſeized this opportunity to wipe off the diſgrace ſuſtained under *Boleſlaus*; and the young prince *Bretiſlaus*, copying the ingratitude of his father, entered the *Poliſh* frontier, ſeized *Wratiſlaw* and *Poſnan*, and laid thoſe cities with the whole ſurrounding country in aſhes, after having maſſacred or enſlaved the wretched inhabitants. The archiepiſcopal ſee of *Gneſna*, and the fineſt city in *Poland*, ſhared the ſame fortune; it was ſacked and plundered with all the eager avarice of barbarians, and the unhappy citizens were murdered on the ſpot, or reduced to cruel ſervitude. Women of all degrees and ages were defiled, and the altars polluted with the moſt ſavage acts of brutality. In a word, every thing of which the moſt ungovernable rage, luſt, and avarice of an uncivilized nation was capable, was committed at *Gneſna*, and that flouriſhing city brought to the deepeſt abyſs of wretchedneſs.

HOWEVER horrible the ſcene acted by the cruel *Bohemians* might appear, it was nothing to what was tranſacting in another quarter of the kingdom by the incenſed *Jariſlaus*, at the head of a numerous army of *Ruſſians*. It exceeds the power of imagination and language to deſcribe the ravages he committed in the palatinate of *Mazovia*, from which he did not withdraw his troops before he reduced the provinces to a heap of aſhes, burning houſes, woods, corn fields, men, women, and children, without diſcrimination. Theſe calamities at length opened the eyes of the unfortunate *Poles*, and they ſaw clearly the injuſtice of puniſhing the innocent *Caſimir* for the crimes of his cruel mother. His youth had promiſed all they could require in a prince; and why, ſaid they, may he not inherit the virtues of his royal grandfather, as probably as the vices of his father and mother. Misfortune had ſoftened their hearts; they were ſtung with the keeneſt remorſe, and regarded all they had ſuffered as the juſt puniſhment of their iniquitous ſentence paſſed on *Caſimir*. They determined to recal him as the beſt expiation of their crime; but they firſt reſolved to carry their complaints againſt the cruelty of the duke of *Bohemia* to the pontifical throne; an event which laid the foundation of that

vaſt

vaſt power which the ſee of *Rome* hath ever ſince maintained in *Poland*. At this time the popes were in the zenith of their power, exerciſing the moſt deſpotic authority over the conſciences of princes, eſtabliſhing their influence over temporal as well as ſpiritual juriſdictions, aſſuming to themſelves the right of adjudging the differences of ſovereigns; of releaſing ſubjects from their allegiance; of diſpoſing crowns at pleaſure; and of robbing and plundering whole nations, under the pretence of ſecuring the gates of heaven to wicked tyrants. The anathemas of the church of *Rome* were dreaded as the moſt terrible of all calamities; and the pontiffs did not want the art of keeping up the credit of their ſpiritual thunder. The *Poles* thought to profit by their complaiſance to the holy ſee; their preſenting their grievances to the pope was an acknowledgement of his power to redreſs them. Ambaſſadors were accordingly ſent to *Rome*, and a bitter remonſtrance preſented to the pontiff of the cruelties and ſacrileges committed by the duke of *Bohemia*. Their complaints were at firſt favourably heard, the duke and the biſhop of *Prague* were cited to appear before the pope, and their ambaſſadors and agents, apprehenſive of an excommunication, promiſed ample reſtitution and intire compenſation of their loſſes to the *Poles*. Mean time, the influence of gold was tried, and it ſucceeded. Preſents were diſtributed with a judicious liberality, and the holy ſee made to forget exacting the performance of the duke's promiſes. The diſputes about the pontifical throne greatly favoured the general corruption; and *Clement*, *Benedict*, *Sylveſter*, and *Gregory*, were all equally in want and equally rapacious [a].

DISAPPOINTED of revenge in *Bohemia*, harraſſed with foreign and domeſtic wars, and reduced to the moſt piteous ſituation, the nobility again turned their thoughts to ſome expedient for eaſing themſelves from the load of calamity. All acknowledged that a prince was neceſſary for *Poland*; and it was unanimouſly agreed that ſome compenſation of his ſufferings ſhould be made to *Caſimir*, the innocent victim of the people's juſt reſentment againſt his parents. Policy as well as repentance dictated this meaſure, as it was equally dangerous to raiſe one of the nobility to the ſupreme dignity, and to beſtow it on a foreign prince.

CASIMIR I.

THE difficulty was how to make *Caſimir* acquainted with the reſolution of the people. He had been abſent from the kingdom

A. D. 1040. Caſimir I.

[a] Michov. apud Piſtor. t. ii. c. ix. HARTN. l. i. p. 67.

kingdom for the ſpace of five years, and no one was acquainted with the place of his retreat. When he was baniſhed *Poland*, he retired into *France*, applied cloſely to his ſtudies at the univerſity of *Paris*, whence he paſſed to *Italy*, and for the ſake of bread entered into a monaſtery, and took upon him the habit. He afterwards returned to *France*, and obtained ſome preferment in the abbey of *Clugni*. All this was utterly unknown to the *Poles*; they ſent an ambaſſy to the mother of *Caſimir*, to acquaint her with their intention, and procure a direction for the young prince, on obtaining which they repaired with all expedition to *Clugni*: but the ſacred function of *Caſimir* was an inſurmountable obſtruction to his aſcending the throne of his anceſtors, without a diſpenſation from the ſee of *Rome*. Ambaſſadors were for this purpoſe diſpatched to *Benedict* IX. or as ſome writers affirm, to *Clement* II. who, moved with the misfortunes of the kingdom, granted the requeſt of the people, and diſcharged the prince from all his ſacerdotal engagements, on his conſenting jointly with his ſubjects to pay the capitation-tax, called *Peter-pence*; an exorbitant impoſition levied in thoſe days upon almoſt all the nations in *Europe*. The pontiff likewiſe made ſome other conditions of leſs conſequence, perhaps with intention of covering his principal deſign, that of robbing the kingdom; theſe were a promiſe that the *Poles* ſhould ſhave their heads and beards, and wear a white linen ſtole at the chief feſtivals, like all the other profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholic faith. Preparations were made for the magnificent reception of the young prince, who was regarded as the tutelary angel of the ſtate, come to baniſh misfortune, and reſtore plenty, peace, and harmony. He was met on the frontier by the biſhops, nobility, and forces of the nation, who conducted him to *Gneſna*, where he was crowned by the hands of the primate-archbiſhop, with more than uſual ſolemnity. *Caſimir* no ſooner aſcended the throne than he applied his attention to the eſtabliſhment of public order, and enforcing the laws. He attacked with great ſpirit the impudent troops of banditti who infeſted the highways and ſtreets, beſieged and demoliſhed their ſtrong holds, ſeized their chiefs, and puniſhed them capitally. The reſt were pardoned to avoid ſhedding blood unneceſſarily, a few examples of ſeverity being thought ſufficient to reſtore the authority of the government. Now people of all ranks purſued their ſeveral functions unmoleſted; the peaſant returned to cultivate his land; the merchant engaged afreſh in commerce, and the mechanic reaped ſecurely the fruits of his induſtry; the cities were enlarged and repeopled; the laws punctually

punctually executed; civil society was re-established, and the arts and sciences began to be cultivated, where they were before unknown, under the auspices of their royal patron. All cause of contention with *Russia* was cut off by the king's marriage with the princess *Mary*, sister of duke *Jaroslaus*; and thus an alliance was contracted with the bitterest and most formidable enemy of *Poland*. Religion too employed part of the care of the monarch; he had not forgot that he once embraced the sacred function, in commemoration of which he founded the abbey of *Tiniez*, on the *Vistula*. Upon the whole, the kingdom flourished more than under any preceding reign; it was wealthy by industry, and not from the spoils of conquest; it was respectable from the wisdom and stability of the administration, rather than by numerous armies and bloody victories. *Casimir* cultivated peace; but he gave sufficient proofs of the firmness of his mind and his courage in reducing the banditti (A), and establishing the public tranquillity. After a happy reign of sixteen years, he died honoured, beloved, and deeply regretted [b]. *Death of Casimir.*

BOLESLAUS II. *surnamed the* BOLD.

CASIMIR left three sons, the elder of whom was crowned king of *Poland* the day immediately succeeding his father's funeral. A strong party of the nobility were for deferring the coronation, under various pretexts; but *Boleslaus* was espoused by the majority of the people, who determined, out of respect to his father's memory, and in compliance with the solicitations of the queen his mother, immediately to entrust him with the reins of government. The young monarch soon distinguished how well he merited the confidence of his subjects; and his name in a few months became so famous, that all the unfortunate oppressed princes in the neighbouring states of *Poland*, retired to his court as to a sanctuary, where they were sure of protection, and of that pity which misfortune ever excites in generous minds. *Jacimir*, son of *Briteslaus* duke of *Bohemia*, *Bela* brother to the king of *Hungary*, and *Zaslaus* duke of *Kiovia*, eldest son of *Boleslaus* II.

[b] Mat. de Michov. ibid. Herb. de Fulstin, l. iii.

(A) *Casimir* likewise approved his courage in subduing the insolence of one *Maslaus*, who, from a private soldier in the service of the late king, rose by dint of effrontery and the queen's patronage, to the highest offices of the state, at last assumed the title of prince of *Mazovia*, threw off his allegiance to *Poland*, and was conquered by *Casimir*.

Jariſlaus duke of *Ruſſia*, and couſin to the king of *Poland*, all took refuge under his wing, againſt the defection of their ſubjects, or the ambitious deſigns of their relations; they were unfortunate, and that was ſufficient claim to his countenance. It would be digreſſing from our ſubject to recite the diſcontents in their ſeveral countries, which compelled theſe princes into baniſhment; it is ſufficient for our preſent purpoſe to relate the meaſures which *Boleſlaus* took to redreſs their grievances. With reſpect to *Bohemia*, hoſtilities firſt commenced from that quarter. *Boleſlaus* was only revolving in his own mind what he ſhould do to ſerve *Jacomir*, when the duke of *Bohemia*, dreading the conſequences of his brother's eſcape, and irritated at the kindneſs ſhewn him by the king of *Poland*, regarded *Boleſlaus* as his enemy, and determined to anticipate his projects. With this view he aſſembled an army, and, previous to any declaration of war, marched through the *Hercynian* foreſt, deſolated *Sileſia*, and penetrated the frontiers of *Poland*, which he laid waſte with fire and ſword. He did not long continue theſe ravages; *Boleſlaus* marched with a ſlender army to give him battle, and by mere dint of ſuperior capacity, forced the duke to take ſhelter in a wood, where he cooped him up, and reduced his forces to great neceſſity. The duke made propoſals for accommodating the differences, which were rejected with diſdain by *Boleſlaus*; upon which he employed every ſtratagem of war to extricate himſelf from his preſent diſtreſſed ſituation, and ſucceeded. Ordering fires to be kindled in his camp, as if he propoſed continuing there, he retired with the utmoſt ſilence under cover of the night through narrow defiles, and marched ſeveral leagues before *Boleſlaus* received advice of his retreat. The king purſued, but in vain; he was forced to return, after having ravaged the frontiers of *Moravia*. Early in the ſpring he marched with a numerous army into *Bohemia*, determined upon taking ſignal vengeance; but his reſentment was appeaſed by the duke's conceſſions; a negotiation was ſet on foot, which terminated in a treaty of marriage between the duke and the king's ſiſter. *Boleſlaus* however did not withdraw his protection from *Jacomir*; on the contrary, he ſtipulated ſeveral advantages for him in the treaty, and ſaw the articles minutely executed[a].

He wages war with the duke of Bohemia.

HAVING concluded the affair with *Bohemia* to his ſatisfaction, he determined to ſuccour the fugitive *Bela*, brother to the king of *Hungary*. This prince had for ſome time been ſolicited, by a body of the diſaffected nobility, to return to

[a] MAT. de Michov. apud Piſtor. ibid.

that kingdom, and had the ſtrongeſt aſſurances given him that his appearance would occaſion a general inſurrection of the people, who deteſted the tyrannical diſpoſition of his brother; but he waited until *Boleſlaus* had brought the war with *Bohemia* to an iſſue, relying chiefly upon his ſupport. He knew the king's generoſity and compaſſion, which, with his ardor for glory, would eaſily engage him in his intereſt: nor was *Bela* miſtaken in his judgment; the king raiſed an army, and both princes entered *Hungary* by different routes, at the head of ſeparate numerous corps. *Andrew* king of *Hungary* was not diſcouraged or diſconcerted by this formidable invaſion; he was powerfully aſſiſted by the emperor, and commanded a prodigious army. A body of *Bohemians* had likewiſe come to his ſuccour, in direct violation of the late treaty between the duke and *Poland*; but all theſe forces ſerved only to procraſtinate his fate, and render the ſtruggle more bloody. At laſt a deciſive battle was fought, in which the *Germans* performed prodigies of valour, though they were forced to yield to the fortune of the *Poles*, and the treachery of the *Hungarians*, who in the heat of the engagement deſerted their king, and went over to *Bela*. Almoſt all the foreign auxiliaries were ſlain in the field, the king was ſeized in his flight, and treated with ſo much inſolence by his perfidious ſubjects, that he died of chagrin a few days after the battle. This event opened a clear path for *Bela* to aſcend the throne of *Hungary*, where he was ſcarce ſeated before the peaſants revolted, but were ſoon ſubdued by the *Poliſh* army, and the ringleaders put to death, after which *Boleſlaus* returned to his own dominions.

He defeats the Hungarians.

It was now that he turned his thoughts to ſecuring the ſucceſſion of his crown in his own family by marriage; and though he was upon the eve of a war with *Ruſſia*, he eſpouſed a princeſs of that country. The pretext for this rupture was to obtain juſtice to *Zaſlaus* duke of *Kiovia*, who took refuge at his court, and claimed his protection; but the truth was, that *Boleſlaus* had married a *Ruſſian* princeſs only to ſtrengthen his claim to the ducal crown, which he derived from *Mary* queen of *Poland*, ſiſter of duke *Jariſlaus*. Perhaps a deſire of emulating the glory of *Boleſlaus the Great*, and recovering a vaſt extenſive country, loſt by the inactivity of *Mieczſlaus*, his grandfather, ſtimulated him to undertake the arduous conqueſt of *Muſcovy*. His late victories inſpired him with a notion that his arm was invincible; he was in poſſeſſion of money, troops, and every requiſite for the enterprize; and he was ſeconded by a prince of *Ruſſia*, who ſtill retained a powerful influence in that country. At the

head of a numerous well-appointed army he bent his march towards the *Ruſſian* frontier, and was oppoſed by *Wiſſeſlaus*, who had uſurped the dutchy of *Kiovia*, with a prodigious army. The king however continued to advance, and the *Ruſſian* duke, intimidated at the multitude and diſcipline of the *Poliſh* forces, withdrew privately from his army with a ſlender retinue; upon which the *Muſcovites*, deſtitute of a chief, broke up camp tumultuouſly and diſperſed themſelves. The king, ſuſpecting a ſtratagem, advanced in good order to *Kiovia*, with intention of laying ſiege to that important city. On his approach, he found that the inhabitants, deſerted by their prince, had invited his brothers *Suantoſlaus* and *Wſzevold* to their aſſiſtance. Theſe princes however interpoſed as mediators, and procured pardon from *Zaſlaus* for their rebellion; upon which they opened their gates to receive their natural prince and the king of *Poland*. With the ſame facility the two princes recovered all the other dominions uſurped by *Wiſſeſlaus*, the terror of the *Poliſh* arms obliging all the cities to ſubmit, without ſtriking a blow, or making the leaſt ſhew of reſiſtance. *Premiſlaw* alone had the courage to ſtand on its defence. This was reputed the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the North, and the richeſt city in the *Ruſſian* dominions, its wealth being now encreaſed by the vaſt quantities of treaſure lodged in it by the friends of *Wiſſeſlaus*, as in a place of perfect ſecurity. The waters of the river *Sona*, which had now overflowed its banks, and laid the adjacent country under water, rendered all approaches almoſt impracticable, yet the ardor of *Boleſlaus* determined to ſurmount every difficulty. He inveſted the city, and carried on his works with unremitting diligence. The beſieged made vigorous ſallies, in one of which they penetrated to the heart of the king's camp, but were repulſed and driven back within the walls with prodigious ſlaughter; after which *Boleſlaus* ordered the town to be ſtormed in three different quarters. The preparations made for this purpoſe terrified the beſieged, they hung out a flag of truce, entered into a negotiation, and obtained more favourable terms, out of regard to their valour, than in ſuch circumſtances they could expect.

He conquers great part of Ruſſia.

Eſtabliſhes the peace of Hungary.

WHILE the *Poliſh* monarch was in the full career of conqueſt, the revolt in *Hungary*, conſequent on the death of *Bela*, demanded his attention and preſence. To aſſiſt the children of his deceaſed friend, he marched into that kingdom with his army, contrary to the advice of many of his officers: and by the influence of his reputation only eſtabliſhed

bliſhed the public tranquillity, and fixed the young princes in peaceable poſſeſſion of their paternal dominions.

He no ſooner procured repoſe to *Hungary* than he turned back to complete the conqueſt of *Ruſſia*, where, during his abſence, the three brothers were again embroiled, *Zaſlaus* being a ſecond time driven from *Kiovia*. It was neceſſary now to reſume the work afreſh; all the conqueſts he had made the preceding year were loſt, and *Suantoſlaus* and *Wſzevold* were more powerful than ever. The king's vigour however ſoon diſconcerted all their meaſures; he ravaged thoſe territories which now compoſe the palatinates of *Luſac* and *Chelm*, formed the ſiege of *Wolyn*, reduced that ſtrong city, after an obſtinate defence of ſix months, and tranſported all the rich booty to *Poland*. He finiſhed the campaign with giving battle to *Wſzevold*, which proved ſo bloody, that tho' *Boleſlaus* gained the honour of a victory, he was too much weakened to purſue his conqueſts. In the winter he returned to *Poland*, made freſh levies, and returned in the ſpring A. D. with numerous forces to *Ruſſia*. He began his operations 1074. with the ſiege of *Kiovia*, a city which had already coſt *Poland* an immenſe quantity of blood and treaſure. The attack and defence were equally vigorous; deſperate ſallies daily filled the trenches with carnage; but the king had at length effected a breach, and was preparing to ſtorm the town, when he ſuddenly altered his reſolution, on advice that famine began to appear among the beſieged. This induced him to convert the ſiege into a blockade, not doubting but ſo numerous a garriſon would be ſoon forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, without his ſacrificing the lives of multitudes of brave ſoldiers. His conjecture proved right, rich and poor periſhed in crowds with hunger, and at laſt the garriſon ſubmitted upon ſuch conditions as the king thought proper to impoſe. The moderation exerted by *Boleſlaus* on this occaſion redounded more to his honour than all his victories. Inſtead of puniſhing their obſtinacy, he highly applauded the courage of the citizens, and rewarded thoſe bold ſons of freedom, by ſtrictly prohibiting his troops from pillaging or inſulting the inhabitants, and by diſtributing corn and proviſions among them with the utmoſt liberality. He led his troops in triumph indeed into the city; but ſuch was the eſteem that his generoſity inſpired, that he was received amidſt the acclamations of the people as their deliverer and not their conqueror. In this inſtance eſpecially he equalled the glory of his predeceſſor *Boleſlaus the Great*, and propoſed a ſtriking example to princes how much the horror of conqueſt may be

diminiſhed, and the glory of victory exalted, by the godlike virtues of humanity [a].

He is corrupted with the luxury of Kiovia.

UNFORTUNATELY *Boleſlaus* loſt his reputation in the ſame city where he had acquired immortal honour, and, like another *Hannibal*, ſuffered himſelf to be ſubdued by the pleaſures of the moſt ſenſual luxury. *Kiovia* was the richeſt, the moſt voluptuous, and diſſolute city in the North. Moſt of the inhabitants were *Greeks*, the religion of that church was embraced by all, and the corrupt manners of that people ſoon ſucceeded. Before this laſt ſiege the *Kiovians* had preſerved ſome portion of their rough antient ſpirit; now they ſurrendered themſelves to the moſt debauched pleaſures; the *Poles* received the contagion, and from a bold hardy race, became a luxurious, emaſculated, debauched multitude: even *Boleſlaus*, who had hitherto ſupported the dignity of his crown with diſtinguiſhed luſtre, abandoned himſelf to the moſt ſenſual and voluptuous pleaſures. In conſequence his temperance, diligence, intrepidity, affability, and prudence, were now abſorbed in luxury, and he became proud, indolent, and deſpotic. He affected all the imperious ſtate of an eaſtern monarch, and degenerated into a reliſh for the moſt depraved debaucheries. The wealth, which was the fruit of his victories, was diſſipated in the gratification of his appetites; and the conqueror of *Kiovia* became a ſlave to the manners of its inhabitants, and an apoſtate from thoſe heroic qualities which had raiſed him upon a level with the greateſt monarchs of *Europe*. The conſequences had almoſt proved fatal to *Poland*. This and the *Hungarian* war had employed the king and his army for the ſpace of ſeven years, during which time he returned only once to his own dominions, and then made but a ſhort ſtay of three months.

Conſpiracy of the Poliſh *women.*

This long abſence introduced confuſion, and filled the country with events as extraordinary as any recorded in hiſtory, and ſcarce credible if they had not been paralleled by ſomething ſimilar in well-atteſted antient annals. The *Poliſh* women, exaſperated at the indifference of their husbands, and the preference given to the females of *Kiovia*, reſolved on ſignal revenge, and raiſed their ſlaves to the beds of their maſters. The whole ſex conſpired in the ſame infamy, entered into ſolemn obligations of general proſtitution, and thereby diſhonoured themſelves and family from motives of revenge and jealouſy. *Margaret*, the wife of count *Nicholas* of *Zemboiſin*, alone withſtood the univerſal corruption, and preſerved her fidelity. She reſiſted all ſolicitations, and re-

[a] HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii. GUAGN. p 63. apud Piſtor.

ſuſed

fuſed covering herſelf with crimes becauſe her husband had poſſibly given way to temptation. Advice of this ſtrange revolution was received at *Kiovia*, and it excited terrible commotions. The ſoldiers laid their diſhonour on the king; and forgetting that themſelves had given way to the torrent of corruption, exclaimed againſt *Boleſlaus* as a prince who had ſtained his former glory by the moſt ſhameful voluptuouſneſs, who had reaped no other fruits from the conqueſt of *Ruſſia* than thoſe of ſhame, and who had been the chief inſtrument of the irreparable diſhonour of his whole army. The effect of theſe violent prejudices and reſentments againſt the king was a general deſertion. Almoſt the whole army, impatient of revenge, returned to *Poland*, leaving their ſovereign alone in the heart of *Ruſſia* [b].

BEFORE their return the women had endeavoured to ſkreen themſelves againſt the reſentment of their husbands, by perſuading their lovers to take arms; and they had indeed ſeized upon moſt of the ſtrong fortreſſes, in which they withſtood, and for a long time foiled, all the attempts of the conquerors of *Muſcovy*. The women, actuated by deſpair, fought by the ſides of their gallants, formed themſelves into battalions, ſeemed animated with a fury altogether irreſiſtible, ſought out their huſbands in the heat of battle, and endeavoured to efface the ſtain of adultery by the moſt cruel parricide. They were however on the point of being ſubdued, when *Boleſlaus* arrived with his few remaining *Poles*, and a vaſt army of *Ruſſians*, to heighten the ſcene of horror, and inflict equal puniſhment on the women, their gallants, and his own ſoldiers, who had deſerted his camp. The king's cruelty united the women, their husbands, and ſlaves; ſeveral deſperate battles were fought, the country was overflowed with the blood of its children, the rebels were at length ſubdued, and the few who had eſcaped the ſword, died in loathſome priſons, or under the excruciating pains of torture [c]. *Conſequences.*

To add to the calamities of *Poland*, the ſchiſms, which had for ſome time divided the church of *Rome*, found entrance into this kingdom; and the animoſity of the parties became vehement, in proportion to the frivolouſneſs of their differences. At laſt it became an affair of property, and a contention for wealth and power between the king and the clergy. This ſoon gave occaſion for bloodſhed; and the biſhop of *Cracow* was maſſacred in the cathedral, while he was performing the ſacred duties of his office. Some writers alledge, that *Boleſlaus*, giving way to all thoſe vices which po-

[b] Id. ibid. MAT. de Michov. p. 27, 28. [c] Id. ibid.

licy, the buſy ſcene in which he was engaged, and the love of conqueſt, had hitherto ſuppreſſed, became not only the moſt diſſolute prince, but the bloodieſt tyrant of his age. *Kiovia* had only waſhed off a varniſh of hypocriſy, and diſplayed his natural diſpoſition in its genuine character. The murder of the prelate, and other enormous crimes, were ſoon ſucceeded by vengeance; the clergy joined with one voice in pouring out their complaints to the pontiff, and demanding a puniſhment adequate to the guilt of the royal aſſaſſin. *Gregory* VII. took them under his protection, thundered out the moſt dreadful anathemas againſt the king, releaſed his ſubjects from their allegiance, deprived him of the titles of ſovereignty, and charged the kingdom with a general interdict, which the archbiſhop of *Gneſna* ſaw punctually enforced. In vain did *Boleſlaus* oppoſe his authority, and recal that ſpirit which had rendered him terrible to the neighbouring ſtates, and the admiration of his ſubjects. Superſtition clouded the minds of the people; they yielded implicitly to the dictates of the pontiff, and deemed it a leſs heinous crime to riſe in rebellion againſt their ſovereign, and fill the kingdom with ſlaughter, than oppoſe the tyranny of the holy ſee. A king under the cenſure of the church was regarded as a monſter, and avoided with abhorrence. Conſpiracies were formed againſt his government and perſon; *Poland* became a ſcene of confuſion; *Boleſlaus* was abandoned by all men, even thoſe reptiles who baſked in the radiance of his proſperity; he could not with ſafety continue longer in his own dominions; and the unfortunate monarch was forced to fly precipitately with his ſon *Mieczſlaus*, and ſeek refuge in *Hungary*. Nor did the pontiff's vengeance ſtop with having driven him from a throne; it purſued *Boleſlaus* to his retreat, plunged him into the abyſs of miſery, and forced him to earn a ſcanty ſubſiſtence by the mean occupation of a cook in a monaſtery in *Carinthia*, in which office he died (A); a ſignal inſtance of the caprice of fortune, the exorbitant power of the papal

(A) Authors differ widely reſpecting the end of this monarch, ſome affirming, that he was murdered by the clergy, as he was hunting in *Hungary*; others, that he committed ſuicide in a fit of deſpair; while the greater number, and indeed the moſt approved authorities adhere to the relation we have given; nor is the circumſtance at all improbable, conſidering the implacable reſentment of the eccleſiaſtics in thoſe times, and the ſpirit which the pope excited in *Hungary* (1).

(1) *Hartnoch, lib.* i. *cap.* ii. *Math. de Michov. p.* 38. *Herburt de Fulſtin. lib.* iv. *p.* 45.

dignity, and the irreſiſtible influence of luxury and ſenſual pleaſure over the nobleſt minds, and the moſt liberal ſentiments. Valour, generoſity, and ambition, rendered *Boleſlaus* a hero; impiety, power, and profligacy, made him a tyrant. He began his reign with extending his protection to all the unfortunate; he ended it with the moſt cruel oppreſſion of his own ſubjects, of whoſe reſentment his crown and life became the victims (B).

ULADISLAUS, ſurnamed HERMANNUS.

THE pontifical reſentment was not appeaſed by the misfortunes and death of *Boleſlaus:* it extended to his ſon, and the whole kingdom of *Poland*. The former was excluded the ſucceſſion, and the latter ſtill continued under the moſt rigid interdiction, which could only be removed by the force of gold, and the moſt abject conceſſions. Beſides the tax called *Peter-pence*, *Poland* was ſubjected to other oppreſſive impoſitions, as an expiation of the horrid murder committed on the biſhop of *Cracow*. At length, the pontiff having ſatiated his avarice, and impoveriſhed the country, he conſented that the brother of the deceaſed monarch ſhould be raiſed to the ſupreme dignity, on condition, however, that he ſhould be ſatisfied with the ducal title. It was no difficult matter to convince the meek-ſpirited unambitious *Uladiſlaus*, that he ought to be implicitly obedient to the pontifical mandate: he accordingly accepted the terms propoſed, and begun his adminiſtration by ſending an ambaſſy to *Rome*, to beſeech *Gregory* to withdraw the cruel interdict. This requeſt was granted; but all his endeavours to recover the regal dignity proved fruitleſs, the pope having, in conjunction with the emperor, beſtowed that honour upon the duke of *Bohemia*. This preference was extremely mortifying to *Uladiſlaus*; but it was abſorbed in conſiderations of more importance, and in misfortunes which equally affected his own perſon and the happineſs of his dominions. *Ruſſia* took the opportunity of the late civil diſturbances to throw off the yoke; and this revolt drew after it the defection of *Pruſſia*, *Pomerania*, and other provinces. The appearance of a *Poliſh* army, and a trifling check, ſoon however reduced the ſmaller provinces to obedience; but the duke had no ſooner returned to *Poland*

Uladiſlaus I.

A. D. 1082.

(B) *Mathew* of *Michovia* relates, that *Boleſlaus* wandered about in the woods of *Hungary*, lived like a ſavage upon wild beaſts, and was at laſt killed and devoured by dogs (1).

(1) *Apud Piſtor. lib.* ii. *cap.* xx.

with

with his army than they again broke out in rebellion, and secured their families and effects in impenetrable forests. *Uladislaus* quickly began his march to *Pomerania*, with a full resolution of taking ample vengeance. He surrounded the forest; but was unfortunately surprised, defeated, and forced back to *Poland*, covered with shame and confusion [a]. Next year, however, he had his revenge. Penetrating the province with a numerous army sooner than was expected, the rebels submitted to a power which they could not resist, and surrendered the ringleaders of the revolt, to be punished as the duke thought proper.

ULADISLAUS had no sooner secured the dignity of the commonwealth, by the reduction of the turbulent *Pomeranians*, than civil divisions appeared, to poison the felicity which he expected would be the result of his pacific disposition. These proved the more irksome, because they were excited by his own son, and supported by the palatine of *Cracow*, and some of the first nobility in *Poland*. *Sbigneus* was the name of this young prince, the issue of *Uladislaus* by a concubine. He was destined for the church, and his brother *Boleslaus*, the duke's legitimate son, was considered as his successor. The discontented nobility, however, drew *Sbigneus* from the monastery, where he was finishing his education, and placed him at the head of an army, to subvert his father's government, and dispute his brother's claim to the succession. They invested *Wratislaw*, and by dint of corruption gained possession of the city. *Uladislaus* took the field, and obliged the rebels to take sanctuary in *Cruszviczia*, where they were powerfully supported by the *Prussians* and *Pomeranians*. *Sbigneus*, when his army increased, ventured to give battle to his father, and met with the fate which he merited. He was defeated with great slaughter, took shelter in *Cruszviczia*, withstood an obstinate siege, and at last was taken prisoner, and confined; but released, on condition that he should join his father in punishing the insolence of the palatine of *Cracow*. The palatine perceived the approaching storm, and had the address to break it, by purchasing a reconciliation with the duke; but *Sbigneus* and his brother *Boleslaus* could never forgive certain injuries which they imagined he had done them, or suffer that the power of a subject should eclipse their own glory. Here was laid the foundation of a war between the father and the children, the former having privately quitted his palace, and joined the palatine, who had suddenly become his chief favourite. He resolved to hazard every thing

Civil wars in Poland.

[a] Guagnini apud Pistor, lib. iii. Hartn. lib. ii.

in

in support of his minion; and the young princes were equally determined upon vigorous measures, and the keenest revenge. They had already gained possession of *Cracow*, and other considerable places; and were preparing to besiege their father in *Plocsko*, when the archbishop of *Gnesna*, who was honoured by all parties for his wisdom and moderation, interposed, and effected a reconciliation. The palatine, however, was the sacrifice of this union: he was banished to *Russia*, and the children acknowledged the former authority of their parent. It was after this that *Boleslaus* marched with a powerful army to chastise the *Prussians* and *Pomeranians*, for having presumed to lay waste the *Polish* frontiers during the late civil commotions. In this expedition he proved himself a great warrior, and the heir of the king his grandfather's extraordinary military talents. The enemy every where fled before him, and the two provinces were wholly over-run and subdued in the space of a few weeks, *Boleslaus* returning laden with spoils and glory. Towards the end of the year *Uladislaus* died, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, with the reputation of a pious, mild, and virtuous prince, wholly under the influence and direction of parasites and favourites [b]. *Death of* Uladislaus. A. D. 1103.

BOLESLAUS III. *furnamed CRIVENSTUS, or WRY-MOUTH.*

ULADISLAUS made no difference between his legitimate and natural children. An equal partition of his dominions was made, with the consent of the states, between the brothers, which soon involved the nation in a civil war. Without the capacity, *Sbigneus* had all the ambition of his brother, and impatiently sought the opportunity of coming to a rupture, which he hoped would terminate in placing him in the quiet possession of all *Poland*. *Boleslaus* saw his brother's design; but his regard for the public welfare obliged him to conceal his sentiments until *Sbigneus* became quite intolerable, and insolently demanded the whole treasure of his father, which was deposited in *Plocsko*, a city comprized within his share of the partition. This demand was not only refused, but resented by *Boleslaus*; and the two brothers were on the eve of a rupture, when the primate again seasonably interposed, and persuaded them to an equal division. However, the archbishop's endeavours accomplished nothing more than a temporary reconciliation. The princes were mutually enflamed, and nothing but bloodshed could cool the ardour of their Boleslaus III.

[b] Mat. de Michov. apud Pistor, lib. iii. cap. vii. p. 48.

passions.

paſſions. *Sbigneus*, incenſed that he was diſappointed in his deſigns upon the whole treaſure, and diſſatisfied with half thoſe dominions which his ambition claimed intire, he traduced his brother's conduct, raiſed up enemies to his adminiſtration, was at the bottom of perpetual cabals and conſpiracies to diſturb his government and endanger his perſon, and at laſt prevailed on the duke of *Bohemia* to aſſiſt him with a numerous body of forces. He likewiſe excited diſturbances in *Saxony* and *Moravia*, procured an army of auxiliaries from theſe countries, and made ſuch formidable preparations as threatened the deſtruction of *Boleſlaus*, and the intire conqueſt of *Poland*. *Sbigneus* carried on his intrigues in the neighbouring countries with ſuch ſecrecy, that his brother was aſtoniſhed upon advice that the troops of *Bohemia*, *Saxony*, and *Moravia* were ready to overwhelm his frontiers. He was not deſtitute of courage; but having no forces proportioned to the imminence of the danger, he had recourſe in his extremity to the *Ruſſians* and *Hungarians*, who readily embraced his cauſe, in expectation of turning it to their own advantage. The reſources he found in theſe countries enabled him to act offenſively: his preſence alone diſperſed the *Pruſſians* and *Pomeranians*, who had likewiſe been ſeduced by the promiſes of *Sbigneus*; his troops ravaged *Moravia*, and in one campaign he totally broke and diſunited the league. Early in the ſpring he fell upon his brother by ſurprize, defeated his army, reduced all his fortreſſes, and then generouſly laid aſide his indignation; and, ſatisfied with depriving *Sbigneus* of the power of hurting him, left him the dutchy of *Mazovia* in quiet poſſeſſion, to ſupport the dignity of his birth [a].

Civil wars in Poland.

THE good fortune and merit of *Boleſlaus*, and particularly his kindneſs, rendered his brother quite deſperate: inſtead of being reclaimed by the lenity and liberality of *Boleſlaus*, he became furious from a ſenſe of his own inferiority, ſtuck at nothing to ſatiate his revenge, and formed a new conſpiracy, with a view to recover his dominions, and depoſe his brother: but the plot being diſcovered, he was ſeized, baniſhed, and declared a traitor, if he ever again preſumed to ſet foot in *Poland*. Even this rigour did not produce the deſired effect: *Pomerania* armed to avenge the prince's injuries; *Sbigneus* entered *Poland*, was defeated, and taken priſoner a ſecond time; when *Boleſlaus*'s clemency ſaved him from the rigour of the law, and was contented with the ſame puniſhment before inflicted, that of baniſhment. Almoſt all the nobility were unanimous in opinion, that he ſhould be put to

[a] MAT. de Michov. apud Piſtor. lib. iii. cap. xiv.

death;

death; but *Boleſlaus* could not be prevailed on to pollute his hands with fraternal blood, however unworthy and corrupted. He even was moved with pity at ſeeing *Sbigneus* wander a vagrant from province to province, took him back to *Poland*, aſſigned him a handſome maintenance, and had ſoon reaſon to lament his generoſity; for the unnatural brother formed a freſh conſpiracy, and at laſt ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of his treachery and ingratitude (A).

BOLESLAUS was now in hope that he might have enjoyed the bleſſings of repoſe; but he had ſcarce extinguiſhed the wars kindled by his brother, when a more powerful enemy appeared, and he found himſelf under the neceſſity of oppoſing the ambition of the emperor *Henry* IV. and ſuccouring the king of *Hungary*, who had generouſly eſpouſed his cauſe when he was reduced to the greateſt extremities. It was with this view he made a powerful diverſion in *Bohemia*, and repeatedly defeated the Imperialiſts. Fired with the deſire of revenge, the emperor aſſembled all his forces, ravaged *Sileſia*, penetrated the frontiers of *Poland*, and injudiciouſly inveſted the ſtrong town of *Lubuſz*, which baffled all his attempts, and obliged him diſgracefully to raiſe the ſiege. Much time was loſt in the purſuit of this impolitic meaſure; but *Henry* was not diſcouraged. He penetrated farther into *Poland*, and was laying all waſte before him, when the ſuperior ſkill of *Boleſlaus* compelled him to retire, after having ruined his army with fatigue and famine, without once coming to action. Enraged at his diſappointment, the emperor laid ſiege to *Glogaw*, in hope of drawing the *Poles* to an engagement before he ſhould be obliged to evacuate the country. The place was defenceleſs; but the ſpirit of the inhabitants ſupplied the want of fortifications, and gave the Imperialiſts an unexpectedly vigorous reception. They were at length, however, under the neceſſity of yielding to ſuperior power, and ſigning an agreement, that they would ſurrender, if they did not receive ſuccours in the ſpace of ſix days. This was preciſely what *Henry* deſired: by a general battle, he doubted not but he ſhould retrieve all the honour he had loſt during the campaign. *Boleſlaus* determined not to ſuffer ſo brave a

(A) The accounts of this prince's death are contradictory: ſome affirm, that he was ſlain in a tumult of the people; ſome, that he was put to death by order of the nobility; while others are equally poſitive, that he was condemned to loſe his eyes, and to perpetual impriſonment, in which he died of grief and vexation (1).

(1) *Cromer, lib.* iv. *Hartknoch, lib.* ii. *Guagnini, lib.* iii. *apud Piſtor.*

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garriſon to fall a ſacrifice to their loyalty. He aſſembled his utmoſt ſtrength, and was reinforced by a body of *Ruſſian* auxiliaries. With this army he advanced, by forced marches, to give battle to *Henry*; but all his endeavours would have proved fruitleſs, as the time limited muſt have expired before his arrival, had he not prevailed on the beſieged to break the capitulation, rather than ſurrender juſt as they were on the point of being delivered. All this was tranſacted with the utmoſt ſecrecy; and the emperor, on the day appointed, advanced to take poſſeſſion of the city; but he was received by a furious diſcharge of arrows and javelins, which ſo incenſed him, that he reſolved to ſtorm the place, and give no quarter. On the approach of the army it was matter of aſtoniſhment to ſee not only the breaches filled up, but new walls ſecured by a wet ditch reared behind the old, and erected during the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities by the induſtry of the beſieged. The attack however went on; but the inhabitants, animated by deſpair, performed ſuch prodigies of valour as almoſt exceed belief, and obliged the Imperialiſts to break up the ſiege with great precipitation. Next day *Boleſlaus* arrived, purſued the fugitive emperor, came up with him in the neighbourhood of *Warſaw*, and conſtrained him to have recourſe to an ignominious flight, which terminated on the frontiers of the empire, after having wholly evacuated *Poland* (B).

Boleſlaus defeats the emperor of Germany.

THIS was the moſt glorious campaign which hitherto had appeared in the *Poliſh* annals, as the duke fought with regularly diſciplined troops, and not the tumultuous ſavage rabble over which his predeceſſors had triumphed. It was followed by a peace, in which *Boleſlaus* dictated his own conditions to

(B) Some hiſtorians relate, that *Boleſlaus* entered upon this war with dread, and offered advantageous propoſals of peace; on the emperor's approach to his frontiers, which were contemptuouſly rejected. It is added, that *Henry* led *Scarbicus* the *Poliſh* ambaſſador to his treaſury, and, pointing to the gold, told him, that he there ſaw enough to bring the duke to any conceſſions he pleaſed; with which the *Pole* being highly affronted, took a gold ring from his finger, and threw it into the treaſury, ſaying, "There's more gold, "which your majeſty values ſo "highly; yet, whatever your "opinion may be, I doubt not "but the *Poliſh* iron will prove "the better metal (1)." The ſame writers add, that, upon the ambaſſador's return, *Boleſlaus* gave battle, and obtained a compleat victory near *Breſlau*; which muſt certainly be an error, as the emperor did not command in perſon againſt the *Poles* in *Sileſia*.

(1) *Herburt de Fulſtin, lib.* iv. *p.* 55.

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the firſt monarch in *Europe*, and crowned his glory by receiving in marriage the emperor's ſiſter [b]. A. D. 1118.

WE are told of an expedition which *Boleſlaus* made into *Denmark* about this period; but as it is wholly omitted by the *Daniſh* and *Poliſh* hiſtorians of beſt authority, and ſavours ſtrongly of fiction, we ſhall wholly omit the relation. Certain however it is, that the duke took part in the general madneſs of *Europe*, which at this time began to ſhew itſelf, and that ardent zeal which was diſplayed for the recovery of the Holy Land, though we are not informed of the particulars of the *Poliſh* cruſades.

IT was about the year 1135 that the good fortune of *Boleſlaus* began firſt to abandon him, and ſuffer him to become the dupe of his own credulity. He was impoſed upon by an artful ſtory patched up by a certain *Hungarian*, who inſinuated himſelf, through the door of compaſſion, into the duke's affections. To this ſtranger he gave the government of *Wiſlica*, a ſtrong town on the *Nida*; but the villain betrayed his truſt to the *Ruſſians*, who pillaged and burnt the houſes, and carried the inhabitants into ſlavery. *Boleſlaus* was incenſed, and entered immediately upon a war with *Ruſſia*, by which he only heaped one calamity on another. The enemy, knowing the capacity of the duke, and the valour of his forces, deſpaired of withſtanding them in the open field: they therefore had recourſe to the moſt perfidious ſtratagems. A deputation was ſent from the inhabitants of *Halitz*, to implore his aſſiſtance in favour of a young prince, who had been baniſhed into *Poland*. *Boleſlaus* marched to their relief with a choice body of troops; but, as he was preparing to enter the town, he was attacked by the whole *Ruſſian* army, that poured out upon him like a torrent; and, after a violent conflict, overwhelmed the *Poles* with numbers, the duke ſaving himſelf with much difficulty by flight. Thus, after having been conqueror in forty battles, *Boleſlaus* was at laſt defeated by the cunning of a ſet of barbarians whom he deſpiſed: a misfortune which ſome writers attribute to the miſconduct of the palatine of *Cracow*, to whom the king, after the engagement, ſent a hare-ſkin and ſpinning-wheel. Certain it is, that this inglorious check to his conqueſts filled the duke with grief, and is generally allowed to be the cauſe of his death, after he had reigned for the ſpace of thirty-ſix years, with a renown that even eclipſed the glory of his predeceſſor *Boleſlaus the Great*. *Boleſlaus* was brave, open, liberal, and a

[b] MAT. de Michov. apud Piſtor. lib. iii. cap. xiv. GUAGNINI, lib. iii. HERBURT de Fulſtin, lib. iv.

ſtrict

ſtrict obſerver of truth and equity; but he had a cre
that ſometimes led him into errors, and is the amiable
neſs which too frequently accompanies generous minds[a]

A. D. 1113. NATURAL affection ſeduced *Boleſlaus* into the ſame committed by his father: notwithſtanding his own expe had ſhewn him the fatal conſequences of a partition dominions, he aſſigned equal portions to his four ſons. *Uladiſlaus*, the eldeſt, were given the provinces of *C Sirad*, *Lencici*, *Sileſia*, and *Pomerania*. *Boleſlaus*, the ſon, had for his ſhare the palatinates of *Culm* and *C* with the dutchy of *Mazovia*. The palatinates of *Kaleſ Poſnania* fell to *Mieczſlaus*, the third ſon; and to *Hem* fourth ſon, were aſſigned thoſe of *Lublin* and *Sandomir ſimir*, the youngeſt child, then an infant in the cradle intirely forgot, and no proviſion made for him, thoug tender age required particular indulgence.

ULADISLAUS II. *ſurnamed the DRIVELL*

Uladiſlaus II.

THE funeral obſequies of the late duke being ſolem the four princes made application to the diet to ratify th of the deceaſed, and confirm them in their ſeveral poſſeſ beſides which the ſtates were to elect a ſucceſſor to the throne, their choice falling, after warm debates, upon *ſlaus*. The brothers were confirmed in their dutchies the whole will of *Boleſlaus* was ratified, except what to the equality eſtabliſhed among his children. Now a brothers were forced to acknowledge the ſupremacy of *ſlaus*, who was declared duke of all *Poland*: they wer ſtrained from forming alliances, declaring war, or concl peace, without his approbation: they were obliged to the field with a certain number of troops, whenever the required; and they were forbid meddling with the guar ſhip of the infant prince *Caſimir*, whoſe education was v referred to the ſovereign. The harmony of the prince ſoon diſturbed by the ambition of *Chriſtina*, the conſort o *diſlaus*, the daughter and ſiſter of two emperors. She fo a ſcheme to gain poſſeſſion of all *Poland*, and depriv younger children of the benefits of their father's will. had an intire influence over her huſband, and eaſily r his ambition to a level with her own. To give a pearance of juſtice to her projects, ſhe aſſembled the and enlarged eloquently on the danger of the late par of the *Poliſh* dominions, ſo contrary to the fundamental

[a] HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii.

of the commonwealth, and ſo likely to produce fatal effects. She alledged, that all endeavours to unite a ſtate, divided under ſo many chiefs, would prove impoſſible, ſhould the common danger ever require ſuch a meaſure; and ſhe reminded them, that the commotions excited by *Sbigneus* had almoſt brought *Poland* to the verge of ruin, and ſhould have prevented the ſtates from ever again acceding to ſo impolitic a partition of power. She concluded her harangue with demonſtrating the neceſſity of revoking their ratification of the late duke's will, in order to inſure the obedience of the princes, provide againſt foreign incurſions, and ſecure the tranquillity and honour of the republic. Thus the *Poles* were ſolicited immediately to commence a civil war, in order to avoid the inconveniences of domeſtic faction.

It was apparent to many of the nobility, that *Chriſtina*'s ambition, and not her patriotiſm, had dictated theſe meaſures. They expreſſed their reſentment, and ſome had the courage to upbraid her for preſuming to require that they would diſhonour themſelves by revoking a decree, ſolemnly paſſed by the whole aſſembly of the nation. They refuted every argument in her ſpeech, and obliged her and *Uladiſlaus* apparently to relinquiſh their deſigns. Mean time, they reſolved to take another method, and for that purpoſe entered into private engagements with the *Ruſſians*, whom they invited into *Poland*. *Uladiſlaus* then uſed his influence with the nobility to join him; ſome he ſeduced by intereſt, others he drew over by fear, and a few he convinced by his arguments. A noble *Dane*, who poſſeſſed great wealth in *Poland*, alone preſumed to eſpouſe the young princes cauſe, by which he incurred the reſentment of the cruel *Chriſtina*, who had him ſeized as he was celebrating the nuptials of his daughter, deprived of his ſight, and thrown into a loathſome jail, after being mangled in a ſhocking manner [b] (A).

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[b] Mat. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 62.

(A) The fate of this nobleman is otherwiſe related. He is ſaid to have been the duke's prime favourite; and being one day with him on a hunting party, *Uladiſlaus* ſaid, jocularly, "*Peter*, I believe your wife lies "more at eaſe with the abbot "*Scrinnen* than we do." To which the *Dane* replied, ſharply, "And it may be *Chriſtina* "does the ſame with *Dobeſſus*;" a handſome young nobleman, who was ſuppoſed to partake of the favours of that lewd ambitious woman. *Uladiſlaus* was ſo affected with the anſwer, and ſtung with the reproach, that, forgetting he had given the provocation, he employed *Dobeſſus* to

THIS was the ſignal to other violences. Immediately the duke attacked *Boleſlaus*, and drove him from *Plocſko*. Next he marched againſt *Henry*, and diſpoſſeſſed him of his territories, obliging both the brothers to take refuge with *Mieczſlaus* in *Poſnania*, where they ſtood a ſiege. Several of the nobility interpoſed, and uſed all their influence to effect a reconciliation; but *Uladiſlaus* proved as inexorable as if he had conceived himſelf injured. He inſiſted, that the beſieged princes ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion, and ſubmit to the laws dictated by the conqueror. He deſpiſed their numbers, and thought himſelf perfectly ſecure of the completion of his ambitious projects. This drove the princes to deſpair, and ſet them upon executing the moſt vigorous reſolutions. They ſallied out, and attacked the duke's camp with ſuch impetuoſity as put all in confuſion, and obtained a deciſive victory, having deſtroyed ſome thouſands of the enemy, and taken all the king's baggage and valuable effects. Fluſhed with ſucceſs, the brothers improved the opportunity, regained poſſeſſion of their own dominions, and laid ſiege to *Cracow* before the duke could collect his ſcattered diſheartened forces. The *Ruſſians* now intirely abandoned him, and evacuated *Poland*, which obliged *Uladiſlaus* to throw himſelf into *Cracow*; but finding this city little diſpoſed to hazard the conſequences of a ſiege, he retired to *Germany*, from whence he hoped to return with a numerous army of auxiliaries. He ſoon however diſcovered that his wife's friends were only attached to his proſperity, and that a prince without dominions was but an unwelcome viſiter. Mean while *Cracow* ſurrendered, the reſt of *Poland* followed the example of the capital, *Uladiſlaus* was depoſed with great formality by the diet, and his brother *Boleſlaus* raiſed to the ducal dignity [c].

Uladiſlaus *depoſed.*

BOLESLAUS IV. *ſurnamed CRISPUS.*

Boleſlaus IV.

THIS prince began his adminiſtration with an act of generoſity which the late duke his brother little merited. He aſſigned him *Sileſia* for his maintenance, and thereby ſevered that province from the crown of *Poland*, to which it was never re-annexed. Even this inſtance of fraternal affection did not operate on the mind of *Uladiſlaus*: he continually ſo-

[c] HERBURT de Fulſtin, lib. iv. MAT. de Michov. ibid.

to procure revenge, and had the favourite's tongue and eyes plucked out in the moſt barbarous manner (1).

(1) *Flor. Polon. lib.* ii. *cap.* vii. *p.* 73.

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licited the emperor for aſſiſtance; and at length prevailed on *Conrade* to ſend ambaſſadors with this view to *Poland*. The ambaſſy proved fruitleſs, *Conrade* was incenſed at the little regard paid to his requeſt, and determined to effect his purpoſes by dint of arms. Accordingly he levied an army, marched into *Poland*, and ſuſtained incredible fatigue from the vigilance and addreſs of *Boleſlaus*, who harraſſed him with perpetual marches, skirmiſhes, ſtratagems, and ambuſcades, obliging him in one campaign to relinquiſh his project of reſtoring *Uladiſlaus*. It is ſaid by ſome hiſtorians, that the princes had an interview; that *Boleſlaus* treated *Conrade* with the utmoſt magnificence, inſpired him with a high opinion of his good ſenſe and generoſity, pulled off the mask from *Uladiſlaus*, diſcloſed his character to the emperor, and fully convinced that prince of his ambition, injuſtice, and tyranny.

For ſome years *Poland* enjoyed profound tranquillity under the wiſe government of *Boleſlaus*, who lived in the utmoſt harmony with his brothers *Henry* and *Mieczſlaus*, and gave great attention to the education of the young prince *Caſimir*, for whom he intended making a handſome proviſion, as ſoon as he arrived at the years of maturity. *Henry* ſeized the opportunity of the preſent repoſe of his country to ſignalize his courage, and zeal for religion, againſt the enemies of Chriſtianity in *Aſia*. Crowds of noble volunteers flocked to his ſtandard: *Poland* diſtinguiſhed itſelf in this cruſade, the prince embarked with his troops, arrived after a proſperous voyage at *Jeruſalem*, and diſtinguiſhed his valour in divers ſharp actions with the *Saracens*; but in the ſpace of one campaign loſt moſt of his army, which obliged him to return to *Poland*, where he was joyfully received, as the great ſupport of the Chriſtian church, and the bulwark againſt the progreſs of infidelity. He had made large donations to the knights of *St. John* of *Jeruſalem*; and for this reaſon his fame is tranſmitted, by the ſuperſtitious writers of his age, with uncommon ſplendor.

It was ſoon after *Henry*'s return from *Paleſtine* that *Poland* was invaded by the emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, who was perſuaded into that meaſure by the ſolicitations of *Uladiſlaus*, and the addreſs of his wife *Chriſtina*. With a powerful army of Imperialiſts he entered the *Poliſh* frontiers, where *Boleſlaus* and his brothers waited to diſpute his entrance; a reſolution which they ſoon altered, on advice of the emperor's formidable numbers. It was now determined not to oppoſe force to force; but to practiſe all the ſtratagems of war, and annoy the enemy by cutting off their convoys, placing ambuſcades, harraſſing them in their march, and keeping them under perpetual alarm by falſe attacks and ſkirmiſhes. Theſe arts had

before ſucceeded againſt an equally numerous army of *Germans*, without even trying the fortune of a general engagement. With this view the three brothers divided their forces, after which they deſolated the country before the enemy's approach, and burnt all the towns and cities that were in no condition to ſtand a ſiege. Theſe meaſures produced the effect: the imperial army was reduced to the utmoſt extremity, proviſion and forage failed, men and horſes periſhed in troops, and thoſe whom neceſſity forced upon excurſions for food were ſlaughtered by flying parties of *Poles*, that perpetually hovered round the camp. Famine was ſucceeded by an epidemical diſtemper, that ſwept the troops off by hundreds in a day. *Barbaroſſa* was reduced to the utmoſt perplexity: he was ruined beyond redemption, without having ſcarce beheld the face of the enemy; and, to ſave his honour, had recourſe to a conference, which he ſolicited with a humility extremely mortifying to ſo proud a monarch. *Boleſlaus* was too prudent to ſtand upon punctilios: he knew the emperor's power, and the facility with which he could replace his preſent loſſes. Policy therefore dictated that he ſhould not be irritated, and have affronts ſuperadded to misfortunes: he therefore went, attended with his brothers and a ſlight guard, to the imperial camp; an inſtance of confidence which greatly delighted *Frederick*, and raiſed the *Poliſh* duke high in his eſteem. A treaty was readily concluded, whereby the *Poles* agreed to aſſiſt the emperor with three hundred lances in his expedition to *Italy*; and *Frederick* promiſed his niece *Adelaide* in marriage to *Mieczſlaus*, duke of *Poſnania*. Such was the fortunate iſſue of this formidable invaſion, that threatened deſtruction to *Poland*; and which ought to be wholly aſcribed to the prudence, perſeverance, and valour of *Boleſlaus* and his brothers (A).

Barbaroſſa's army ruined.

It was the faſhion of this age to conquer countries merely from motives of religion: this at leaſt was the pretext uſed by the duke of *Poland*, to palliate the deſigns he had formed

(A) About the time this treaty was concluded, the unfortunate *Uladiſlaus* died at *Oldenberg*, in his way to *Poland*, where he once more reſolved to try his claim. Some hiſtorians alledge that he was poiſoned; but this does not appear from any authentic documents. His ſon *Boleſlaus* attended the emperor to *Italy*, and by his courage acquired the eſteem of that monarch, who had ſufficient influence with the duke of *Poland* to procure him the inveſtiture of *Sileſia*, for which province he was required to do homage to the republic (1).

(1) *Mat. de Michov. lib.* iii. *cap.* xix. *p.* 66.

againſt

againſt the *Pruſſians*, a people ſunk in the groſſeſt ignorance and idolatry. His own dominions enjoyed the moſt perfect bleſſings of repoſe, and he thought he could not better ſhew his gratitude to the Almighty than by compelling barbarians and infidels to take refuge in the boſom of *Chriſt*'s church, and to rob them of their freedom for the benefit of their ſouls. Accompanied by his brother *Mieczſlaus*, he invaded *Pruſſia* with a powerful army. As nothing could oppoſe his progreſs, ſeveral of the leading perſons in the country came to his camp to promiſe obedience, provided he would withdraw his forces, and releaſe them from the heavy tribute he had impoſed; but *Boleſlaus* would liſten to no conditions, unleſs they conſented to be baptized. In conſequence a great number of infidels were converted, their idols were deſtroyed, their temples turned into churches, prieſts appointed for their inſtruction, and an intire revolution effected in religion, without a drop of bloodſhed. There, however, appeared no ſincerity in the converſion of the *Pruſſians:* it was dread of the power of *Boleſlaus* that made them diſſemble; and the moment he had withdrawn his army, they relapſed into their errors, baniſhed the prieſts, and perſecuted the few who, from conviction, ſeemed perſuaded of the truth of Chriſtianity. They corrupted certain *Pruſſians* in the *Poliſh* camp, who had inſinuated themſelves into the eſteem of *Boleſlaus*, and had been raiſed to preferments of truſt and honour. By their means the *Poliſh* army was ſeduced into defiles, where it was attacked, defeated, and diſperſed by the *Pruſſians*, duke *Henry* being ſlain in the field, and *Boleſlaus* and *Mieczſlaus* eſcaping with great difficulty [a].

Boleſlaus *defeated by the* Pruſſians.

THE misfortunes of *Poland* were now beginning, this defeat abroad being followed by domeſtic broils, excited by the children of *Uladiſlaus*. They demanded reſtitution of their father's dominions, moſt of which had now been aſſigned to the young prince *Caſimir*. A great number of diſcontented *Poles* roſe in their favour, and their claim was ſupported by a conſiderable army of *German* auxiliaries. *Boleſlaus* found himſelf unable to oppoſe the enemy by force, and had recourſe to negotiation, by which he gained time to recruit his army, and repair his late loſſes. An aſſembly of the ſtates was held, before which the duke refuted the claims of the children of *Uladiſlaus* ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the diet, that it was voted, almoſt unanimouſly, that they had kindled

[a] FLOR. Polon. lib. ii. cap. viii. MAT. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xix. xx. xxi. xxii. GUAGNINI apud Piſtor. iii. CROMER, ibid, lib. ii.

the high opinion which the people entertained of his virtue. He began with redreſſing grievances, adjuſting property, eſtabliſhing right, and correcting the abuſes which had crept into the adminiſtration during the corrupt deſpotic government of his predeceſſor. All exorbitant impoſts were ſuppreſſed, and a general diet aſſembled, to reſcue the peaſants from the tyranny of the nobility; an affair of ſuch conſequence as the duke refuſed to determine by his own authority, though ſupported by the clergy. But it proved leſs difficult than was imagined to prevail on the nobility to relinquiſh certain privileges which they poſſeſſed, extremely injurious to natural right: they were moved by the example of a virtuous prince; and, by their conduct on this occaſion, demonſtrated the great influence of a ſovereign who is beloved by his people. All that the king required was immediately granted; and, to ſecure this declaration in favour of the peaſants, the archbiſhop of *Gneſna* thundered out dreadful anathemas againſt thoſe who ſhould endeavour to recover the unjuſt privileges they had now renounced; taking care likewiſe to ſecure eccleſiaſtical property, by eſtabliſhing ſevere penalties, and a variety of ſpiritual fences. The acts of this diet were tranſmitted to *Rome*, and confirmed by the pontiff, to add more weight to the deciſions.

THOUGH the nobility in general conſented to have their power retrenched, there were ſome to whom it furniſhed cauſe of diſcontent; and theſe immediately became the partizans of the depoſed prince *Mieczſlaus*. This unfortunate prince had not only loſt his crown, but likewiſe his hereditary dominions, in conſequence of which he was reduced to extreme indigence. He now had recourſe to ſupplications; wrote to *Caſimir* an affecting account of his ſituation, drew tears from the eyes of this compaſſionate brother, and determined him to evacuate the throne in his favour, if he could procure the conſent of the diet. For this purpoſe he aſſembled the ſtates, pathetically deſcribed his brother's wretched circumſtances, enlarged upon his penitence, touched feelingly upon the injuſtice of one brother's uſurping the property of another; and concluded with a requeſt, that he might be permitted to reſtore the crown to *Mieczſlaus*, for whoſe future conduct he would himſelf be ſecurity. The anſwer made by the ſtates was peremptory. They told him never more to mention the ſubject, leſt they ſhould be under the neceſſity of depoſing him, and excluding his brother, who they were determined ſhould never again wear the *Poliſh* diadem. *Caſimir*, however, was ſo moved with his brother's tender recital of his misfortunes, that he tried every meaſure to relieve him, and even

even connived at the arts practiſed by ſome diſcontented noblemen to effect a revolution in favour of *Mieczſlaus*. By a very ſingular generoſity he facilitated the reduction of *Gneſna* and *Lower Poland*, where *Mieczſlaus* might have lived in ſplendor and peace, had not his heart been corrupted, and his ambition and avarice too ſtrong to be ſubdued by kindneſs and fraternal affection. The poſſeſſion of *Gneſna* only whetted his ardor to wreſt the crown from his brother, and reduce *Caſimir* to the ſame unfortunate ſituation from which he was juſt relieved by the unparelleled goodneſs of that prince. He begun with attempting the conqueſt of the provinces of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*, which had been aſſigned for the maintenance of *Lechus*, the ſon of *Boleſlaus*, under the tutelage of duke *Caſimir*. He corrupted certain perſons about the young prince's court, and perſuaded *Lechus* to quit the party of *Caſimir*, after which he ſeized upon all his dominions. This opened the eyes of *Lechus*, and determined him to embrace the firſt opportunity of eſcaping, which he ſoon found, returned to *Caſimir*, and was received with the ſame kindneſs as if he had never erred in his conduct. The young prince was equally affected with the ſenſe of his own imprudence, and of the generoſity of his guardian; grief preyed upon his conſtitution, and he ſoon became the victim of his own ſenſibility, leaving his dominions to *Caſimir* by way of atonement [b]. Policy and ſelf-preſervation required that *Mieczſlaus* ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of thoſe countries which he had fraudulently ſeized: an army was aſſembled for this purpoſe, and the dutchies of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia* were recovered and reannexed to the crown of *Poland*.

SCARCE had *Caſimir* reſtored the tranquillity of his dominions (leaving his unworthy brother in poſſeſſion of ſome places in *Lower Poland*) when he was engaged in a war with *Ruſſia*, to re-eſtabliſh *Ulodomir* in his dominions, of which he had been deſpoiled by the *Hungarians*. The expedition was diſpleaſing to many of the *Poliſh* nobility, ſtrongly connected by ties of intereſt and affinity with the *Hungarians*; in order to fruſtrate its effects, they ſet on foot a ſcheme for employing the duke at home, by exciting a civil war, and attempting the reſtoration of *Mieczſlaus*. A report was artfully propagated, that *Caſimir* was poiſoned in *Ruſſia*, and this conſiderably ſtrengthened the faction. *Cracow* was ſurpriſed, but the citadel refuſed to ſurrender. *Caſimir's* unexpected return deſtroyed the hopes of the conſpirators. *Miecz-*

[b] FLOR. Polon. lib. ii. cap. x. MAT. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xx.

ſlaus

ſlaus was forced to evacuate all his conqueſts, his ſon fell into the hands of *Caſimir*, and the rebellion was entirely cruſhed, only to make way for further proofs of the duke's clemency and moderation. He releaſed all his priſoners, and even furniſhed them with every neceſſary to return to their ſeveral homes, condeſcending likewiſe, though victorious, to aſk peace of his vanquiſhed brother.

THE laſt action of this amiable prince was the conqueſt of *Ruſſia*, which he effected rather by the reputation of his wiſdom and generoſity than by dint of arms. Thoſe barbarians voluntarily ſubmitted to a prince ſo famed for his benevolence, juſtice, and humanity. Soon after his return he died at *Cracow*, lamented as the beſt, the meekeſt, the moſt pious, liberal, and amiable prince that had ever filled the throne of *Poland*; his very failings being of ſuch a nature as engaged the eſteem, the affection, and the admiration of his people [a] (A).

THE *Poles* were doubly ſenſible of the merit of *Caſimir* the moment he was removed from them, and this made them more difficult in their choice of a ſucceſſor. His ſon *Lechus* was a boy, and they dreaded the conſequences of a long minority, while there remained ſuch a number of claimants for the throne. The young prince indeed was eſpouſed by the biſhop of *Cracow*, and a majority of the nobility; beſides, the election of the diet was ſufficient to conſtitute the legitimacy of his right; yet the nation in general dreaded a civil war, and the confuſion that might follow the appointing a prince to fill the throne, who at the age of maturity might prove unworthy of the dignity, and of the danger and

[a] MAT. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xxvii.

(A) The following anecdote is ſufficient illuſtration of his character. While *Caſimir* was prince of *Sandomir*, he won at play all the money of one of his nobility, who, incenſed at his ill fortune, ſtruck the prince a blow on the ear, in the heat of paſſion. He fled immediately from juſtice; but being purſued and overtaken, he was condemned to loſe his head; but the generous *Caſimir* determined otherwiſe. "I am not "ſurpriſed, ſaid he, at the gen- "tleman's conduct; for not "having it in his power to "revenge himſelf on fortune, "no wonder he ſhould attack "her favourite." After which he revoked the ſentence, returned the nobleman his money, and declared that he alone was faulty, as he encouraged by his example a pernicious practice, that might terminate in the ruin of hundreds of the people (1).

(1) *Flor. Polon. lib.* ii. *cap.* x.

fatigue

fatigue they muſt undergo in his ſupport. The depoſed duke, and the ſon of *Uladiſlaus* II. now duke of *Oppelen* in *Sileſia*, had each a powerful faction determined upon joining intereſt to oppoſe the election of *Lechus*. However, the influence, the policy, the addreſs, and the eloquence of the biſhop of *Cracow* prevailed: he recited all the virtues of *Caſimir*, and by reminding the aſſembly of the many benefits deduced from the piety of the father, ſtrongly recommended the ſon. Gratitude, pity, and all the more powerful paſſions, operated in favour of the young prince, who was accordingly declared duly elected, the biſhop and palatine of *Cracow* being conſtituted his guardians, and regents of the republic. Nor did the gratitude of the aſſembly to *Caſimir*'s memory ſtop with the elevation of his eldeſt ſon; *Caſimir*, the ſecond ſon, was declared duke of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*, under the tutelage of the ſame great perſonages.

LECHUS VI. *ſurnamed the FAIR.*

THE conſequences foreſeen by the people immediately followed this act of the diet. *Mieczſlaus the Old*, reſolving to diſpute the election, formed an alliance with the dukes of *Oppelen*, *Pomerania*, and *Breſlau*, raiſed all the men in *Lower Poland* fit to bear arms, and bent his march with numerous forces towards *Cracow*. A bloody battle was fought on the banks of the river *Mozgarva*. After terrible ſlaughter the left wings of both armies were ſeized with a panic. On the one ſide *Boleſlaus*, the ſon of *Mieczſlaus*, was ſlain, and the old duke on the point of being taken priſoner; while on the other hand, the palatine of *Sandomir* fell into the enemy's hands, and the *Ruſſian* auuiliaries were entirely routed. Upon the whole, the advantage remained on the ſide of *Lechus*, though both were diſabled from keeping the field, and forced to retire to recruit their forces and ſpirits, in order to overwhelm *Poland* with freſh ſcenes of ſlaughter. *Mieczſlaus* was firſt ready for action, and he commenced his operations with invading the dutchy of *Cujavia*, which lay commodious and contiguous to his own dominions. Nothing oppoſed his progreſs, the cities opened their gates at his approach, and the diviſions that reigned among the enemy offered a fair opportunity for the intire conqueſt of *Poland*. *Mieczſlaus* laid his ſcheme deep; not ſatisfied with the reduction of *Cujavia*, he formed a deſign on *Cracow*, but preferred artifice to open force. His firſt attempt was to corrupt the guardians of the young *Lechus*; but finding their integrity inflexible, he applied to the dutcheſs dowager, mother to the prince. To

Lechus VI.

her

her he made the faireſt promiſes, after having deſcribed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the miſeries which would enſue from her refuſal of the conditions he propoſed. He ſtipulated to adopt *Lechus* and *Conrade*, her ſons, to ſurrender the province of *Cujavia* for their preſent ſupport, and to declare them heirs to all his dominions. The principal nobility oppoſed this accommodation; but it was accepted by the dutcheſs, in deſpite of all their remonſtrances, and *Mieczſlaus* was put in poſſeſſion of the capital, after he had taken a ſolemn oath punctually to execute every article of the treaty.

MIECZSLAUS the OLD reſtored.

Mieczſlaus *reſtored.*

MIECZSLAUS had too often broke his engagements to have any regard to promiſes where his intereſt was concerned: ambition had ſurmounted greater difficulties than the mere breach of a ſimple contract with a credulous woman. He was indifferent to the ſentiments of mankind, and careleſs of his reputation when it ſtood in the way of his promotion or his paſſions; and now, having got the power in his hands, he reſolved to exert it in the ſame manner as if no treaty at all ſubſiſted with the dutcheſs. His deſpotiſm ſoon became apparent; the dutcheſs perceived ſhe was duped, and ſhe endeavoured to retrieve her miſconduct by rendering the perfidious duke odious to his ſubjects. Her children were beloved by the people, and a few ſpirited meaſures in their favour would excite a general inſurrection. The dutcheſs accordingly formed a ſtrong party, the nobility took arms, and the people followed their example. The rebellion was too general to be withſtood; *Mieczſlaus* was ſhamefully driven out of *Cracow*, and on the point of being reduced to his former wretched circumſtances. His intriguing genius however once more availed him; he found means to ſow diſſention among the enemy, ſet the dutcheſs and the palatine of *Cracow* at variance, and by this means obliged that powerful nobleman to embrace his party. So formidable an acceſſion ſoon turned the ſcale of fortune; *Mieczſlaus'* forces became ſuperior, and he in conſequence regained poſſeſſion of *Cracow*; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his proſperity. He fell a ſacrifice to intemperance, and his ſon *Uladiſlaus* was raiſed to the ducal dignity, thro' the influence of the ſame palatine who had been artfully ſeduced to embrace the cauſe of *Mieczſlaus*. After the tranſactions we have related, the ſubſequent ſaying will exhibit a ſufficient idea of the character of this perfidious prince. "A ſovereign, ſaid he, is no longer obliged to keep "his oath than while it is neither ſafe nor beneficial to "break it."

His death.

THE

THE opinions of hiſtorians differ with reſpect to the ſucceſſor of *Miecxſlaus*. Some relate, that *Uladiſlaus* was elected duke, and died a few days after his acceſſion [b]; others are equally ſtrenuous in aſſerting, that the palatine of *Cracow*, ſenſible that he had been deceived by the artful *Miecſlaus*, was preparing to join his enemies before his death, and immediately upon that event ſeized the capital, and reſtored the young *Lechus* to the ſupreme dignity [c]. *Guagnini* differs from both theſe relations, and affirms, that *Uladiſlaus* ſucceeded his father for three years, and then reflecting upon his own uſurpation of another's right, voluntarily reſigned the crown to *Lechus*.

LECHUS reſtored.

WE can only be certain amidſt ſo many diſcordant opinions, that *Lechus* was reſtored. In this all writers agree, and they are equally unanimous that his government was unfortunate. The *Tartars* broke into *Poland*, ravaged it with the utmoſt cruelty, and diffuſed terror and confuſion thro' all the northern kingdoms. At laſt they came to an engagement with the *Poles*, aſſiſted by the *Ruſſians*; and, after an obſtinate and dreadful conflict, obtained a complete victory. This was their firſt incurſion into *Poland*, and happily for that country it terminated as precipitately as it commenced. Without any apparent reaſon they retired, juſt as the whole kingdom was ready to ſubmit. Diſeaſe and famine however marked their way. The devaſtations they had committed produced a dearth, which was ſoon followed by a peſtilence that reduced one of the moſt populous countries of the northern hemiſphere to a ſolitude. In this ſituation was *Poland*, when death put an end to the misfortunes of *Lechus*, whoſe reign was the moſt inauſpicious in the annals of that republic. The manner in which *Lechus* periſhed completed the tragedy; he was ſacrificed to the ambition of his own ſubjects, and murdered as he was bathing with *Henry the Bearded* of *Sileſia*. The conſpiracy was ſet on foot by *Swentopelus*, palatine of *Pomerania*, who aſpired at the ſovereignty of that province, the inveſtiture of which had been refuſed him by *Lechus*. A civil war enſued, and *Poland* became the prey of a number of petty princes, each of whom claimed the ducal dignity [d] (A). FOR

Lechus *reſtored.* A. D. 1206.

[b] HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii. HERBURT de Fulſtin, lib. vi. pag. 102, 103. [c] GUAGN. pag. 92, ap. Piſtor. [d] MAT. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xxx. HART. lib. i. cap. ii.

(A) *Matthew* of *Michovia* relates, contrary to the teſtimony of all other *Poliſh* hiſtorians, that *Lechus the Fair* was four times

FOR a ſeries of years it would be difficult to determine who was the ſucceſſor of *Lechus*. He had a ſon called *Beleſlaus*, by his wife *Grewſlaw*, daughter of the duke of *Ruſſia*; but this prince being a minor, the regency, and at laſt the ducal throne, was conteſted between *Conrade*, uncle to *Boleſlaus*, and *Henry the Bearded*, duke of *Sileſia*. Each triumphed in his turn; and that prince was conſidered as duke of *Poland* who got poſſeſſion of *Cracow*, notwithſtanding the reſt of the kingdom was in the hands of men who claimed independency on the capital. *Henry*, after defeating *Conrade* in two bloody battles, firſt gained the ſeat of government, and aſſumed the title of duke; but his imprudent confidence in the inhabitants of *Cracow*, ſoon deſtroyed the fruits of his victories. Having ſent the *Sileſian* troops back to their own country, to avoid giving umbrage to the citizens, he was ſurpriſed and taken priſoner by *Conrade*. The civil war raged with redoubled vigour; the ſon of *Henry* having collected an army, *Poland* was on the verge of deſtruction, when an accommodation was effected by means of the prudence and policy of *Henry*'s wife *Hedwiga*. The treaty concluded upon this occaſion was broke by *Henry*, who in leſs than a year aſſumed, without any oppoſition, the title of duke of *Poland*, got poſſeſſion of *Cracow*, and enjoyed both for the remainder of his life.

IT was during this unfortunate ſtate of the kingdom that the *Tartars* made a ſecond irruption, laid all deſolate before them, and were advancing to the capital, when they were attacked by the brave palatine of *Cracow*, ſupported only by a handful of men, defeated with great ſlaughter, and forced to retire with precipitation. The palatine's valour ſerved only to ſtem the torrent; it did not break the power of the enemy: for next year the *Tartars* returned, and, ſpurred on by reſentment, committed ſuch barbarities as cannot be equalled in hiſtory, or deſcribed without horror. It is ſufficient, that neither ſex, age, nor quality, could excite compaſſion in the obdurate breaſts of thoſe ſavages, whole provinces being burnt to the ground, and the inhabitants maſſacred. They were returning loaden with ſpoils, when the palatine fell upon them a ſecond time with a ſlender force; but fortune was unpropitious; he was defeated, after an obſtinate conflict, and after he had diſplayed all the qualities of a good ſoldier,

times depoſed, and at laſt was murdered in the manner related, while he was in poſſeſſion of the ſovereign authority of *Poland*, all the other princes paying him homage (1).

(1) *Lib.* iii. *cap.* xxx. *pag.* 81.

general,

general, and patriot. This unfortunate action laid all *Poland* open to the *Tartars*; the nobility fled into *Hungary*, and the peaſants ſought an aſylum among rocks and impenetrable foreſts. *Cracow* was left intirely defenceleſs, the *Tartars* took poſſeſſion, and ſoon pillaged and burnt the capital. Next they penetrated into *Sileſia* and *Moravia*, and after deſolating the countries, deſtroyed *Breſlau* and other cities; nor did *Hungary* eſcape the fury of their barbarity; the king gave battle to the *Tartars*, was defeated with vaſt carnage, and then had the mortification to ſee his capital laid in aſhes, and above an hundred thouſand of his ſubjects periſh by fire and ſword. The *Tartarian* arms were invincible, nothing could withſtand the prodigious forces they brought into the field, and the fury with which they ſeemed actuated. They fixed their head-quarters on the frontiers of *Hungary*, and ſpread their devaſtations on every ſide with a celerity and ſucceſs that threatened the deſtruction of the whole empire, as well as the ſurrounding kingdoms.

BOLESLAUS V. *ſurnamed the CHASTE.*

In this ſituation was *Poland*, bleeding under the ſcourge of the moſt cruel ſervitude, when *Boleſlaus*, ſurnamed the *Chaſte*, was raiſed to the throne, by which means a civil war was added to the other misfortunes of the kingdom. This prince, the ſon of *Lechus*, was oppoſed by his uncle *Conrade*, who, though he did not conteſt the right of the father, nor of *Henry the Bearded*, was reſolved not to admit that of their children, and ſee himſelf become the ſubject of his own nephew. He took the field with a numerous army, gained poſſeſſion of *Cracow*, and aſſumed the title of duke of *Poland*, having the provinces of *Cracow* and *Sandomir* wholly under his authority. As *Boleſlaus* was forced to take refuge in *Hungary*, it is probable that *Conrade* might have kept poſſeſſion of the ducal throne, had not his avarice and pride equally offended the nobility and peaſants, and obliged them unanimouſly to invite *Boleſlaus* to head the inſurrection which appeared in every quarter. On his arrival the capital received him with joy; but his ſovereignty was not univerſally acknowledged. A powerful party ſtill eſpouſed *Conrade*; and it is reported that on this occaſion the knights of the *Teutonic* order were called into *Poland* to diſpute the pretenſions of *Boleſlaus* (B). All his endeavours however proved ineffectual; Boleſlaus V. A. D. 1240.

(B) Some writers alledge, that *Conrade* firſt invited the *Teutonic* knights to aſſiſt him againſt the *Pruſſians*, a few years before

fectual; he was defeated in two pitched battles, and forced to live in a private ſituation, though he never ceaſed to harraſs his nephew, and make freſh attempts to recover the crown, to which he had no right either by birth or election. To his intrigues *Mathew* of *Michovia* aſcribes an irruption made by the *Lithuanians* into *Poland*, where they made dreadful ravages, and were at laſt defeated by *Boleſlaus*, with the loſs of their duke *Mimdacus*. We know but few particulars beſides of the reign and character of *Boleſlaus*, except that he is reported to have made a perpetual vow of continency, and to have impoſed the ſame oath on his wife; that he was liberal to the church; that he founded near forty monaſteries; and that he died after a long reign, in the year 1279, after having adopted *Lechus* duke of *Cujavia*, and procured a confirmation of his choice by the free election of the people[a].

LECHUS VII. *ſurnamed the BLACK.*

Lechus VII.

No period in the *Poliſh* annals is more replete with carnage than the reign of this prince, whoſe whole life was one continued tiſſue of domeſtic and foreign troubles and misfortunes. On his firſt acceſſion he was attacked by the united forces of *Ruſſia* and *Lithuania*, aſſiſted by the *Tartars*, whom he had the good fortune to defeat in a pitched engagement, in which victory ſtood long in ſuſpence. The advantage obtained on this occaſion obliged the enemy to evacuate *Poland*; but it ſo weakened *Lechus*, as to give birth to civil diſſentions. The biſhop of *Cracow*, and duke of *Mazovia*, with ſeveral other prelates and nobles, united to depoſe *Lechus*, from motives of ambition, ſome alledge of reſentment, the prince having detained the biſhop of *Cracow* in priſon for the ſpace of a month. This was an affront never to be forgiven by the clergy, who had intereſt enough with the pontiff to procure ſentence of excommunication to be denounced againſt their ſovereign, whereby all his ſubjects were abſolved from their oath of allegiance. In conſequence, the revolt

[a] FLOR. Polon. lib. ii. cap. xv. GUAGN. tom. i. pag. 97. apud Piſtor.

before his conteſt with *Boleſlaus*; and that in recompence of their ſervices, he gave them *Culm*, and other places, where they were ſettled at this time, and ready to lend their aſſiſtance to their patron. In a few years theſe auxiliaries proved the bittereſt enemies of *Poland*, and the authors of a great number of bloody wars (1).

(1) *Flor. Polon. lib.* ii. *cap.* ii. *Guagn. pag.* 96.

became

became ſo general, that *Lechus* was forced to take ſhelter under the wing of the king of *Hungary*, the inhabitants of *Cracow* alone remaining firm in their duty. Theſe brave citizens ſtood all the fatigue and danger of a tedious ſiege, and were at laſt relieved by the *Hungarian* army and *Lechus*, who defeated the rebels, and reſtored the legitimate ſovereign.

LECHUS had ſcarce reaſcended the throne, when the united *Ruſſians*, *Tartars*, and *Lithuanians*, made a ſecond irruption into *Poland*, and deſolated the country with more fury and barbarity than before. Their forces were prodigious, and rendered more terrible, we are told, by the incredible number of large dogs trained to the art of war, with which they were accompanied. *Lechus* however was not diſcouraged: he attacked the enemy with inferior troops, and obtained a complete victory, the *Poles* being animated by deſpair, on perceiving that if they were conquered, they muſt likewiſe be devoured. This was the laſt exploit recorded in hiſtory of this prince, who died with the reputation of a warlike, wiſe, but unfortunate monarch, having never had the power to gratify his inclination to promote the felicity of his ſubjects. As he died without iſſue his crown was conteſted, and his dominions again expoſed to all the horrors of civil diſ- A. D.
cord. The competitors for the ſovereignty were *Uladiſlaus* 1290.
Lecticus, brother to the deceaſed prince, who ſeized the palatinate of *Siradia*; *Boleſlaus* duke of *Pleſkow*, brother to *Conrade* duke of *Mazovia*, who took poſſeſſion of *Cracow* and *Sandomir*; and *Henry* duke of *Breſlau*, a prince lineally deſcended from the family of *Piaſtus*. The ſtruggle for power was violent, but ſhort, *Henry* triumphing over his adverſaries, and driving them from the provinces they had ſeized, took poſſeſſion of the capital, and was acknowledged duke of *Poland*.

HENRY, ſurnamed the HONEST.

HENRY did not enjoy his dignity in peace. *Uladiſlaus* Henry.
Lecticus made another effort, and was ſo ſucceſsful as to oblige the duke to quit the capital; however, he ſuſtained a defeat in the open field, which obliged him with reluctance to abandon his claim, and ſuffer his rival to remain in quiet poſſeſſion for the ſhort remainder of his life. About five years after his election *Henry* died, as ſome writers alledge, of poiſon, adminiſtered to him by certain noblemen of *Sileſia*, leaving the dutchies of *Cracow* and *Sandomir* to *Premiſlaus* duke of *Great Poland*, his relation, and likewiſe the deſcendant of *Piaſtus*.

PREMISLAUS II.

Premiſlaus II.

POLAND had loſt all its ſplendor ſince its princes had been deprived of the regal dignity. Almoſt all the provinces had ſhook off their allegiance, and even the palatinates of *Poland* ſometimes refuſed paying obedience to the dukes. *Premiſlaus* knew the influence of pageantry on the minds of the multitude, and accordingly had the ceremony of coronation renewed at *Gneſna*, and was crowned with all the pomp and magnificence obſerved by the former kings of *Poland*. He aſſumed the title of king, and was attended with all the badges of the regal dignity; but he did not live to experience the effects of this meaſure, entered upon rather from views of policy than pride. A conſpiracy was formed againſt him, and he was deprived of life about ſeven months after his elevation. The hiſtorians of this country differ extremely in their relations about the cauſe of this event. Some aſcribe it to the jealouſy of the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who employed aſſaſſins to execute his vengeance, though they are ſilent with reſpect to the occaſion of this animoſity between the princes: others, on the contrary, affirm, that the widow of the late ſovereign, incenſed at being ſtripped of the territories conſigned to her for her dowry, entered into treaty with the monarch of *Bohemia*, and reſigned to him her rights, on condition that he would aſſiſt her in gratifying her revenge, and puniſhing the perfidious ungrateful *Premiſlaus*. This offer was readily accepted; and accordingly that ſovereign marched with a powerful army into *Poland*, reduced *Cracow*, and depoſed the *Poliſh* prince, ſeizing upon all his dominions, whence he is ranked by ſome writers among the kings of *Poland*. It is ſaid however of this prince, that he was better acquainted with the means of acquiring than of retaining conqueſts. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed and defeated by *Uladiſlaus Loctícus*, who ſoon recovered all the places which had been taken, and drove the *Bohemians* out of the kingdom [a]. It is now impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to reconcile accounts ſo oppoſite; we muſt therefore content ourſelves with relating the various opinions, ſubmitting it to the choice of our readers to which they think proper to give their aſſent.

A. D. 1296.

[a] GUAGN. tom. i. p. 99. FLOR. Polon. lib. vii. cap. xv. pag. 113. MAT. de Michov. apud Piſtor. tom. ii. lib. iv. cap. i. HARTN. lib. i. cap. ii. HERBURT de Fulſtin, lib. ix.

ULADISLAUS III. *surnamed LOCTICUS.*

Nor are the relations of authors more consistent with respect to the succession; some affirm, that *Uladislaus Locticus* seized the throne, and governed the kingdom for the space of five years, at first with great ability and applause, but towards the end of his reign, with so much tyranny and profligacy, that he was deposed by the unanimous voice of the people. Others are equally positive, that *Premislaus*, son to the late monarch, was vested with the regal dignity, out of regard to his merit, and certain considerable services which he performed. It is probable indeed that both these princes reigned; though it will be difficult to ascertain who was the immediate successor of *Premislaus* II. Both were solemnly crowned at *Gnesna* by the primate of that name. *Premislaus* was assassinated just as his people had begun to taste the fruits of his prudent administration; and *Uladislaus* was deposed for his vices, after he had exhibited proofs of courage in repressing the insolence of the *Silesians*, and of ability, by other acts of government. Uladislaus III.

WINCESLAUS. A. D. 1300.

As soon as the throne was vacant, it was offered, by the unanimous voice of the people, to *Winceslaus* king of *Bohemia*, who likewise claimed it by right, in consequence of the resignation made in his favour by *Griphina*, widow of *Lechus the Black*. He had likewise married *Rixa*, the daughter of *Premislaus*, and thereby strengthed his right and interest. His reign commenced with a cruel persecution of *Locticus* and his adherents, who were forced to quit the kingdom: he then introduced the *Bohemians* into *Poland*, and conferred upon them the principal offices in the kingdom. After he had firmly established himself upon the throne, as he imagined, and garrisoned all the forces with the troops of *Bohemia*, he visited his native country, and thereby laid the foundation of the revolution which immediately followed. The *Bohemian* governors used their power with insolence, and grievously oppressed the people with heavy taxes, imposed without the authority of the sovereign or the states. *Uladislaus Locticus* resolved to profit by the general discontent that appeared among all degrees of men. He returned to *Poland*, and made profession of an intire reformation of manners. The troops he had brought from *Hungary* were soon increased to a considerable army, by the crowds of *Poles* who took refuge with him, to screen themselves from the tyranny Winceslaus king of Bohemia.

of the *Bohemians*. He had the good fortune to reduce ſeveral towns, and was rapidly purſuing his conqueſts when the death of *Winceſlaus* paved the way to his reſtoration, as there was no other competitor able to diſpute his claim with ſuch numerous forces. Accordingly the ſtates aſſembled, and unanimouſly elected *Uladiſlaus*, tho' they conſiderably retrenched his authority, and deferred his coronation until he had given proofs of a ſincere reformation of manners [a].

U L A D I S L U S reſtored.

Uladiſlaus *reſtored.* A. D. 1305.

ULADISLAUS was no ſooner reſtored to the ſovereign authority than he entered upon a war with the *Teutonic* knights, who had uſurped the greater part of *Pomerania*, during the late diſturbances in *Poland*. They had been ſettled in the territory of *Culm*, as we have ſeen, by *Conrade* duke of *Mazovia*; and they ſoon extended their dominion, not only over *Pruſſia*, but *Pomerania*, and ſome of the neighbouring countries likewiſe. In the year 1310, they laid ſiege to *Dantzick*, and gained poſſeſſion of the city by means of a ſecret correſpondence with the corrupt magiſtracy. Here a great number of *Pomeranian* gentlemen were maſſacred in cold blood, which ſo terrified all the other towns of the province, that they ſubmitted without making the leaſt reſiſtance. To colour their ambition with the varniſh of juſtice, they purchaſed the rights of the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who in fact had no legitimate claim to an inch of property in this country, and then ſet at defiance the thunders of the vatican, and the menaces of the *Poliſh* monarch. Divers conferences were held in order to an accommodation; but as the knights refuſed to yield any of their conqueſts, *Uladiſlaus* had recourſe firſt to the ſee of *Rome*, and then to arms, reſolving to compel them by eccleſiaſtical cenſures and ſecular force to make reſtitution. As ſoon as the knights were excommunicated by the pope, the king marched with a numerous army into *Brandenburg*, and laid waſte the marquis's dominions, becauſe he pretended to ſell a country to which he had no right, and to ſupport with his forces the uſurpation of the *Teutonic* order. Next he laid waſte the territory of *Culm* with fire and ſword, and being oppoſed by the joint forces of the marquis, the knights, and the duke of *Mazovia*, obtained a complete victory, after a bloody conflict, in which he eminently diſplayed his conduct and courage. Without purſuing the blow he returned to *Poland*, recruited his ar-

Conquers the Teutonic *order.*

[a] Vid. Auct. citat. ibid.

my,

my, and being reinforced by a body of auxiliaries from *Hungary* and *Lithuania*, penetrated a second time into *Prussia* and *Pomerania*, dispersed the enemy's forces, and ravaged without opposition all the dominions of the *Teutonic* order. Had he improved his advantage, he might either have exterminated the knights, or reduced them so low, that they could never more have been in a condition to injure *Poland*; but he was soothed by their supplications, and cajoled by promises, which they made with no other view than to extricate themselves from their present perplexity. He suffered a treaty to be concluded, under the mediation of the kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, to the former of whom he had given his daughter in marriage, and was in a few months convinced of the perfidious designs of the knights. They had not only refused to make the restitution of *Pomerania*, stipulated in the treaty, but endeavoured to extend their usurpations, for which purpose they had assembled a very considerable army. Enraged at their treachery and bold ambition, *Uladislaus* a third time took the field, and gave battle with such extraordinary success, that four thousand knights were left dead upon the spot, and about thirty thousand auxiliaries, if we may credit the *Polish* writers, either killed or taken prisoners. *Uladislaus* had displayed all the qualities of a great general in this action: he animated his troops equally by his discourse and example; and exhibited striking proofs of his generosity after victory had declared in his favour. Among the enemy's wounded was one *Florianus Szari*, a knight of the *Teutonic* order, who, with his belly ripped open, and his bowels hanging down, accosted the king with these words: "See the situation of the poor man who is hedged round with "bad neighbours." *Uladislaus*, struck with the expression, told him his valour merited a better neighbourhood, and accordingly sent surgeons to attend him; and as soon as he was cured, appointed him lands, where he spent the remainder of his days in tranquillity. Nor was the king's moderation inferior to his valour and humanity: though he now had it in his power to annihilate the whole order of knights, he satisfied himself with obtaining the territories which had occasioned the war, and securing the tranquillity of his dominions by a long truce.

He next turned his attention to the pacific arts; but he first resolved to give lustre to his government, by having his coronation performed with the utmost magnificence; to which the *Poles* could now have no objection, as the king had approved himself worthy of their election. For the space of fifteen years he had reigned with equal prudence and success; and this was the least favour he could expect

from the gratitude of his ſubjects. They conſented with one voice to his requeſt; but *Uladiſlaus* entertaining ſome doubts about the propriety of aſſuming the regal dignity, without the conſent of the holy ſee, detached an ambaſſy to *Rome* to requeſt the pontiff to confirm his own and his queen's coronation. As the requeſt was accompanied with a liberal donation, it was immediately granted, and accordingly the ceremony was performed in the cathedral of *Cracow*, by the biſhop of *Gneſna*. Not long after this ceremony he was ſeized with a chronic diſorder, that terminated with his life. When he perceived his diſſolution near, he ſent for the principal nobility and officers of the crown to his apartment, and recommended his ſon *Caſimir* ſo ſtrongly, that they all promiſed their utmoſt influence to have him appointed his ſucceſſor; after which he addreſſed himſelf to the young prince, pointed out to him the errors in his own conduct, adviſed him to ſtudy gaining the affections of his ſubjects, and never to put any confidence in the promiſe of the *Teutonic* knights, who had ſo often trifled with their oaths, and impoſed upon his credulity. He then expired with the reputation of a prince who had acquired conſummate prudence by experience, and learnt wiſdom from adverſity [a].

CASIMIR III. *ſurnamed the* GREAT.

Caſimir III.

THE conduct of the *Teutonic* knights proved how ſalutary was the advice of the ſage *Uladiſlaus*. They accepted the late truce only to draw breath and recruit their forces, and now inſtead of making reſtitution, employed their utmoſt diligence to repair their loſſes. It was neceſſary however to act with caution; *Caſimir* was powerful, and could with one blow cruſh all their forces: they therefore determined to accompliſh their deſigns by intrigue, and had the good fortune to ſucceed: they ſubmitted their differences with the crown of *Poland* to the deciſion of the kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; and thus, by making the firſt overtures of chuſing thoſe princes for umpires, gained them actually to be parties. Conferences were appointed, *Pomerania* was adjudged to the knights, provided they would reſtore *Culm*, and *Caſimir* reduced to the neceſſity of abiding by the deciſion of the kings, or of declaring war againſt the *Teutonic* order, aſſiſted by the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. The *Poles* however appeared more ſpirited on this occaſion than their monarch. *Caſimir* undertook to get the treaty ratified by the

[a] HERBURT de Fulſtin, pag. 153. FLOR. Polon. lib. ii. cap. xviii. MAT. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. tom. ii. apud Piſtor.

dict;

diet; but the ſtates unanimouſly denied their aſſent, and even inſiſted upon the king's complaining to the ſee of *Rome*, of the turbulence, the perfidy, ambition, and reſtleſs diſpoſition of the knights, who were perpetually lighting up the torch of ſedition in the northern kingdoms. *Caſimir* rejoiced at the courage of his people, and was glad to find the diet had diſavowed meaſures which himſelf could not approve, and that were the reſult of neceſſity. He took his meaſures ſo well with the pontiff, that a legate came to *Poland*, examined the point in diſpute, and condemned the knights to make immediate reſtitution, under the penalty of the ſevereſt ſpiritual puniſhments; a ſentence to which they paid very little regard, as it was not enforced by ſecular power. His *Poliſh* majeſty had thoughts of entering upon a war, to ſatisfy the inclinations of his ſubjects; but ſenſible of the power of the knights, and of the ſtrength of the alliances they had formed, he at length reſolved to wait a more ſeaſonable opportunity, and ſatisfy himſelf with the reſtitution of *Culm* and *Cujavia*.

CASIMIR had beſides another motive for this ſeemingly tame conduct: he had projected the conqueſt of *Ruſſia*, at leaſt of that great province of the preſent *Poliſh* dominions called *Ruſſia Nigra*. The diviſions in that country, on account of religion, offered a fair opportunity; and he thought that this conqueſt might be more advantageous to *Poland* than the reduction of *Pomerania*, without the danger which would attend any attempts upon the latter. He immediately formed a flying camp, with which he entered the province and laid ſiege to *Leopold*, before the inhabitants were appriſed of his intention. The place was deſtitute of proviſions, and every other neceſſary for withſtanding an enemy; the garriſon therefore capitulated upon *Caſimir*'s promiſe of allowing entire liberty of conſcience, and took an oath of allegiance to the crown of *Poland*. Leaving a garriſon in *Leopold*, he bent his operations againſt the neighbouring cities, and ſoon made himſelf abſolute maſter of *Volhinia*. Returning to *Poland* with an immenſe treaſure, he levied a greater army, and again penetrated *Ruſſia* to complete the conqueſt of that country, and was ſo ſucceſsful as to ſubdue the whole province in the courſe of one campaign. Next he turned his arms againſt *Mazovia*, and with the utmoſt rapidity over-ran the dutchy, and annexed it as a province to his crown; after which he applied his attention to domeſtic affairs, reviving the force of the antient laws, framing new ones, and digeſting the whole in a written regular code, which had never before been ſeen in *Poland*. Hitherto the *Poles* were intirely ignorant of ſcriptural laws, all cauſes being decided

Subdues Ruſſia-Nigra.

by cuſtom, tradition, and the pleaſure of the judge. The uſual regulation obſerved in determining private differences was exceedingly ridiculous. An oath was wrote down upon paper, and delivered to one of the parties, who was deſired to pronounce it. If in courſe of reading he heſitated or blundered, he was immediately condemned as guilty, merely perhaps becauſe he happened not to be a ſcholar, though his adverſary had indeed but little cauſe to triumph, both parties being obliged to pay large fines to the judges. The palatines, ſtaroſtas, and nobility ſat as judges, and took this method of enriching themſelves, under pretence of preventing litigation. *Caſimir* reſolved to reform theſe abuſes: he ſtated the fees of the judge, who was to decide by written laws, which he adopted from the *Teutonic* order, and ordered that the whole coſts ſhould fall upon him whoſe obſtinacy, injuſtice, or deſire of tyrannizing over his fellow ſubject had given occaſion for the law-ſuit. The written code he preſented to a general diet, where it was examined, approved, and enlarged. *Caſimir* then ordered it to be publiſhed; and the people ſoon reaped the fruits of his wiſdom and care for their welfare. He raiſed *Leopold* to the dignity of an archbiſhopric, erected ſeveral fortreſſes, ſtrengthened his frontier, incloſed the chief cities of his dominions with ſtrong walls, and governed with ſuch ability, integrity, and vigilance, as could not fail of gaining the affections of his ſubjects. He was the moſt impartial judge, the moſt rigid obſerver of juſtice, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed example of ſubmiſſion to the laws that *Europe* affords among perſons veſted with the regal dignity, who uſually meaſure equity by power, and think themſelves equally the ſovereigns of the law and of the people. The peaſants were relieved from the oppreſſion of the nobility, and yet compenſation was made to the latter by the means which *Caſimir* took to promote induſtry, and encreaſe the general wealth of the kingdom. In a word, *Caſimir*'s character was unſullied by a ſingle vice, except incontinence, which however he confined within the bounds of policy, if not of ſtrict morals. The clergy themſelves confeſs, that in *Caſimir* unchaſtity was a venial vice, which he more than compenſated by the great number of his virtues, particularly his liberality to their order, for whoſe uſe he founded ſeveral monaſteries, and one univerſity. It is certainly however a reproach to his memory, that he divorced his queen only to raiſe to his bed an intriguing artful concubine, who was ſo perfectly miſtreſs of his paſſions, that ſhe prevailed on the king to marry her privately. In every other inſtance he approved himſelf a wiſe, valiant, and virtuous monarch.

LEWIS

LEWIS.

CASIMIR had been careful to continue the laſt drop of the blood of *Piaſtus* in the ſucceſſion; with which view *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, his nephew by his ſiſter, was declared prince of *Poland* by the diet. In the life-time of the late king he had ſwore to obſerve the *pacta conventa*, and now aſcended the throne without obſtruction, being ſolemnly crowned at *Cracow* on the ſeventeenth day of *November*. The *Poles* were not happy in this election, as they could not but conſider *Lewis* as a foreign prince, who would give the preference to his native country and hereditary dominions, enriching them perhaps at the expence of a kingdom which he could not regard as his own property. In the *pacta conventa* they had inſerted a variety of articles to reſtrict his authority, which had never before been ſtipulated with their monarchs of the houſe of *Piaſtus*. This occaſioned a coldneſs between the king and his people, as it intimated a ſuſpicion of his conduct; and indeed he too ſoon afforded cauſe for their jealouſy. He had ſcarce received the homage of his new ſubjects before he retired into *Hungary*, carrying with him the crown, ſceptre, globe, and ſword of ſtate, to prevent the *Poles* from electing another prince during his abſence; and he left the reins of government in the hands of the queen his mother. The choice of a regent would have been agreeable to the people, had *Elizabeth*'s capacity been ſufficient for the important charge. She was a *Pole* by birth, and ſiſter to their late darling monarch; but the diſturbed circumſtances of the ſtate required the exertion of manly talents, and the queen poſſeſſed thoſe only of a weak woman. *Poland* was over-run with bold robbers and gangs of villains, who plundered towns and deſolated whole countries: they were headed by a *Brandenburg* partiſan, and ſpread terror through the kingdom with impunity. The *Lithuanians* too had made inroads into *Poland*, and marked their way with blood and ſlaughter. They reduced *Wlodomirow*, a city which *Caſimir* had fortified merely as a check on their ferocity; but it was now left ungarriſoned, whereby it fell an eaſy prey, was ſacked, and deſtroyed. They next penetrated into the palatinate of *Sandomir*; and to encreaſe the public calamity, the whole province of *Ruſſia-Nigra* revolted. The kingdom itſelf was filled with diſſention; the *Poles* could not patiently endure to ſee their garriſons in the hands of *Hungarians*; and they ſent the king word, that they thought he was ſufficiently honoured in being himſelf elected to the regal dignity,

Lewis *king of* Hungary. A. D. 1370.

nity, without ſuffering the kingdom to be governed by a woman and his *Hungarian* ſubjects. So bold a meſſage was regarded as the ſignal for action: *Lewis* raiſed a numerous army, and marched for *Poland*, with a full reſolution to break the high ſpirit of his new ſubjects. His firſt operations however were directed againſt the *Ruſſians*, whom he defeated, obliging them again to receive the yoke of ſervitude. He then turned his arms againſt the *Lithuanians*, whom he drove out of the kingdom; and had he ſtopped there, and withdrawn the *Hungarian* garriſons, he might eaſily have recovered the affections of his *Poliſh* ſubjects. Inſtead however of a meaſure which common underſtanding dictated, he ſtrengthened the fetters of the *Poles*, by encreaſing the foreign troops, and raiſing *Hungarians* to all the chief dignities. His credit and authority even extended ſo far as to cauſe a ſucceſſor to be nominated, who was diſagreeable to the whole nation, and this by a ſtep the moſt unprecedented, and contrary to the conſtitution of the *Poliſh* government. He aſſembled a diet of the ſtates of *Poland* at *Zwolen* in *Hungary*, and prevailed on the principal nobility, whom he won by preſents, or intimidated by menaces, to ſwear allegiance to *Sigiſmund* marquis of *Brandenburg*; and to give weight to their election, he ſent that prince with a body of *Hungarian* forces into *Poland*, and obliged him to fix his court at *Gneſna*, where he reſided when *Lewis*, very happily for the kingdom, breathed his laſt, after an ill conducted reign of twelve years[a] (A).

ALL the endeavours of *Lewis* to confirm *Sigiſmund* in the ſucceſſion were fruſtrated by his own miſmanagement, and the rivetted averſion of the nation to a foreign prince, ſet over them by fraud, corruption, and force. His election was not only irregular; but the imperious manner in which he behaved would have provoked the people to ſet aſide the

[a] MAT. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. xxviii. xxix. xxx. xxxi. RADEVICUS, lib. i. cap. iii.

(A) It is reported of *Lewis*, that notwithſtanding his adminiſtration relative to *Poland* was impolitic, he was neither deſtitute of underſtanding, nor of valuable qualities. He always expreſſed an extreme anxiety to know what opinion his ſubjects entertained of his government; for which purpoſe he uſed to diſguiſe himſelf, and enquire of the peaſants how they liked their king, carefully redreſſing all the grievances of which they complained (1).

(1) *Flor. Polon. lib.* ii. *cap.* xx. *Herburt de Fulſtin, lib.* xi. *p.* 189, &c.

moſt

moſt legitimate claim; they therefore refuſed to proceed to the ceremony of coronation, and the diet came to a reſolution of offering the crown to *Hedwiga*, daughter to the late monarch.

HEDWIGA.

THE only conditions propoſed to this young princeſs were, that ſhe ſhould marry with the approbation of her ſubjects, and expreſly ſtipulate that her huſband ſhould reſide conſtantly in *Poland*. The propoſal was accepted, and *Hedwiga*, attended by cardinal *Demetrius* biſhop of *Strigonia*, ſet out for *Poland*, where ſhe was received amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people, and crowned with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence at *Cracow*. She was ſcarce ſeated on the throne before ſeveral neighbouring princes paid their addreſſes; the firſt who courted her affection was *Ziemovitus* duke of *Mazovia*, who was rejected: next *William* of *Auſtria* made propoſals, and came to the court of *Poland* to give weight to his addreſs. *Hedwiga* was won by the comelineſs of his perſon, his magnificence, and plauſible manner; but the diet poſitively refuſed all connection with a prince, whoſe power might one day enable him to render *Poland* a province dependent on *Auſtria*. At laſt *Jagello* duke of *Great Lithuania* demanded the queen in marriage, by a magnificent ambaſſy. His terms were ſo advantageous to *Poland*, and the alliance in every reſpect ſo honourable, that there was no poſſibility of raiſing objections. He conſented to embrace Chriſtianity, and to oblige all his ſubjects to be baptized: he propoſed uniting *Lithuania* to *Poland* inſeparably, and to incorporate them into one ſolid government, under the ſame ſovereign authority; and he promiſed to reconquer *Pomerania*, and all the provinces belonging to *Poland*, which had been uſurped by the knights of the *Teutonic* order. By ſuch magnificent propoſals *Jagello* eaſily triumphed over all his adverſaries; the queen regarded them as teſts of his affection, and the people conſidered them as extremely advantageous to the kingdom, as the union of *Lithuania* not only augmented the power of the commonwealth, but cut off all cauſe of thoſe cruel wars, which of late years were continually diſturbing the repoſe both of *Poland* and *Lithuania*.

Hedwiga, *daughter to* Lewis, *made queen of* Poland.

STILL however the queen entertained a ſecret paſſion for *William* of *Auſtria*. She had endeavoured to mould her affections to the inclination and good of her people; but when the treaty of marriage with *Jagello* was on the point of being concluded, her reſolution failed, and ſhe could not help conſidering herſelf as the ſacrifice made to a barbarian and infi-

del,

del, to promote the happineſs of her ſubjects. Filled with theſe ſentiments, ſhe now determined at all hazards to encourage the addreſs of *William*; for which purpoſe ſhe entered upon a clandeſtine intercourſe with him, whereby he was invited to enter the kingdom with a body of forces to ſupport her deſigns. She even had a private interview with this prince, which being diſcovered, the nobility in arms ſurrounded the palace, obliged *William* to retire, and kept their ſovereign a ſort of priſoner until the arrival of *Jagello*, who advanced with a numerous army, attended by his two brothers. On his arrival at court, the queen refuſed to admit him to her preſence; but being at length prevailed on by the prayers of the nobility, the handſome perſon, the vivacity, and youth of the *Lithuanian* duke, ſoon baniſhed from her mind the idea of *William*, and her heart correſponded with her duty. The nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence; *Jagello* was baptized by the name of *Uladiſlaus*, and the dutchy of *Lithuania* inſeparably annexed to the crown of *Poland*, but not as a dependent province [b].

She marries Jagello *duke of* Lithuania, *and ther by unites that dutchy with the crown.*

[b] Id. ibid. Mat. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. xxxvii. Flor. Polon. l. iii. cap. ii.

SECT. IV.

Containing the Hiſtory of the third Claſs of Poliſh *Monarchs, or the Race of* Jagellò, *extinct in the Perſon of* Sigiſmund II. 1574.

ULADISLAUS IV.*

Uladiſlaus IV. A. D. 1388.

IN conſequence of the marriage of queen *Hedwiga* with *Jagello* duke of *Lithuania*, the kingdom of *Poland* was augmented not only by the union of that dutchy, but by the vaſt provinces of *Samogitia* and *Ruſſia-Nigra*, the latter of which had coſt ſo much blood and treaſure to the republic. Theſe provinces paid homage to the dukes of *Lithuania*; and though they were governed by their own princes, yet the ſovereignty of the dutchy, and now of the united crowns of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, was acknowledged. So formidable an union excited the jealouſy of the *Teutonic* knights, who were ſenſible that *Jagello*, now *Uladiſlaus*, was obliged by the articles of the alliance to undertake the reduction of *Pomerania*, and revenge all the indignities which *Poland* had for a number of years ſuſtained from their order. From his firſt acceſſion

* This prince is, by a general miſtake, called *Uladiſlaus* V.

they

onſidered this monarch as their declared enemy, and
d their utmoſt ability to fruſtrate his deſigns, by carry-
e and ſword into his country, and ſtirring up a revo-
in *Lithuania*, in favour of his brother *Andrew*. The
on of the dutchy afforded a proſpect of ſucceſs. Al-
all the nobility reſented the late alliance, particularly
onſtant reſidence of the prince in *Poland*, which was
ted in the treaty of union. This they imagined would
nly drain the country of money, but in time render
nia a mere dependent province. Beſides, *Jagello* had
iſed to effect a revolution in religion, and this meaſure
not fail of meeting with oppoſition, and giving birth
il commotions. Though the order of *Teutonic* knights
rſt inſtituted to oppoſe infidelity, and defend the Chriſ-
faith, they now reſolved to follow the dictates of po-
and ſtrenuouſly oppoſe the progreſs of the Chriſtian doc-
in *Lithuania*, with a view to ſtir up the people againſt
ſovereign. Two armies marched with great expedi-
owards the frontiers of the dutchy, which they ſud-
penetrated, laying waſte the country, and ſeizing upon
important fortreſſes, before the king of *Poland* had any
ion of their deſign. As ſoon as he received advice of
avages committing in *Lithuania*, the king raiſed forces
the utmoſt celerity, which he entruſted to the conduct
s brother *Skirgello*, who attacked the knights with ſuch
uoſity, as ſoon obliged them to evacuate their conqueſts.
n time *Uladiſlaus* marched in perſon at the head of an
into the *Higher Poland*, a country rent with civil divi-
, and ſubjected to a variety of petty tyrants, who op-
d the people, and governed with intolerable deſpotiſm[a].
palatine of *Poſnia* in particular had ſeized the oppor-
y of the weakneſs of the late government to throw off
llegiance. *Uladiſlaus* marched againſt him, gave him
e, obtained a complete victory, reduced the whole coun-
obedience, and puniſhed the fomenters of the rebellion
exemplary manner.

HAVING ſecured the tranquillity of *Poland*, he viſited *Li-
nia*, attended by a great number of the clergy, in order
ffect the converſion of his ſubjects, who had hitherto
immerſed in the groſſeſt idolatry. Like ſome eaſtern
ons the inhabitants of *Lithuania* worſhipped fire, which
attended by prieſts, whoſe office it was to keep the ſa-
lamps continually burning, under the penalty of loſing
: lives for the firſt neglect. Over this body of prieſts

[a] HERBURT de Fulſtin, lib. xiv.

preſided

preſided a high-prieſt called *Ziutz*, and a chief temple was erected at *Vilna*, the capital of the dutchy, where the whole nation flocked in the utmoſt terror if the ſun happened to be obſcured for ſome days by clouds, to appeaſe that deity by human ſacrifices. If that luminary chanced to be eclipſed, it encreaſed the public conſternation, the people were quite frantic, rivers of human blood flowed, all the unhappy captives were immolated without mercy at the ſhrines of ignorance and ſuperſtition, and cruelty was added to the moſt abſurd religious tenets. Trees, ſerpents, and vipers, were likewiſe the objects of their adoration. In gloomy foreſts, and under lofty umbelliferous trees, they paid their devotions, while the reptile creation were cheriſhed in every family as the houſhold gods. *Uladiſlaus* took the moſt effectual method of removing the errors of this infatuated people: he cruſhed their ſerpents under foot, cut down their foreſts, extinguiſhed their ſacred fires, demoliſhed their temples, and by this means demonſtrated to the *Lithuanians* the impotence of their gods. At firſt the people expected to ſee the *Polanders* blaſted with lightning, and puniſhed with the ſignal vengeance of heaven; but perceiving that they met with no injury, they were convinced thoſe gods were deſtitute of power. It was then they embraced Chriſtianity, ſuffered themſelves to be baptized, and deſired they might be inſtructed in all the peculiar doctrines of *Chriſt*. Accordingly a great number of the clergy were left in *Lithuania*, an archbiſhopric was erected at *Vilna*, and *Uladiſlaus*, imagining he had ſufficiently laid the foundation of the converſion of the people, returned to *Poland*, conſtituting his brother *Skirgello* viceroy of the dutchy. This was a meaſure upon which the king had not duly deliberated: he muſt have been too well acquainted with the character of his brother to believe, that he could poſſibly be entruſted with power without abuſing it. *Skirgello* was fierce, haughty, cruel, and debauched: his great ambition was to become dreadful; and this addition of power rendered him altogether untractable. With him the king ſent his couſin *Vitowda*, a prince amiable, brave, and generous in his diſpoſition, to be a check on his conduct; but *Skirgello*'s barbarity, and unſpeakable ferocity, obliged the young prince to withdraw among the *Teutonic* knights, the uſual refuge of the oppreſſed and diſcontented. He had too much honour however to aſſiſt the knights in their deſigns againſt his country, and therefore applied to the king for protection; but finding that prince unmindful of his promiſes, he actually embarked in the ſcheme formed by the knights to invade *Lithuania*. This country he entered at the head of a numerous

Civil diviſions in Lithuania.

numerous army; and after ſpreading deſolation and terror over the face of the dutchy, ſeized upon the capital, burnt it to the ground, and deſtroyed fourteen thouſand perſons of both ſexes in the flames, beſides great numbers who were maſſacred endeavouring to eſcape. Such was the fate of the lower city, while the *Poles*, who garriſoned the upper city, were animated by deſpair to the moſt vigorous defence. The ſlight walls of the city were ſoon ruined; but new works were ſpeedily erected by the brave garriſon, by which means the enemy were diverted ſo long, that *Skirgello* had time to aſſemble an army, with which he ſo harraſſed the beſiegers, that they were forced to relinquiſh the enterprize, after they had laid the adjacent country in aſhes [b].

VITOWDA was now too deeply engaged in open rebellion to retract; he therefore recruited his forces, and next year laid ſiege a ſecond time to the *Upper Vilna*, which was ſtill defended by the ſame brave garriſon that had before foiled all his attempts. Their obſtinacy now likewiſe obliged him to raiſe the ſiege; but he got poſſeſſion of ſome other cities, and aimed directly at the ſovereignty of *Lithuania*, independent of *Uladiſlaus* and the crown of *Poland*, depending upon the general diſcontent which his brother's cruelty had ſtirred up. As ſoon however as an opportunity offered he came to an accommodation with the king, and had the government of *Lithuania* in reward of his moderation, by which *Uladiſlaus* diſobliged his brothers *Skirgello* and *Swidrigello*. During the firſt years of his government, *Vitowda* gave the moſt diligent application to domeſtic affairs, and repairing the calamities occaſioned by the late civil diſſentions; but his impetuous courage at laſt ſtimulated him to enter upon a war with the great *Tamerlane*, the conqueror of the celebrated *Bajazet*; a prince who had ſpread the terror of his name over all *Aſia*. For ſome time before *Vitowda* had been at war with the neighbouring *Tartars*, and was conſtantly victorious, extending his conqueſts to the banks of the *Don* and the *Volga*. He had tranſplanted whole hords of that barbarous people into *Poland* and *Lithuania*, where to this day they form a kind of ſeparate colony, diſtinct in arms, manners, and dreſs from the natives; but he had not experienced the ſtrength of the great body of the nation, commanded by the emperor in perſon. *Uladiſlaus* diſſuaded him from ſo romantic and uſeleſs an enterprize; but the courage of *Vitowda* was only to be cooled by fatal experience: he encountered the *Tartars* with a fine army of *Poles*, *Lithua-*

War with the Tartars.

[b] Mat. de Michov. tom. ii, apud Piſtor. pag. 188.

nians,

nians, and *Pruſſians*, fought for a whole day with the utmoſt magnanimity, but was at laſt ſurrounded by ſuperior numbers, and forced to break his way through with prodigious ſlaughter. The *Tartarian* army, commanded by *Ediga*, the lieutenant of *Tamerlane*, is ſaid to have exceeded four hundred thouſand men, to whom *Vitowda* oppoſed no more than forty thouſand, and at laſt came off without an intire defeat, after he had killed a number of the enemy equal to his own complete army [c].

DURING the abſence of *Vitowda* the knights had penetrated into *Lithuania*, and committed the moſt barbarous ravages. On his return he attacked and defeated them, making an irruption into *Livonia*, to puniſh the inhabitants of that country for the aſſiſtance they had lent the *Teutonic* order. This was ſucceeded by a ſeries of wars between *Poland* and *Pruſſia*, in which *Uladiſlaus* found it neceſſary to take the field in perſon. By war, treaty, and intrigue, the knights had ſtripped *Poland* of a variety of provinces, and got poſſeſſion of *Samogitia*, *Mazovia*, *Sileſia*, *Culm*, and all *Pomerania*. It was very uncertain where their ambition would terminate; the king therefore came to a reſolution of puniſhing their perfidy before they grew too powerful. With this view he aſſembled an army, compoſed of *Poles*, *Lithuanians*, *Pruſſians*, *Moravians*, and *Bohemians*, with which he penetrated into *Pruſſia*, took ſeveral towns, and was advancing to *Marienberg*, the capital of *Pomerania*; when he was met by the army of the *Pruſſian* knights, who determined to hazard a battle. The king was at maſs when advice was brought that the enemy were in ſight; but he neither quitted his devotions, nor ſeemed the leaſt agitated. It was ſome time before he gave orders for the diſpoſition of the troops; and this delay was conſtrued into fear by the grand-maſter of the *Teutonic* order, who by way of challenge ſent two drawn ſwords into the *Poliſh* camp. As ſoon as prayers were over *Uladiſlaus* drew out his troops, and began the attack with his right wing, on which ſtood the *Lithuanians*, who in deſpite of all the endeavours of the gallant *Vitowda*, made but feeble efforts, and at laſt had recourſe to an ignominious flight. Their miſconduct proved contagious, the *Moravians* and *Bohemians* on the left wing followed their example, and retreated, without aiming a blow, into a neighbouring foreſt, leaving the *Poles* to ſuſtain ſingly the whole weight of the *Teutonic* army. It was in the centre, where the king commanded in perſon, that the battle raged with fury: the moſt deſperate at-

[c] FLOR. Polon. lib. iii. cap. ii.

tempts were made to ſeize upon the great ſtandard of *Poland*; it was once hurled to the ground, and recovered by the king, who immediately planted it among the thickeſt ſquadrons of the enemy, as a ſignal to his troops to follow him, which they readily obeyed. His courage indeed hurried him on too faſt for the *Poles* to follow, as they were obliged to fight their way through crowds of the enemy; and he ſaw himſelf expoſed to a thouſand dangers in the midſt of a *German* ſquadron. His life he owed to the attachment of his ſecretary, who flung himſelf in the way of a blow levelled at the king, and received it upon his ſhield. After a deſperate engagement the *Poles* forced their way through to their ſovereign, hewed down the enemy in heaps, beat to the ground the ſtandard of *St. George*, broke the courage of the knights, and obliged victory to declare herſelf, after ſhe had hovered for the ſpace of ſix hours in ſuſpence. The ſlaughter was dreadful, near forty thouſand of the enemy are ſaid to have periſhed in the field with their general, and above thirty thouſand to have been made priſoners; but the conſequences of ſo ſignal an overthrow were leſs fatal to the *Pruſſian* knights than was expected [a]; the king neglected to improve his advantage, and in fact reaped little more than glory from the moſt diſtinguiſhed victory obtained by the *Poles*, as it flowed intirely from the valour of a handful of men, in proportion to the enemy's forces. Had *Uladiſlaus* proceeded to the capital, *Mariemburg* muſt have fallen without ſtriking a blow, as the garriſon was draughted to augment the *Pruſſian* army, and the inhabitants were overwhelmed in the general conſternation ſpread by the defeat. The ſmalleſt detachment might have gained poſſeſſion of the moſt important city in *Pomerania*, where immenſe treaſures and magazines were lodged; but *Uladiſlaus*, deſirous of refreſhing his troops, loſt the opportunity, and afforded the enemy leiſure to collect their ſcattered forces, and throw themſelves into *Mariemburg*, where they made an obſtinate reſiſtance, and at laſt obtained a peace more favourable than could be expected, after their late diſtreſſed circumſtances.

He defeats the Teutonic *army.*

Some infraction of the treaty occaſioned the recommencement of hoſtilities; according to ſome writers, the knights only ſued for peace, but could obtain no equitable conditions from *Uladiſlaus*, who was too much elated with victory to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of prudence. He refuſed to accept *Pomerania* and the territory of *Culm* as the price

[a] Mat. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. xlvi. Flor. Polon. lib. iii; cap. ii.

of pacification; and his inflexibility ſerved only to drive the enemy to deſpair, and to the ſpirited reſolution of burying themſelves in the aſhes of their capital: the ſiege was renewed, and both ſides acted with the utmoſt vigour. One of the knights, whoſe name was *Plawen*, was elected grand-maſter, on account of the gallantry he had diſplayed on divers occaſions, and he now approved himſelf worthy of the honour conferred by a ſeries of the moſt glorious actions, in which he diſplayed all the qualities of a hero and ſtateſman. The meaſures he had taken ſpun out the ſiege to ſo great a length, that the *Poliſh* army was reduced conſiderably by diſeaſe and the ſword. His perpetual ſallies on the quarter poſſeſſed by the *Lithuanians* quite exhauſted the patience of that people, and determined them to relinquiſh the enterprize, in deſpite of all the remonſtrances made by the king and the brave *Vitowda*. Their example was followed by the dukes of *Mazovia*; and an irruption of the *Hungarians* into *Poland*, at laſt determined the king himſelf to break up a ſiege which had coſt the lives of a third of his army, deſtroyed all diſcipline, and weakened his authority. It was *Plawen* who had excited the *Hungarians* to this unprovoked attack: he had likewiſe prevailed on the grand-maſter of *Livonia* to take part in his quarrel; and that prince was on his march with a prodigious army, when he was ſurpriſed and defeated by a *Poliſh* general, who had aſſembled all the neighbouring garriſons on obſerving the enemy's ſecurity. This was another terrible wound, to which the abilities of *Plawen* only were capable of applying adequate remedies. Plunged into the deepeſt diſtreſs, his preſence of mind and courage never forſook him: he was now deſtitute of troops; but he ſupplied that deficiency by a ſecret negotiation he ſet on foot with *Vitowda*, by which he ſtaggered the integrity of that gallant prince. Every object that could dazzle his underſtanding, rouſe his ambition, and efface all memory of his duty and obligation to his ſovereign, was preſented to his eyes. *Vitowda* yielded to the promiſe made of erecting *Lithuania* and *Samogitia* into an independent monarchy. Several lords about the perſon of *Uladiſlaus* were corrupted, and the knights firſt obtained a truce, and afterwards an advantageous peace, at the very juncture they expected to be wholly exterminated. Such was the iſſue of a war, in which the political errors committed by the *Poliſh* monarch deſtroyed the fruits of all his glorious exploits in the capacity of a general. His conduct however on this occaſion was the only blunder of his whole reign; all the reſt was ſage, politic, and reſolute: his penetration diſcovered all the intrigues of the emperor *Sigiſmund*, the *Teuto-*

ſic knights, and the ambitious *Vitowda*, to diſturb the peace of *Poland*, and to erect *Lithuania* into a ſovereignty; and his prudent and ſpirited meaſures diſconcerted all their deſigns. Having eſtabliſhed the repoſe of his kingdom, ſubdued all his enemies, and filled the meaſure of his reputation, *Uladiſlaus* paid the laſt duty to nature in a very advanced age, after a proſperous and glorious reign of forty-eight years [b]. His remains were depoſited with great ſolemnity in the cathedral at *Cracow*, amidſt the groans and tears of his affectionate ſubjects, who equally admired the qualities of his head, and loved the virtues of his heart.

His death and character.

ULADISLAUS VI.

AT the death of *Jagello*, baptized *Uladiſlaus*, his oldeſt ſon *Uladiſlaus* was in the ninth year of his age; however, he was raiſed to the regal dignity by the influence of the biſhop of *Cracow*, who eloquently repreſented to the diet the advantages which would reſult from maintaining the race of *Jagello* in the ſucceſſion, and thereby incorporating *Lithuania* with *Poland*. The oppoſition however was violent; and even after the election of the young prince was admitted, warm diſputes aroſe about the manner of his taking the oath uſually adminiſtered at the coronation. At length this difficulty likewiſe was ſurmounted, his mother and ſeveral of the nobility and clergy becoming his ſponſors that he would accept the oath as ſoon as he ſhould attain to the age of maturity. *Uladiſlaus* had ſcarce aſcended the throne of his father when the repoſe of *Poland* was diſturbed by an irruption of the *Tartars* in *Podolia*, where they laid waſte the country with the moſt barbarous ferocity. A *Poliſh* army, conducted by the palatine *Buccarius*, was ſent to oppoſe them; the general ventured, with greatly inferior forces, to give battle: he was defeated with the loſs of half his army, and the *Tartars* ſuffered to retire, loaded with plunder, to their own country. A few years after, the diſturbances in *Hungary*, and the ambition of *Amurath* emperor of the *Turks*, involved *Poland* in a war with that powerful monarch, and obliged *Uladiſlaus* to command his army in perſon, before the conſtitution allowed him to take the management of the reins of civil government. The young prince was ſo earneſt to ſignalize his courage againſt the infidels, that the regency yielded to his ardor, and made all the neceſſary preparations for his opening the campaign with ſucceſs. The *Hunga-*

A. D. 1435. Uladiſlaus VI.

[b] Id. ibid. etiam HERB. de Fulſtin, lib. xiii. p. 208.

rians indeed, threatened with an invaſion from the *Turks*, implored the aſſiſtance of *Poland*, to break a ſtorm, which, after deſtroying *Hungary*, might fall upon the neighbouring kingdoms, and the regency thought that policy required they ſhould exert their utmoſt endeavours to guard againſt the calamity. Before all things were prepared for the young king to take the field, a ſtrong body of auxiliaries was detached to ſerve under the famous *John Hunniades*, vaivode of *Tranſylvania*, and likewiſe to ſupport the election of *Uladiſlaus*, who was invited to accept the crown of *Hungary* by the ſtates, in oppoſition to the party of the empreſs *Elizabeth*. This detachment of *Poles*, under the conduct of the brave vaivode, performed prodigies of valour, ſurpriſing the *Turkiſh* army near the river *Morava*, and defeating *Amurath* with the loſs of thirty thouſand men killed and taken priſoners; after which *Hunniades* retook all the towns conquered by the *Turks* in *Raſcia*. This victory proved ſo deciſive, that the proud *Amurath* was forced to ſue for peace, and *Uladiſlaus* was raiſed without oppoſition to the crown of *Hungary*, in reward of the ſervices performed by his troops. A treaty was concluded, whereby the *Turks* promiſed to relinquiſh their deſigns upon *Hungary*, to acknowledge the king's right to that crown, and to yield up all their conqueſts in *Raſcia* and *Servia*. It was ſealed by mutual oaths, and *Uladiſlaus* would probably have rigidly performed his engagements, but for the perſuaſions of the pope's legate, who inſiſted that now was the opportunity of humbling the *Othoman* power, and produced a ſpecial commiſſion from the pontiff to abſolve him from the oath he had taken at the ſigning of the late treaty. The artful inſinuations of the legate, the diſpenſing power of the holy ſee, and the eager deſire of ſignalizing his zeal and valour, eaſily won the conſent of a young monarch flushed with his late ſucceſs, and ardent to emulate the glory of the brave vaivode. Without further reflection, *Uladiſlaus* renounced the treaty with *Amurath*, and marched at the head of his army into *Bulgaria*. After taking ſome fortreſſes in his way, he penetrated into *Thrace*, with intention of advancing to *Adrianople*, and ſeizing the perſon and the vaſt treaſures of the ſultan.

THE ſuddenneſs of the irruption, the rapidity of the *Peliſh* monarch's progreſs, and his perfidy, aſtoniſhed *Amurath*, but did not deprive him either of courage or conduct. With the utmoſt celerity he aſſembled a powerful army, and marched in queſt of the Chriſtians, whom he found encamped near *Varna*, a city of *Moldavia*. Here he attacked *Uladiſlaus* with irreſiſtible fury, after having appealed to God as a witneſs

neſs of the treachery of the Chriſtian monarch. *Uladiſlaus* ſuſtained the ſhock of the *Turkiſh* army with undaunted reſolution, and maintained the battle for ſeveral hours, until his wings gave way, and the center was intirely ſurrounded by the enemy. Even then he refuſed quarter, and determined rather to periſh than return home with a character ſullied by perfidy and a defeat. All his efforts to break through the *Turkiſh* ſquadrons were fruitleſs, and he fell with his ſword in his hand, after exhibiting proofs of courage and military ſkill much ſuperior to his years. By his ſide periſhed the cardinal legate, with about ten thouſand *Poles*, who covered with their bodies the ſame ground on which they were firſt drawn up. In this manner *Uladiſlaus* fell, after he had reigned ten years in *Poland*, four in *Hungary*, and had juſt attained to the years of maturity. Some writers alledge, and with ſuch circumſtances as we think render their account probable, that *Uladiſlaus* had, before this event, obtained in perſon a complete victory over the infidels, purſuing them to the very frontiers of the *Morea*, and there defeating *Carambeius*, general of the *Aſiatic* forces, whom he drove into the mountains and inacceſſible places. He had diſplayed great gallantry in this action, and received a wound, which however did not check his ardor. On this occaſion it was, that he was honoured with a complimentary ambaſſy from the pope, the *Greek* emperor *Paleologus*, and ſeveral Chriſtian princes, who, by flattering his vanity, impelled him to the expedition into *Bulgaria*, which proved ſo fatal to himſelf and to his whole army [a].

Uladiſlaus *defeated and killed.* A. D. 1445.

CASIMIR ~~III.~~ *IV.*

DURING the late reign the great dutchy of *Lithuania* was governed by *Caſimir*, the ſecond ſon of *Jagello*, who held it as a fief of the crown, though the deputies of both nations compoſed one joint diet. Now that prince was elevated to the throne of his brother, immediately after the unfortunate battle of *Varna*, the nobility in a manner compelling him to accept the regal dignity. The firſt operations of this reign were directed againſt *Bogdan*, the pretended vaivode of *Moldavia*, who uſurped that province from the vaivode *Alexander*, a feudatory to the crown of *Poland*. An army was ſent to this country, which, after conſiderable dangers and loſſes, obliged *Bogdan* to ſue for peace. The repoſe of the coun-

Caſimir ~~III.~~ *IV.*

[a] MAT. de Michov. l. iv. cap. liv. lv. lvi. lvii. pag. 207 & ſeq. FLOR. Polon. lib. xxxii. pag. 175. HERBURT de Fulſtin, l. xiv. pag. 172.

try was immediately after eſtabliſhed by the aſſaſſination of the uſurper; a perfidious act, in which ſome of the *Poliſh* nobility are ſuſpected to have had a ſhare.

War with the Teutonic *order.*

NOR was *Poland* leſs ſucceſsful in another quarter, where all her victories had hitherto produced no ſolid advantage. She had frequently vanquiſhed the *Teutonic* knights in the field; but neglecting to follow the blow, they had always recovered their loſſes, and extended their dominion equally by force and policy. Now an event occurred which was likely to prove more ſerviceable to *Poland* than all the glorious victories obtained by her monarchs over the ambitious order. The tyranny of the knights had rendered their government altogether inſupportable to the *Pruſſians*, who were oppreſſed by the moſt grievous exactions, and, on deficiency of payment, treated with unſpeakable barbarity. They had long born the galling yoke without murmuring; but as the inhumanity of their maſters encreaſed with their miſery, they reſolved upon a vigorous effort for the recovery of their liberty. All *Pruſſia*, and great part of *Pomerania*, took arms; and amidſt the conſternation of ſo univerſal a revolt, the knights could only provide for the ſecurity of *Mariemburg* and *Schut*. Divers other cities, *Dantzick*, *Thorn*, *Elbing*, *Culm*, and *Golub*, implored the protection of *Poland*, and deſired they might be admitted into a partnerſhip in the republic, upon the ſame conditions granted to *Lithuania*. *Caſimir* received their deputies favourably, promiſed his protection, but referred them to a diet with reſpect to the union propoſed, created four palatines for *Thorn*, *Elbing*, *Dantzick*, and *Krewlogrod*, repealed the exorbitant taxes, and aſſembled an army to ſupport theſe alterations, and enable the *Pruſſians* to withſtand the efforts of the *Teutonic* order. As ſoon as *Caſimir* entered the country the inhabitants flocked to his camp, to take the oaths of allegiance, and obtained a variety of privileges in return for the zeal they expreſſed. The *Dantzickers* in particular were endowed with a number of valuable commercial immunities; and they acknowledged *Caſimir*'s goodneſs, by obliging themſelves to maintain his majeſty and the court at their own expence, whenever he ſhould think fit to honour the city with a viſit. Immediately after the *Pruſſian* army, aſſiſted by a few of the king's forces, went and laid cloſe ſiege to *Mariemburg*, in which they were ſoon diſturbed by the approach of the *Teutonic* army. The knights had aſſembled powerful forces in *Bohemia*, *Auſtria*, and ſeveral principalities of the empire, with which they determined to give battle to *Caſimir*, who with his army covered the ſiege of *Mariemburg*. Their attack on the *Poliſh* camp

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was impetuous, and it proved fortunate: the *Poles* were put in confuſion, and the king was conſtrained to have recourſe to a ſhameful flight, after four thouſand of his troops had been ſlain or taken priſoners. In conſequence the ſiege was raiſed, and the king reduced to the neceſſity of returning to *Poland*, to recruit his forces, and bring ſuch an army into the field as ſhould effectually revenge the indignity he had ſuſtained in his firſt campaign. Caſimir *defeated.*

WHEN *Caſimir* arrived at *Cracow*, his firſt meaſure was to aſſemble a diet, to whom he repreſented the neceſſity of retrenching the power of the knights, ſupporting the alliance with the *Pruſſians*, and redeeming all the territories which had been wreſted of late years from the republic. The diet eaſily entered into his ſentiments, the whole nation took fire at the diſgrace of the monarch, and reſolved upon the moſt vigorous operations to retrieve his reputation. A ſecond expedition was made into *Pruſſia*, under the conduct of the king in perſon; the knights were vanquiſhed in divers engagements, the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes were reduced, and the citadel of *Mariemburg* at laſt forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, after a very obſtinate reſiſtance. The grand-maſter made ſeveral ſpirited efforts to redeem his affairs; but they were baffled by the ſuperior power, the fortune, and the vigilance of *Caſimir*, who in the reſult obliged this proud order, which had for ſo many years embroiled the North, and kept all the neighbouring ſtates in ſubjection, to yield to the terms impoſed by their conqueror. A treaty of peace was concluded at *Thorn*, whereby the knights ceded the territories of *Culm*, *Michlow*, and the whole dutchy of *Pomerania*, together with the towns of *Elbing*, *Mariemburg*, *Talkmith*, *Schut*, and *Chriſtburgh*, to the crown of *Poland*. On the other hand, the king reſtored to them all his other conqueſts in *Pruſſia*, granted a ſeat in the *Poliſh* ſenate to the grand-maſter, and endowed him with other privileges, on condition that ſix months after his acceſſion, he ſhould do homage for *Pruſſia*, and take an oath of fidelity to the king and republic. Such were the conditions on which *Caſimir* terminated a war, and humbled an order which had given perpetual diſturbance to the northern hemiſphere, for near the ſpace of two centuries. *He conquers the knights, and makes peace.*

THESE ſucceſſes revived the ſpirits of the *Poliſh* nation, which had drooped ſince the misfortunes of their late monarch at *Varna*. The triumph obtained by the ſultan upon that occaſion diſcouraged the republic from continuing the war againſt the infidels, who now became more conſiderable in *Europe* by the reduction of *Conſtantinople*, and the

making a powerful diverſion, and keeping in play the principal ſtrength of the *Othoman* empire.

MOLDAVIA we have ſeen became a province voluntarily dependent on the crown of *Poland*. *Stephen*, the vaivode, under pretence that he was oppreſſed by the *Turks*, craved the protection of the government, which *Albert*, at the intreaty of his brother, determined to furniſh. Accordingly the two kings aſſembled an army, which began its march towards *Walachia*, under the conduct of *Albert*. The combined forces amounted to eighty thouſand fighting men, and were attended by thirty thouſand waggons, loaded with arms and baggage, no thought being taken of proviſion, which the vaivode had promiſed to ſupply. Depending upon his ally, the king penetrated the country, and ſoon perceived that the vaivode had not only neglected the execution of his engagements, but was in actual treaty with the *Turks*, which ſo enraged him, that without farther conſideration he turned his arms againſt the *Walachians*, and determined to puniſh the perfidy of *Stephen*. One writer indeed alledges, that *Albert* ſought induſtriouſly an opportunity of coming to a rupture with the vaivode, in order to plunder his country, tho' this is highly improbable [b]. It is certain that the *Poles* firſt commenced hoſtilities, by laying ſiege to the capital of *Moldavia*. The inhabitants defended themſelves with great gallantry, and *Albert*'s army was reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity by the vaivode or hoſpodar, who cut off all his proviſions, and kept the *Poliſh* camp under continual alarms. After ſuſtaining the united effors of the ſword, famine, and diſeaſe, *Albert* at laſt broke up the ſiege, and was returning into *Poland*, when he fell into an ambuſh laid for him by the vaivode, in which, after a ſharp conflict, he was defeated with the loſs of ſix thouſand men [c]. The abbé *de Fontaines* affirms, that the ſiege was raiſed, in conſequence of a treaty concluded under the mediation of *Uladiſlaus* king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and that the vaivode, taking advantage of the ſecurity of the *Poles*, treacherouſly fell upon the king, defeated his army, and would have carried him off priſoner, had not ſome of his troops performed prodigies of valour in defence of their monarch; but we do not find this account confirmed by the teſtimony of any of the antient *Poliſh* hiſtorians: on the contrary, they in general aſcribe the defeat to the ſpirited conduct of the vaivode, and ſpeak ambiguouſly with reſpect to the cauſe of the rupture, ſome laying the whole blame on *Albert*, while others ſhift it upon the vaivode. The abbé

Albert *defeated in* Walachia.

[b] Flor. Polon. lib. iii. cap. iv. [c] Lib. iv.

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likewiſe relates, that the king was attacked a ſecond time on the banks of the *Pruth* by the *Walachians*, who having now no ſhelter from their foreſts, were defeated with great ſlaughter, and ſignally puniſhed for their perfidy; but we are at a loſs to know from whence he derived this intelligence, as all the *Poliſh* writers we have peruſed are not only ſilent with reſpect to this victory, but unanimous in affirming, that the *Walachians*, having joined the *Turks*, made an irruption into *Poland* with a prodigious army, and carried off an hundred thouſand captives. They farther relate, that the *Moldavians* and *Walachians* returned home with their priſoners and booty; but that the *Turks*, from motives of avarice, remained until they were ſurpriſed by the froſts and ſnow, when the ſeverity of the climate, and exceſſive intenſeneſs of the cold, deſtroyed above forty thouſand of their beſt troops. It was this irruption which, according to them, induced *Albert* to make peace with the vaivode, which he ſolicited upon any terms, and concluded on the conditions which the conqueror thought proper to impoſe [d].

ALBERT, having rid his hands of thoſe moſt formidable enemies, made preparations for invading *Pruſſia*, to oblige *Frederick* duke of *Saxony*, elected grand-maſter of the *Teutonic* order, to take the oath of allegiance, promiſed by the laſt grand-maſter to the crown of *Poland*. He had made formidable preparations for this expedition, and was advanced to *Thorn*, when he was ſeized with a malady that proved fatal in the ſpace of a few days. The abbé *Fontaines* ſays, that he died of an apoplexy in the forty-firſt year of his age, and almoſt the thirteenth year of his reign, though all the earlier writers affirm, that he was raiſed to the throne in the year 1493, and the abbé himſelf allows that he died in 1501 [e].

ALEXANDER.

ALBERT died without iſſue, and left the crown to be conteſted by three princes, who had nearly equal pretenſions. Immediately the expedition to *Pruſſia* was relinquiſhed, and the whole attention of the *Poliſh* nation was turned to the approaching election. When the diet met, it was only to diſpute, and not to determine: intrigue, corruption, and animoſity, ſuppreſſed all regard for the welfare of the republic. Every member of the aſſembly had only his own particular prejudices or intereſts in view, which he endeavoured by every

Alexander *elected king of* Poland.

[d] Vid. apud Piſtor. lib. iv. cap. ii. [e] Flor. Polon. lib. iii. cap. iv. Herr. de Fulſtin, lib. xix. Revol. de Pologne, lib. iv.

poſſible

poſſible means to gratify at the public expence. The firſt o the candidates was *Uladiſlaus*, king of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* and elder brother of the late monarch. This prince inſiſtec upon his birthright, and magnified his opulence, his power, and the advantages which *Poland* muſt neceſſarily deduce from the union of two ſo potent neighbouring kingdoms. His liberality had beſides ſecured a ſtrong party among the nobility; but the ſame reaſons that were urged at the death of his brother *Caſimir*, were now repeated for his excluſion. *Sigiſmund*, *Caſimir*'s ſecond ſon, was the ſecond candidate; and this prince was ſupported by the affections of the people: but motives of policy carried the crown in favour of his younger brother *Alexander*, great duke of *Lithuania*. As the *Lithuanians* were extremely attached to their ſovereign, the diet apprehended that ſetting aſide the pretenſions of *Alexander* might diſſolve the union formed by *Jagello* between the two nations; and for this reaſon alone they elected *Alexander*, in preference to both his elder brothers. At firſt the archbiſhop refuſed to aſſiſt at his coronation, which occaſioned conſiderable difficulties, becauſe cuſtom, and even the conſtitution, required that this ceremony ſhould be performed by the primate: however, at length his ſcruples were overcome with reſpect to the king, though he could never be prevailed upon to place the crown on the head of the princeſs of *Muſcovy*, whom *Alexander* had married ſoon after his acceſſion, becauſe that lady adhered to the doctrines of the *Greek* church. How this difficulty was ſurmounted we are not informed: hiſtory only relates, that *John* grand duke of *Muſcovy* invaded *Lithuania*, without regard to the alliance lately contracted with his *Poliſh* majeſty, and poſſibly on account of the indignity put on his daughter by the archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, which he might regard as an affront from the whole nation. He laid ſiege to *Smolenſko*; but was forced to relinquiſh the enterprize, and conclude a truce for ſix years, upon the arrival of *Alexander*, whoſe rapid march and ſpirited conduct diffuſed terror through the *Ruſſian* army.

In conſequence of the fatigue of this expedition, *Alexander* fell into a chronic diſorder, which terminated only with his life. During his illneſs, the *Moldavians* and *Tartars* made an irruption into *Lithuania*, and committed ſuch dreadful barbarities as filled the king with horror, and determined him to ſet out in perſon to puniſh thoſe perfidious violaters of ſolemn treaties. He ſet out upon his march at the head of his army, carried in a litter; and, by the reſentment which he expreſſed, excited ſuch a ſpirit of revenge among the *Poliſh* troops as proved fatal to their enemies. The two armies met

at

at ſome diſtance from *Vilna*, and engaged with great fury. The *Tartars* were ſuperior in number; but the *Poles* balanced that advantage by intrepidity. For ſeveral hours victory ſeemed doubtful, when at laſt it declared in favour of the royal army, in conſequence of a ſtratagem of the palatine of *Poſnania*. With three hundred men he appeared on an eminence, within view of the armies; and had drawn up his troops into ſo extenſive a line, that the *Tartars* miſtook it for a handful for a powerful reinforcement to the *Poles*, and were immediately ſeized with a panic. *Staniſlaus Kiſka*, the *Polish* general, improved this fortunate circumſtance to the beſt advantage; ſpread the report through his own army that ſuccour was at hand; exhorted them to the moſt ſpirited efforts, that victory might depend wholly upon their own valour, before aſſiſtance ſhould arrive to leſſen the glory; made the furious attack, broke and defeated the enemy, and killed many thouſand *Tartars* in the field and purſuit. All this time the king lay at *Vilna*, the increaſe of his illneſs not ſuffering him to attend the army. The agonies of death had ſeized him juſt as advice of the victory arrived; upon which he exerted all his ſtrength, roſe in his bed, and by geſtures, as he was deprived of ſpeech, expreſſed his fervent acknowledgments to heaven; then ſunk down, and died, with the reputation of a prince whoſe virtues adorned the regal diadem; but whoſe exceſſive liberality would have impoveriſhed the kingdom, had his reign been of any duration. He is deſcribed as of a ſtately ſtature, robuſt make, and of great ſtrength. His visage was long, his hair exceeding black, his eyes ſparkling, and his carriage bold and majeſtic. His taciturnity was remarkable, his genius heavy; but his ſentiments generous and humane. He was a great patron of the liberal arts, particularly muſic, of which he was ſo great a lover, that he ſquandered away a great part of the revenue upon muſicians; and we are told, that his profuſion in this reſpect occaſioned that famous *Statutum Alexandrinum*, whereby the king was prohibited from diſpoſing of the revenue without the conſent of the ſtates, or diet; all the donations of this prince were revoked. He reigned five years in *Poland*, and fourteen in *Lithuania*, both of his dominions, with the conſent of the diet, to his brother *Sigiſmund*, who had twice before been a candidate for the crown [b].

[b] Id. ibid. etiam. MATHEW de Mich. lib. iv. cap. lxxxiii.

SIGIS-

SIGISMUND I.

Sigiſmund I. A. D. 1507.

AT the time that *Sigiſmund* was raiſed to the throne c *land*, he reſided in *Lithuania*, the government of which d had been aſſigned to him by the king his brother, on hi removal to *Poland*. He was no ſooner elected at *Petr* than he reſigned his government to *Glinſki*, the great fav of king *Alexander*; and repaired to *Cracow*, to go throug ceremony of inauguration, and aſſume the reins of gc

He reforms divers abuſes.

ment. His firſt care was to reform ſeveral abuſes, w during the late reign, had crept into the adminiſtration to enforce the ſtatute called *Alexandrinum*, for revoking i cious grants, and ſuch donations as appeared to be preju to the public. He found that the richeſt demeſnes c crown were mortgaged, and almoſt the whole revenue tioned out in penſions to ingenious artiſts, and perſon ſerving of encouragement, but in a limited degree. lands he redeemed, and retrenched the penſions withi bounds of moderation, being directed in every thing b able and diſintereſted miniſter *John Bonner*, a name t day held in veneration by the *Poles*. Having eſtabliſhe internal government of the kingdom, in the beſt manne circumſtances would admit, he next applied his attenti the extenſion of his frontier, and the means of renderin *land* formidable, as he had rendered it happy. Theſe meaſures ſeemingly incompatible in themſelves; yet did *mund* rely upon the abilities of his miniſtry, and his own rage and perſeverance.

Rebellion in Lithuania.

WHILE *Sigiſmund* was employed in making prepar for the execution of his vaſt deſigns, a rebellion broke o *Lithuania*. *Glinſki*, whom he had appointed governor, acquired ſo great authority with the inhabitants, that h tertained thoughts of ſhaking off his dependence, and cl ing the ſovereignty of the dutchy. Intoxicated by pr rity, and giddy with the height of his elevation, he wa mindful to whom he owed all his good fortune, and perſu himſelf that he ſoared wholly by the ſtrength of his pinions, and the force of his merit. For ſome time he cealed his deſign, and took his meaſures with great cir ſpection, entering upon a ſecret treaty with *Baſilius*, cz *Muſcovy*, whereby he purchaſed the aſſiſtance of that pc tate at the price of half the dutchy of *Lithuania*; imagi that if he once poſſeſſed the remainder, independent of *land*, he could ſoon recover the portion aſſigned to the *ſians*. *Sigiſmund* was too penetrating to let ſuch a neg

tion eſcape his diſcernment. He found, by the movements in *Ruſſia* and *Lithuania*, that ſome great deſign was in agitation, and made preparations as if it was againſt himſelf. *Baſilius* advanced with an army of eighty thouſand men to the frontiers of the *Poliſh* dominions, and was oppoſed in his march by *Sigiſmund*. As ſoon as the two armies confronted each other, the *Ruſſians* were ſeized with a panic. On ſeeing the *Poliſh* battalions covered with a foreſt of lances, they had recourſe to flight, leaving behind all their booty and baggage. At the ſame time the *Walachians* and *Moldavians* entered *Ruſſia Nigra*, where they ſpread terror and deſolation by the moſt cruel ravages that barbarians were capable of committing; but they ſoon met with their juſt puniſhment. *Sigiſmund* advanced againſt them, drove them before him, obliged them to ſculk in their foreſts, and then laid waſte their country without pity or remorſe, as the only method of ſtriking terror into this perfidious and lawleſs people. The cities *Dorichim*, *Sczepanowitz*, *Cherzim*, and *Czarnowitz*, were taken by aſſault, ſacked, and the inhabitants put to the ſword, not a ſoul of either ſex eſcaping the fury of the conquerors. At length the *Poles* begun their retreat, loaded with ſpoils, and were attacked in their turn by the enemy, at the paſs of the *Neiſter*; but after a ſharp action the *Walachians* were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and the loſs of many priſoners.

SIGISMUND, having by his vigorous meaſures compelled the *Walachians* to ſue for peace, was preparing to reeſtabliſh the affairs of *Lithuania*, when he was again attacked by the *Ruſſians*, who reduced *Smolenſko* before he could aſſemble his forces to oppoſe them; but he ſoon deprived them of their conqueſt, after having defeated their army in a pitched battle, in which he ſlew thirty thouſand *Ruſſians*. He was forced to ſwim his cavalry over the *Boriſthenes* to begin the attack, while a bridge was laying acroſs for the infantry. It was aſtoniſhing to ſee with what celerity and ſucceſs theſe orders were executed, notwithſtanding the rapidity of the ſtream, the ſteepneſs of the banks, and the reſiſtance of the enemy on the oppoſite ſhore. The onſet was led by the *Lithuanians*, who were directed to retreat gradually, with a view of drawing the enemy within reach of the cannon. This the *Muſcovites* miſtook for a real flight, and as they were purſuing with eagerneſs, *Sigiſmund* opened his line to the right and left, and poured in grape-ſhot from the artillery with dreadful ſucceſs. Such was the method in which he obtained this complete victory, that redounds equally to the honour of his valour and his military capacity. The *Ruſſian* general, and ſeveral noblemen of the firſt diſtinction, were

He defeats the Ruſſians.

were taken priſoners, while the whole loſs of the royal army did not exceed three hundred men. The utmoſt terror was diffuſed through all *Muſcovy*, and *Baſilius* evacuated the *Poliſh* dominions with the greateſt precipitation, apprehending his own were in danger of being over-run; and it is indeed probable, that *Sigiſmund* would have purſued the blow, had not other concerns diverted his attention.

THE *Teutonic* knights had elected the marquis of *Brandenburg* their grand-maſter; and this prince, in imitation of his predeceſſor the duke of *Saxony*, refuſed to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the crown of *Poland*, and pay the uſual fealty for the province of *Pruſſia*. He even proceeded ſo far in his oppoſition as to commence hoſtilities againſt the republic, by inveſting the fortreſs of *Brauntberg*, and reducing it by aſſault. *Sigiſmund* marched againſt the marquis, penetrated into his hereditary dominions, and gained poſſeſſion of ſeveral important places in *Brandenburg*. He was purſuing his conqueſts when the marquis was reinforced by fourteen thouſand *Germans*, led by the duke of *Schonenburg*, who ventured to lay ſiege to *Dantzick*, after he had ravaged all the adjacent country. The *Dantzickers* however defended themſelves with ſo much ſpirit, and played their artillery ſo furiouſly, while they at the ſame time made the moſt vigorous ſallies, that the beſiegers were ſoon reduced to extremity, and at laſt forced to relinquiſh the deſign of reducing the city, after they had loſt half their army by famine, diſtemper, and the ſword. In their retreat they were attacked by a ſtrong body of *Poliſh* cavalry, who made prodigious carnage, and compelled the wretched remains to take ſhelter in *Pomerania*, where they were inhumanly butchered by the peaſants. The ſurrender of a great number of towns was the conſequence of this impetuous tide of victory; and the marquis was reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting himſelf to the clemency of the conqueror, with the additional mortification of having broke the faith of treaties to come to an impolitic rupture. He obtained conditions indeed which he could not expect, unleſs he had abandoned the intereſt of the *Teutonic* order, and reſigned the dignity of grand-maſter. The doctrines of *Luther* had already made conſiderable progreſs in the empire, under the protection of the duke of *Saxony*: they were embraced by the marquis, and this obliged him to break off all connection with the *Teutonic* order. He entered now into treaty with *Sigiſmund*, and that monarch determined to ſecure him in his intereſt, and make him the barrier againſt the ambition of the knights by liberal conceſſions. He granted him half the province of *Pruſſia*, in the quality of a ſecular

His farther conqueſts and victories

ecular duke, and a dependant on the crown of *Poland*, by which means he intirely deprived the *Teutonic* order of the beſt part of their dominions, and for ever extinguiſhed thoſe ſparks of war which were lighted up on every occaſion by thoſe ambitious reſtleſs neighbours.

AT this time the power and dominions of the houſe of *Jagello* were ſo conſiderable as to excite the jealouſy of the houſe of *Auſtria*. King *Sigiſmund* poſſeſſed, in his own perſon, the republic of *Poland*, the great dutchies of *Lithuania*, *Smolenſko*, and *Severia*, beſides thoſe vaſt territories lying beyond the *Euxine* and *Baltic*; and on the head of his nephew *Lewis*, ſon of *Uladiſlaus*, were united the crowns of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and *Sileſia*. Beſides, the valour, policy, and daring ambition of the *Poliſh* monarch afforded ſtrong preſumption, that he would ſtill endeavour to extend his frontiers at the expence of the neighbouring powers. To anticipate effects, which muſt in the end prove diſadvantageous to the empire, the houſe of *Auſtria* ſet all engines at work to ſtir up enemies to *Poland*. Corruption, fraud, force, and intrigue, were all exerted to this purpoſe: her policy in ſome meaſure ſucceeded: the *Ruſſians*, *Moldavians*, and *Tartars*, all fell upon *Sigiſmund* in different quarters, and met with an unexpectedly warm reception. The vaivode of *Walachia*, with fifty thouſand men, made an irruption into the ſmall province of *Pokatia*, where, after burning *Sniatyn*, he was attacked by the gallant count *Taro*, at the head of no more than ſix thouſand men, and entirely defeated. The victory is wholly aſcribed to the ability of the commander, who poſſeſſed ſome eminences on the enemies flanks, on which he erected batteries that played with ſuch fury as ſoon put their ranks in diſorder; upon which the *Poles* attacked them ſword in hand, entirely diſperſed them, and killed or took priſoners above ten thouſand *Walachians*. The ſame brave officer was equally fortunate againſt the *Muſcovites* and *Tartars*, who made inroads into *Lithuania*, and ravaged the country to the very gates of the capital. Count *Taro* now augmented his forces by a ſtrong body of *Lithuanians*, drove the enemy out of the dutchy, purſued them into *Ruſſia*, reduced ſeveral towns, and at laſt laid ſiege to the ſtrong fortreſs of *Straradub*, in which the regent, with the beſt troops of *Ruſſia*, made a gallant defence. The fortifications of this city were compoſed of beams joined together, and ſupported by a bulwark of earth, upon which the cannon-ſhot made no impreſſion; but the count contrived a method of ſetting the wood on fire, laid the fortifications in aſhes, obliged the regent and nobility to

ſurrender at diſcretion, and carried off ſixty thouſand pr ners, with immenſe booty.

THIS flow of good fortune which attended the *Poliſh* a received a conſiderable check by the defeat and death *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, who was ſlain in a battle fought w *Solyman the Great*, emperor of the *Turks*. The daughte this monarch married *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, whereby the minions of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and *Sileſia*, were for loſt to the houſe of *Jagello*, and inſeparably annexed to hereditary dominions of the *Auſtrian* family. Theſe eve it is ſuppoſed, affected the health of *Sigiſmund*, who was i in his eighty-fourth year: he was ſenſible of the enmit the houſe of *Auſtria* to his family, and beheld with cha ſuch an acceſſion of dominion to a prince whom he conſide as his rival. Certain it is, that about this time he was ſei with a lingering diſorder, which, in the ſpace of a months, carried off the greateſt monarch who had wielded the *Poliſh* ſcepter. *Sigiſmund* was the completeſt neral, the ableſt politician, the beſt prince, and the ſtron man in the northern hemiſphere; of the laſt of which q lities ſome inſtances that are ſcarce credible are related. whole reign was a continued ſcene of proſperity, obtained courage, firmneſs, and conduct: nor is his character or c queſts by any means exaggerated in the *Latin* epitaph wh the reader may peruſe in the margin [a] (A).

A. D. 1548. *His death and character.*

SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS II.

Sigiſmund Auguſtus II.

WHEN *Sigiſmund* found himſelf ſinking under the l then of old age, he took care to fix the ſucceſſion in family, by procuring an election in favour of his ſon *Si mund*, who now aſcended the throne without the cerem of aſſembling a diet. By this means *Poland* was happily cured againſt thoſe miſeries which are the uſual attend

[a] GUAGN. apud Piſtor. tom. ii. pag. 82. & ſeq. FLOR. lon. lib. iii. cap. vii. HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. viii. CON tom. i. lett. ii.

(A) *Divus Sigiſmundus Jagellonius, Poloniæ rex, &c. Lithuanæ dux magnus, Scithicus, Valachius, Moſchoviticus, Pruſſicus, victor ac triumphator pater patriæ, in hoc monumentum a ſe magnificentiſſime erectum, illatus requieſcit* (1). The monu here mentioned was erecte the cathedral of *Cracow*, which the remains of this monarch were depoſited, tended by the ſincere lam tions of all his ſubjects.

(1) *Flor. Polon. lib.* iii. *cap.* vii. *Fontaines, pag.* 205.

diſputed elections, and the young prince was at liberty
mediately to apply his attention to the affairs of govern-
nt. He however incurred the diſpleaſure of his ſubjects
mediately after his coronation, by marrying *Razivilla*, wi-
w to an obſcure vaivode, without the conſent of the diet.
was ſaid, that by this match he drew diſhonour on the re-
dignity, and had not brought the advantage of one ſin-
ally to *Poland*. This indeed was the caſe in a variety of
mer marriages; but the fault was, that on this occaſion
king preferred in the choice of a conſort his own incli-
ions to thoſe of his people, and thought it unreaſonable that
a point of the greateſt conſequence to his felicity he ſhould
deprived of the privilege allowed to the meaneſt of his
jects. His future conduct ſoon however obliterated any
l impreſſions taken from this meaſure. While religion,
rather ſuperſtition, armed the powers of *Europe* againſt
h other, with more zeal than they had ever taken the
d againſt infidels, *Poland* alone enjoyed profound repoſe,
ler the wiſe adminiſtration of a prince, the worthy ſuc-
ſor of his renowned parent. His addreſs and prudence
t at a diſtance thoſe fatal diſorders which had almoſt
ed *Chriſtendom*, and were then tearing the bowels of
nce, *Auſtria*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Saxony*, *Sweden*, and
er northen kingdoms. Views of policy more than reſpect
the pontifical dignity, kept him firm in the opinions
his anceſtors: he thought that religion was purchaſed too
r at the price of humanity, and the ſlaughter of his ſub-
ts. He denied his people the liberty of correſponding
h thoſe divines who were taxed with advancing heterodox
nions, and choſe rather to remain ignorant in ſome points
eſſential to ſalvation, rather than make his kingdom a
ne of bloodſhed: however, he avoided perſecution, and em-
yed no other weapons to ſecure the public tranquility, than
ſe of ſalutary inſtitutions, prudent laws, and a regular ſyſtem
well conducted policy. Inſtead of diſputing with his ſub-
s about ſpeculative opinions, *Sigiſmund* was diligent in re-
ning abuſes, enforcing the laws, enriching the treaſury,
moting induſtry, and redeeming the crown-lands, where
titles of the poſſeſſors appeared illegal. Out of the re-
ue he recovered in this manner he maintained a formid-
well appointed ſtanding army, without laying any ad-
onal tax upon the ſubject; and though he preferred peace
war, convinced the world that he neither wanted the
rer, ſpirit, nor capacity to reſent, and puniſh injuries. An
ortunity ſoon offered for the diſplay of *Sigiſmund*'s mili-
talents.

The Policy of Sigiſmund.

His wars with the Muſcovites.

THE diſputes which for ſome time ſubſiſted between the *Teutonic* knights in *Livonia*, and the archbiſhop of *Riga*, couſin to *Sigiſmund*, encouraged the *Ruſſians* to make an irruption into that province, with a view of reducing both parties, after they had been weakened by civil diſcord. The province was divided between the knights and the prelate; and the *Ruſſians*, under pretence of ſuccouring the former, had ſeized great part of the dominions of the latter. The archbiſhop had recourſe to his kinſman the king of *Poland*, who, after fruitleſs efforts to accommodate matters, bent his march at the head of an hundred thouſand men towards the frontiers of *Livonia*. Every city opened its gates, and every place ſubmitted to ſo irreſiſtible a power; the grand-maſter of the *Teutonic* order broke off his alliance with the *Ruſſians*, and was reconciled to the archbiſhop, on the terms propoſed by *Sigiſmund*. The whole order placed themſelves under the protection of *Poland*, and agreed to turn their arms againſt their late allies, who had gained poſſeſſion of ſome important places (A). The czar, though deſerted by the knights, inſolently refuſed returning any anſwer to the propoſals of peace made by *Sigiſmund*. His army amounted to three hundred thouſand fighting men, with which force *John Baſilides* thought he ſhould be able to reduce all *Livonia*, in deſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the king of *Poland*:

(A) On this occaſion it was that *Livonia* was annexed to *Poland*. *Sigiſmund* inſiſted, that not only the knights, but the whole country, ſhould acknowledge his ſovereignty. At firſt the inhabitants made ſome reluctance; but they yielded in the end to the arguments enforced by the power of *Sigiſmund*. *Gothothred Ketler*, great-maſter of the *Livonian* knights was forced to abdicate his dignity, reſign the city and citadel of *Riga* into the hands of the palatine of *Vilna*, deputed for that purpoſe by the king; and to declare *Livonia* from that time ſubject to the crown of *Poland*. In exchange, the grand-maſter was declared duke of *Courland* and *Semigallia* by the palatine, and afterwards viceroy of *Livonia*. The exchange was advantageous to the grand-maſter; it was giving him the perpetuity of two fine provinces, for the contingency of a dignity, which involved him in continual war with the neighbouring princes. His ſucceſſors reaped the advantage of ſo prudential a bargain, as they enjoyed for ſeveral ages the ſovereignty aſſigned to *Ketler*; nor was it leſs beneficial to the republic of *Poland*, which was thereby augmented by the addition of an extenſive and wealthy province, beſides a ſea-port of vaſt and profitable commerce (1).

(1) *Sarnitius, lib.* viii. *Annal. Polon. p.* 391, *& ſeq. Flor. Polon. p.* 253.

however, ſome checks which he met with on this quarter determined him immediately to make a direct attack on the *Poliſh* dominions, and turn his whole ſtrength againſt the great dutchy of *Lithuania*. On his firſt entrance into the province he carried all before him; every thing ſunk beneath the weight of ſo prodigious a force. *Polocz* and *Derpt*, incapable of reſiſtance, received the *Ruſſian* forces, and in return were cruelly ſacked and pillaged, above eighty thouſand of the citizens and neighbouring peaſants being carried off into captivity. Among theſe were a great number of *Jews*, who obſtinately refuſing to be baptized, were thrown into the river *Dwina*, the czar ordering the ice to be broke to glut his eyes with this barbarous ſacrifice to his cruel diſpoſition.

ALL this time *Sigiſmund* was neceſſarily employed in the affairs of *Livonia*, and in concluding the exchange with the grand-maſter of the *Teutonic* knights, which we have ſpecified in the margin. *John Baſilides* however did not act the tyrant with impunity. Early in the ſpring a detachment of forty thouſand *Ruſſians* was attacked, defeated, and diſperſed, by two thouſand *Poles*, with the loſs of fifteen thouſand men ſlain in the field of battle. Soon after *Nicholas Radzevil*, palatine of *Vilna*, returning from *Livonia*, aſſembled a body of forces, and fell upon the *Ruſſian* army, commanded by *Peter Swiſki*, on the banks of the river *Uſſa*. The attack was unexpected, and the ſurprize, together with the fury of the aſſailants, ſoon put the *Ruſſians* in confuſion, and produced a total defeat. Near forty thouſand men periſhed by the ſword, or were drowned in the marſhes, endeavouring to eſcape; great numbers were ſlaughtered by the peaſants, and among theſe was the unfortunate general, who had his head cut off, which was ſtuck upon a lance, and carried in triumph to the victorious palatine. This however was but an advanced column of the *Ruſſian* forces; the remainder of the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Olſka*, whither the conqueror immediately begun his march, with a reſolution to attack them before they had recovered from their conſternation. The *Ruſſian* general did not think proper to hazard the event of a battle, which might prove as fatal to him as it had done to his colleague: he evacuated *Lithuania*, and retreated with ſuch precipitation, that he left all his baggage and military equipage a prey to the *Poles*. A variety of other victories followed, and though the ſucceſs of the *Poles* was uninterrupted by a ſingle unfortunate accident, yet ſtill did the *Ruſſians* continue their irruption into the different provinces of the republic. In vain were they ſlaughtered in every quarter; in vain were they defeated in every enter-

prize: they took the field with freſh forces, and, like the Hydra, appeared to gain ſtrength under the blow meditated for their deſtruction. Obſtinacy and a kind of barbarous valour ſerved in the ſtead of regulated courage. It was neceſſary to alter the manner of the operations, and to try the effects of carrying fire and ſword into the country of thoſe intrepid ſavages. The king in perſon, at the head of an hundred thouſand men, penetrated to the very heart of *Ruſſia*, and laid ſiege to the fortreſs of *Ula*; but conſtant experience had improved the enemy in the art of war: the garriſon made a brave and ſkilful defence; a reinforcement was thrown in, and *Sigiſmund* was compelled to raiſe the ſiege: however, the grand-marechal of *Lithuania* ſoon wiped off this diſgrace, defeated the *Ruſſian* army, and ſurpriſed the gallant garriſon, which had foiled all the king's attempts, after which he levelled the fortreſs with the ground, and ſtained the glory of his victories by putting to death, in cool blood, a handful of brave men, who merited the higheſt honours [a].

THESE cruel inroads and barbarous excurſions equally exhauſted and fatigued both nations. Each began to feel the effects of the immenſe conſumption of blood and treaſure; and famine preſſed hard, in conſequence of the neglected harveſts and the ſcarcity of huſbandmen. Neceſſity firſt ſuggeſted the thoughts of a truce to the czar, who had hitherto diſdainfully rejected all the propoſals made by the *Poliſh* monarch. Accordingly a convention for an armiſtice of three years was ſigned, during which interval *Sigiſmund* yielded up his laſt breath at *Knyſſin* in *Lithuania*, and his body was depoſited in the ſame vault with that of his father in the great cathedral of *Cracow*. This prince merited the utmoſt eſteem and affection of his ſubjects, on account of the intereſt which he took in their happineſs. Every part of his conduct was directed to this object; and the meaſures he took were ſo prudent, that he generally obtained his purpoſe. He governed a kingdom with the ſame eaſe and œconomy as he would a family: all his directions were implicitly obeyed, becauſe he founded his authority upon the idea, impreſſed on the minds of his people, of his ſagacity, virtue, and valour. Nothing could be more amiable than the whole ſeries of his domeſtic adminiſtration; nor more glorious than his foreign policy, which aimed not at conqueſt and oppreſſion, but the ſecurity of his own frontier, and repelling injuries. In his

His death and character.

[a] NEUGEBAVER, lib. viii. SARNIT. lib. viii. FLOR. Polon. lib. iii. CROMER, tom. ii. lib. 5, apud Piſtor.

wars

with the *Ruſſians* his valour was confeſſed; and, though ice proved unſucceſsful, every one acknowledged that his ge and conduct deſerved to be rewarded with victory. ne word, *Sigiſmund* was meek, affable, liberal, brave, agacious; an hero, who poſſeſſed all the eſſential, but he brilliant qualities of princes who are generally ho- d with that appellation. Such was his character for a of years; though old age, infirmity, and the influence avourite miſtreſs, occaſioned his deviating from the paths ue and true policy for ſome time before his death. This ed the luſtre of his reputation; but could not obliterate he minds of the *Poles* the many bleſſings they had de- from his wiſdom and piety. With *Sigiſmund-Auguſtus* *The* Jage- ale line of the family of *Jagello*, which had governed lo *family* l for near two hundred years, became extinct; leaving *extinct.* public a prey to inteſtine diviſions, and all the conſe- es of divided opinion, with reſpect to a monarch [a] (A).

SECT.

[a] EIDENSTEIN. Polon. p. 21, col. 2. FLOR. Polon. lib. iii. i. BAR. Hiſt. Allem. tom. ix. p. 147.

Sigiſmund died without eaving of the *Jagello* fa- ily two ſiſters; *Catherine*, l to *John* duke of *Fin-* nd afterwards to *John* *Sweden*, and mother of d III. afterwards king nd and *Sweden*; *Anne*, ds raiſed to the crown d, and married to *Ba-* ce of *Tranſylvania*, who means became ſove-

uſt not omit a ſociety in this monarch's reign, was ludicrouſly called monwealth of *Babina*. its riſe, like moſt other , in trivial and acci- circumſtances. A ſet of en, inhabitants of *Lub-* d agreed to meet at eriods at *Babina*, mere- the purpoſes of mirth ity. In time their num- reaſed, and they formed ves into a regular go- vernment, under the preſidency of a king, ſenate, and chief magiſtrates. This was truly the court of *Comus*, where nothing but wit, pleaſantry, and good humour reigned. Magiſtrates were elected from ſomething which appeared ridiculous in the character or conduct of any of the members. For inſtance, when any of the ſociety proved meddling and officious, he was immediately created an arch- biſhop; intimating, poſſibly, that the clergy choſe to make themſelves buſy in matters which did not concern their function. A blundering or diſputatious member was promoted to the ſpeaker's chair: a boaſter of his own courage, and vain-glorious *Thraſo*, was honoured with the commiſſion of generaliſſimo, which was preſented to him with great ceremony by the ſub- ordinate bravoes. Thoſe who declined the office for which they

SECT. V.

Containing the Election and Abdication of Henry Valois, *Duke of* Anjou; *together with the Reigns of* Stephen Batori, *and* Sigiſmund III. *King of* Poland *and* Sweden.

Intrigues with reſpect to the enſuing election.

THE old age and decrepitude of *Sigiſmund-Auguſtus*, together with the extinction of the houſe of *Jagello*, had given birth to a variety of intrigues at the courts of *Vienna*, *France*, and *Saxony*, each of which aimed at raiſing a prince of their own nation to the throne of *Poland*. Nor were the courts of *Sweden* and *Brandenburg* idle: it would ſeem to be a contention between Proteſtants and Papiſts who ſhould acquire the regal diadem; though policy, in fact, weighed againſt religion, and determined each of the candidates to puſh his own private intereſt, without regard to the principles of his adverſaries. The emperor, by means of the pope's legate, had acquired great influence, and bid fair for placing the archduke of *Auſtria* on the throne, in deſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the other princes. In *Poland*, however, thoſe who were actuated by any other motives than thoſe of corruption, rendered the diſpute purely religious. The Proteſtants had begun to raiſe their heads in the kingdom, and they only wanted a

they were declared qualified, were perſecuted with hiſſings, and abandoned by the ſociety. Thus every vice, and every foible, was attacked with ridicule; and *Babina* became in a ſhort time the terror, the admiration, and the reformer of the *Poliſh* nation. Genius flouriſhed under the protection of the ſociety; wit was cultivated, even in this northern clime; and the abuſes which had crept into government, and ſociety were corrected by the judicious application of good-humoured ſatire. Never did any inſtitution of this nature become ſo general, or ſo uſeful; but it at length degenerated into a ſet of buffoons, and banterers of every thing ſacred and profane. For ſeveral years it was patronized by the kings of *Poland*; and *Sigiſmund* became a member, the ſtaroſta of *Babina* telling him, jocularly, "That his majeſty had cer-" tain qualities which intitled " him to the firſt dignity in the " commonwealth." At preſent not the leaſt veſtige of the ſociety remains, though it was honoured with extraordinary privileges by kings and emperors. The reader may conſult *Sarnitii Hiſt. Polon.* p. 395, for a more minute account of this extraordinary inſtitution.

ince of their own perſuaſion to gain at leaſt an equality with ıe Catholics. Though their number was ſmaller, yet they ompenſated that diſadvantage by their unity; and made ſuch fforts as aſtoniſhed their opponents, who at firſt treated their eſign as chimerical, and the vain expectation of a few vi- ionaries. When *Maximilian* perceived they were determined o unite their intereſts in favour of the prince of *Sweden*, the lector of *Saxony*, or the marquis of *Anſpach*, he then exerted his utmoſt influence with the pontiff in behalf of his ſon *Er- neſtus* of *Auſtria*. In conſequence a legate was ſent to *Po- land*; but his inſtructions regarded only the general intereſt of the Catholic religion, without any particular view to the in- tereſt of the houſe of *Auſtria*. His arrival was ſoon ſucceeded by the death of *Sigiſmund*; and then the ferment became vio- lent among the *Poles*, each party declaring openly in favour of one or other of the candidates. The provincial diets of *Poland* and *Lithuania* met, and preſents from the ſeveral com- petitors were liberally diſtributed, in order to ſecure ſuch de- puties as might promote their intereſt at the general enſuing diet. The whole kingdom was one univerſal ſcene of cor- ruption, faction, and confuſion. At laſt the deputies were choſen, and the diet of election met at *Warſaw*.

It was now the conteſt become violent: ſmaller factions united into greater, and the ſhock was proportioned to the weight of the encountering bodies. The legate formed a kind of treaty with the biſhop of *Cujavia* and *Albert Laski*, a pala- tine of vaſt influence, whereby they agreed mutually to ſup- port each other, and to conſent to no election that was not favourable to the Catholic religion; to enter upon no mea- ſures but by mutual conſent; and to give their votes for no perſon that was not reciprocally agreeable to the leaguers. The vigilant legate next turned his views to unite all the Ca- tholics of the kingdom in the ſame intereſt, without declaring however in favour of any individual; that being a matter of future conſideration, to be determined juſt as intereſt happened to preponderate in the conclave, from whence he received his weekly inſtructions.

Mean time *Lithuania* was in the ſame agitation as *Poland*. The practices of *Radzivil* and *Cotcheviz* had acquired the greateſt influence in that dutchy on account of their wealth, the dignities they held, and the great number of their de- pendents. They had long been rivals in ſplendor and power; and now it was imagined, that the heads of both houſes would come to an open rupture, as they ſeemed to eſpouſe different candidates for the crown. However, ſome of their mutual friends, aware of the dreadful conſequences of a rup- ture,

ture, amidſt the general confuſion of the dutchy, propoſed a compromiſe, which was ſoon brought to a happy iſſue, under the mediation of the legate. Some writers alledge, that this prelate firſt propoſed to them the election of *Erneſtus* of *Auſtria*: be this as it may, certain it is, that the *Radzivils* were the firſt who declared for the houſe of *Auſtria*; and the legate had then the addreſs to engage the houſe of *Cotchevix* in the ſame intereſt, by threatening to declare for the czar of *Muſcovy*, their inveterate enemy. This whole negotiation he conducted with the utmoſt ſubtlety; had an interview with the two chiefs in the middle of a vaſt foreſt, and there concerted that a prince of the houſe of *Auſtria* ſhould be elected duke of *Lithuania*; not doubting but *Poland* would follow the example, to prevent a breach of the union, ſo ſalutary to both countries. According to certain *German* writers, theſe tranſactions paſſed in *Lithuania* during the life of *Sigiſmund*: *Poliſh* writers are ſilent with reſpect to the period. Breath had ſcarce quitted the body of the old king when the legate diſpatched a courier to *Vienna* with a copy of the articles ſigned by the two *Lithuanian* chiefs; and after ſketching out the ſituation of parties in *Poland* and the dutchy, deſired his imperial majeſty would immediately ſend an ambaſſador to *Moſcow*, endeavour to ſecure the palatine *Laſki* in his intereſt, and remit ſums of money, and quantities of *Hungarian* wines, to be diſtributed among the members of the diet. It was at the ſame time recommended to his imperial majeſty to keep a body of forces in readineſs, and to ſend the archduke *Erneſt* with all convenient expedition to *Poland*, to encourage, by his preſence, thoſe who favoured his intereſt. In a word, he enjoined celerity, which alone would ſecure the crown to his ſon, before the other candidates could have time to concert the means of fruſtrating his election. The legate was certainly right in his counſels; but he was not aware of the tedious manner of deliberating at the court of *Vienna*, and of the low eſtate of the emperor's treaſures, which alone was ſufficient to break all his projects for the elevation of the archduke.

BESIDES the emperor's neceſſities, there were other circumſtances which diſappointed all the legate's hopes, and ruined the negotiation which he had conducted with ſo much addreſs. *Maximilian* required certain ſacrifices to his pride, equally unſeaſonable and ridiculous. Puffed up with the breath of adulation, that prince imagined it beneath the dignity of the imperial diadem to ſolicit votes for his ſon's election, and thought it more becoming his rank, and the high birth of the young prince, to be invited to the throne of *Poland*.

nd. From the powerful faction which the legate had formed, e doubted not but an ambaſſy for this purpoſe would ſoon rrive, and while he was conſoling himſelf with the vain expectation the opportunity eſcaped. The *Poliſh* gentry were diſguſted with the arrogance of the houſe of *Auſtria*; and when the biſhop of *Plosko* recommended a prince of that family, they all put their hands to their ſwords, and threatened to puniſh with death whoever ſhould again inſult *Poland* with ſuch a propoſal. Not contented with this declaration, they ſeized upon ſeveral perſons whom they believed attached to the emperor; and were on the point of declaring in favour of the elector of *Saxony*, when a ſolemn ambaſſy at laſt arrived from *Vienna*, which in ſome meaſure appeaſed their reſentment. No nation upon earth is more taken with ſhew, pageantry, and reſpect, than the *Poles*. *Roſemberg* and *Pernerſtein*, equally illuſtrious by their merit and the dignities which they bore, entered the frontiers with a magnificent train; but they were way-laid by the palatine of *Sandomir*, and arreſted [a].

UPON this it was that the enemies of the houſe of *Auſtria* took courage, and with their utmoſt vigour ſupported the princes in the oppoſition. They were however ſtrenuouſly reſiſted by the legate, *Laski*, and the biſhop of *Cujavia*; though this confederacy could not prevent the parties from coming to an agreement, that no difference in religious opinions ſhould create any contention among the ſubjects of the kingdom; and that all *Poles*, without diſcrimination, ſhould be capable of holding public offices and truſts under the government. In this convocation it was farther ſtipulated, that the future king ſhould be obliged to ſwear expreſly that he would cultivate the internal tranquillity of the realm, and cheriſh, without diſtinction, their ſubjects of all perſuaſions. Accordingly we find that *Henry de Valois*, and *Stephen Batori*, were both compelled to the obſervation of this new law. A. D. 1573.

HITHERTO the emiſſaries of the ſeveral candidates acted privately, and by intrigue, endeavouring to gain a majority at the electional diet; not doubting but the minority would be forced at laſt to embrace their ſentiments. The firſt prince who was publicly propoſed at the general aſſembly of the ſtates was the czar of *Muſcovy*; but the *Poles* dreaded the ſavage cruel diſpoſition of the czar, who had always been accuſtomed to govern with the moſt deſpotic ſway. The next perſon propoſed was the young prince of *Sweden*, nephew to the late king *Sigiſmund*. The election of this prince, it was obvious, *The candidates for the crown.*

[a] BARRE, tom. ix. An. 1573.

would

would be attended with a singular advantage, as *Swed* *Poland* united would be in a condition to resist all i enemies, and check the aspiring ambition of the czar of *covy*. Besides, he had a natural claim to the crown, was by the mother descended from the *Jagello* family, had furnished *Poland* with such a number of illustriou narchs; but the doctrines of *Luther*, which he professed dered him odious to the Catholics; and many of th testants were apprehensive lest a *Swede* by birth might too great a partiality for his native country. The youn of *Prussia* was supported by a considerable party; and t trigues of *Firlei* would probably have determined the el in his favour, had not the infirm state of his health, and pacity for governing, proved insurmountable objections. Protestants, who had espoused this prince, finding all expectations frustrated, cast their eyes on the elector of *ny*, the vaivode of *Transylvania*, or the marquis of *An* With respect to the elector, they insisted on his meri proofs he had given of his government, his love of fre and detestation of tyranny. All these qualities were ack ledged, and his address and the treasures of *Saxony* had g him a very powerful interest; but still he was a *Germa* Protestant. The first was disagreeable to the *Poles* in ge the second odious to the Catholics in particular. Some bishops and great lords ventured to propose *Rosember* imperial ambassador, whose merit was universally ack ledged, and whose birth, employments, and possessions very considerable [b]. Some writers alledge, that *Ros* might have carried away the prize from all his compet had he had courage to support his faction; while others bute his conduct to a principle of fidelity and attachme the emperor. In our opinion it was chance that intire rected the assembly, and disappointed the hopes of al candidates.

JOHN CRASOSKI, a *Polish* gentleman of extraor merit, but diminutive stature, had just returned from *F* whither he had travelled for improvement. His ability mour, wit, and diverting size, had rendered him unive agreeable at the court of *France*, and in a particular m engaged the esteem of *Catherine* of *Medicis*, which the *Pole* had the address to convert to his own purposes. owed a variety of obligations to the favour of the du *Anjou*, and *Crasoski* did not fail to exaggerate the virtu

The duke of Anjou *offers himself.*

[b] HEIDENSTEIN, rer. Polon. lib. i. p. 29, col. 3. Vit. mend. lib. iv. c. vi.

ce from mere motives of gratitude, without a thought
g him on the preſent occaſion. Perſons at all time-
th curioſity flocked round the traveller, and greedily
d his relations of the magnificence of the *French*
d the atchievements of the duke of *Anjou*, whom he re-
d as a young hero, who had cruſhed the hydra-head
n, diſtinguiſhed his valour in the field, and become
y and the bulwark of his country. The *Poles* were
ith the character, and immediately conceived the no-
healing the civil diviſions of the kingdom, by making
the crown to the duke of *Anjou*. Theſe ſentiments
riſhed and confirmed by *Craſoski*, who returned into
y order of ſeveral of the leading men in *Poland*, and
ed the king and queen *Catherine* that nothing was
beſides the formality of an ambaſſy to procure the
or the duke of *Anjou*, almoſt without oppoſition. It
ed by ſome writers, that the firſt propoſals came from
t of *France*, which made uſe of the diminutive *Cra-*
an emiſſary, and for ſome time conducted a ſeries of
k and myſterious intrigues. *Charles* IX. was jealous
's reputation. He regarded with envy the laurels ga-
by that prince in a variety of battles, and hated his
on account of the partiality ſhewn him by the queen-
This gave birth to the reſolution of removing him
ance, and a fairer opportunity could not happen than
ſent vacancy in the throne of *Poland*. The pretext
plauſible, that even the queen and *Henry* were de-
with reſpect to the king's real deſigns; and imagined
ded nothing more than to augment the glory of *France*,
mote the intereſt of his brother[a]. They entered
into the project, and ſeconded *Craſoski*'s propoſal
lendid ambaſſy might be ſent into *Poland*. Accord-
Montluc, biſhop of *Valence*, *Gille de Noailles*, abbot of
nd ſeveral other perſons of rank and ability, were diſ-
to *Cracow*, where they met with ſuch a reception as
en promiſed by *Craſoski*. The affability, eloquence,
rality of *Montluc* operated powerfully on the minds of
s, and confirmed their favourable ſentiments of the
Anjou. Sums of money too, which were judiciouſly
ted, made them intirely forget the promiſes made to the
f *Auſtria*. Even the league formed by the legate was
ed, and the chiefs of *Lithuania* joined with the princi-
ſonages in *Poland* to elevate the duke of *Anjou* to the
[b].

[a] NTAINES, p. 214. [b] Natalis Comes, lib. vi. p. 599.

THIS

THIS oppoſition rouſed the ſpirit of the emperor *Maximilian*, who determined, after he had loſt all chance of ſucceeding, to make the moſt vigorous efforts in favour of *Erneſtus*. He now earneſtly ſolicited the ſtates of the empire to aſſiſt him in purſuit of a crown, which he loſt intirely by his pride and inactivity. He laboured to form a league among the *German* princes; and ſolicited the elector of *Saxony*, who had now abandoned all hopes, to furniſh him with ten thouſand horſe for the ſpace of a ſingle campaign, promiſing that, ſhould his ſon be elected king of *Poland*, he would reſtore *Dantzic* and the *Pruſſian* cities to the empire, together with that part of *Livonia* which had lately been ſeized by the *Poles*. To the elector, in particular, he promiſed reſtitution of all the frontier of *Luſatia* towards *Saxony*. *Maximilian*'s negotiations could not be long concealed from *Gaſpard de Schomberg*, the *French* ambaſſador at the court of *Saxony*. This miniſter poſſeſſed all the talents of a politician, and had gained the intire confidence of *Catherine de Medicis* by his addreſs and ability. He no ſooner had intimation of the deſigns of the court of *Vienna* than he diſpatched an account to *Montluc*, and ſet out in perſon for *Caſſel*, to ſolicit the landgrave and the Proteſtants of the empire to aſſiſt the pretenſions of the duke of *Anjou*. He gained the princeſs *Sophia*, widow of the duke of *Brunſwick*, a rigid Proteſtant, and the ſtrenuous enemy of the houſe of *Auſtria*. Thence he went to the courts of *Wolfenbuttle* and *Saxony*; and was on the brink of forming a powerful alliance, when all his endeavours were rendered uſeleſs by the forwardneſs of the *Poles* themſelves, who were now proceeding to the election of *Henry de Valois*. The diet was compoſed of thirty-five thouſand *Poliſh* gentlemen, five hundred only of whom oppoſed the *French* intereſt; and theſe were ſo aſhamed of the deſpicable figure they made, that they embraced, without ſolicitation, the opinion of the majority; but the ambaſſadors were firſt obliged to take an oath, that their maſter ſhould maintain the laws, liberties, and cuſtoms of the kingdom of *Poland* and the grand dutchy of *Lithuania*. The following articles were beſides ſtipulated: That *Henry* ſhould tranſport all his effects, and annual revenues in *France*, into *Poland*: that the *French* monarch ſhould pay the late king *Sigiſmund*'s debts: that he ſhould maintain an hundred young *Poliſh* gentlemen at his court, and fifty in other places: that he ſhould ſend a fleet to the *Baltick* to aſſiſt *Poland* againſt the *Ruſſians*: and laſtly, that *Henry* ſhould marry the princeſs *Anne*, ſiſter to the late king *Sigiſmund*; which article *Henry* refuſed to ratify until his arrival in *Poland*.

As ſoon as the ambaſſadors had acceded to the conditions ropoſed, *Henry* was proclaimed, the act of election prepared, nd a ſplendid ambaſſy, compoſed of thirteen of the chief perſonages in the kingdom, appointed to wait on the young king *France*. Paſſports were demanded from the emperor; but *laximilian*, who was diſſatisfied with the election, replied, A. D. at he could not grant the ſafeguard required without con- 1574. lting the *Germanick* body; and they again pretended that e emperor's conſent was abſolutely neceſſary. *Montluc*, how- er, adviſed that the ambaſſy might proceed, fully convinced at the emperor would not preſume to violate the treaties ſub- ſting with *France* and *Poland*. He ſet out in perſon to *Leip- k* to prepare the way, and the ambaſſy followed a few days ter. The elector had given orders for their reception, at e ſame time that he expreſſed his aſtoniſhment they ſhould ot wait for the paſſport which they had ſolicited; and gave em to underſtand, that, if they proceeded farther, they ight find cauſe to repent their temerity. In a word, an or- er was given to prohibit their quitting the electorate; but it as ſoon revoked, and the ambaſſadors were permitted to pro- eed on their journey [a]. Their reception at the court of *rance* was magnificent, nothing being omitted that could ıſpire them with a high idea of the riches, power, and gran- eur of the monarchy. Their arrival too afforded a ſeaſon- ble ſalvo to *Henry*'s honour, as he was thereby at liberty to reak up the ſiege of *Rochelle*, without diminution of his glo- y. Preparations were immediately made for the young king's Henry de eparture, and he at laſt quitted *France*, attended by a ſplendid Valois etinue, and accompanied by the queen-mother as far as *crowned* *Lorrain*. The *Poles* received him on the frontiers, and con- *king of* ucted him to *Cracow*, where he was crowned a few days Poland. ıfter.

HENRY ſoon engaged the affections of the *Poles*, who with admiration obſerved his majeſtic air, and blooming vi- gorous youth. They were delighted with his graceful man- ner and perſuaſive eloquence, as well as with the fluency and purity with which he expreſſed himſelf in the *Latin* tongue, which at that time came to be deemed an eſſential accom- pliſhment in *Poland*. They remarked with wonder the mag- nificence with which he ſupported the dignity of the monarch, without that air of ſuperiority and inſolence to which they had been accuſtomed in their ſovereigns. Here they ſaw ele- vation of ſoul mingled with affability, and the politeneſs of the fine gentleman united to the ſtate of the king; and they

[a] Barre, Hiſt. Allem. tom. ix. p. 156.

flat-

flattered themſelves, that ſo agreeable an exterior preſaged a reign of felicity and joy; but ſcarcely was *Henry* confirmed in the throne before he became heir to the crown and dominions of his brother. Queen *Catherine* had diſpatched repeated couriers to acquaint him with the king's death, and the neceſſity of his immediate return. *Henry* could not think of relinquiſhing his pretenſions to the crown of *France* for the ſake of that of *Poland*, and he was aware of
A. D. 1575. the impoſſibility of retaining both. He determined therefore to abdicate the latter; but, ſenſible that the *Poles* would oppoſe his departure, he kept his intentions ſecret, and watched the opportunity of ſtealing out by night, in diſguiſe, from his palace. He rode poſt to *Vienna*, and then paſſed into *France* by the way of *Italy*, leaving the *Poles* in deſpair at the ſudden flight of a prince from whoſe adminiſtration they expected the return of the Golden Age. Parties were detached after him by different roads, and he was overtaken by *Zamoiſki* ſome leagues diſtant from *Cracow*; but could not be prevailed on to return by all the prayers, tears, and intreaties of that nobleman, who too much revered the monarch to uſe violence. Some alledge, however, that *Henry* made him an abſolute promiſe to return, as ſoon as he had placed the affairs of *France* upon a proper footing. The populace were ſo enraged, that, unleſs the magiſtrates of *Cracow* had poſted guards in the ſtreets, all the *French* then in the city would have been ſacrificed as perfidious wretches, whoſe blood only could waſh away the indignity put on the *Poliſh* nation.

He abdicates the crown.

HENRY had foreſeen the conſequences of his flight, and had taken his meaſures for appeaſing the people. *Danzai* was left to make his apology to the republic, which he did in full ſenate, unfolding with the utmoſt eloquence the motives for the king's abrupt departure. He wrote likewiſe with his own hand to the chief nobility and clergy; but nothing could ſatisfy the *Poles*, who thought themſelves ſlighted by their monarch, for whom they had teſtified the ſtrongeſt affection. They now acquainted *Henry*, that the neceſſities of the ſtate, and the dangers which ſurrounded the republic, prevailed over their attachment to his perſon; and that, if he did not immediately return, they would formally proceed to depoſe him, and elect another ſovereign. The king excuſed himſelf by the wars in which he was engaged, that rendered his preſence neceſſary in *France*; but, however, gave the *Poles* room to hope that he would reſume the reins of government as ſoon as his circumſtances would permit. He likewiſe offered to ſend ſuch miniſters to govern *Poland* in his abſence as the republic muſt approve, becauſe their integrity was irreproachable, and

their

their abilities univerſally acknowledged. Accordingly he diſpatched *Guy de Pibrac* to that kingdom, a perſon who had formed numerous friendſhips, ſtrong connections, and had gained the affections of the *Poles* during his reſidence among them: however, the nation was too much irritated to liſten to expedients; and faction began again to rear her head, and excite a ferment in the commonwealth. Two parties at that time divided *Poland*, and agreed only in the reſolution of depoſing *Henry*, againſt which all the eloquence and addreſs of *Pibrac* proved ineffectual. Accordingly the firſt proceeding was to aſſemble at *Steczicza*, where *Henry* was ſolemnly 15 July. diveſted of the regal dignity, and the throne declared vacant [a].

MAXIMILIAN now thought that a fair opportunity offered for recovering what he had loſt the preceding year by his indolence and haughty carriage. He accordingly diſpatched *Henry Dudith*, a *Hungarian* of deep penetration and impenetrable cunning, to form a party in favour of his ſon *Erneſtus*. The miniſter exerted his utmoſt endeavours and influence with the palatines, and formed a conſiderable intereſt. The primate, archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, had promiſed him his vote; and ſeveral of the nobility had entered into a reſolution to ſupport the houſe of *Auſtria* at the enſuing election, which was appointed at *Warſaw* in the month of *December*. At firſt there appeared ſomething extremely enigmatical in the conduct of this party. Before they ventured to divulge their ſentiments to each other, they talked myſteriouſly, gave ſignificant hints, and thoroughly ſounded the diſpoſitions of the perſons whom they propoſed drawing into their faction. At laſt they all agreed, that it was better to confer the crown upon the emperor himſelf than upon his ſon, as the dignity of the imperial diadem would give a ſanction to their election, and deſtroy the hopes of any competitor. The ſenate embraced this opinion, and accordingly *Maximilian* was proclaimed in the diet king of *Poland* and great duke of *Lithuania* [b].

ALL this while another faction had been forming by the *Piaſtes*, or thoſe who declared in favour of a prince a native of the country. The palatines of *Cracow* and *Sandomir* were at the head of this party: it was their intention to elect the princeſs *Anne*, and marry her to *Batori*, prince of *Tranſylvania*, who by that means ſhould be elevated to the throne. They were, however, confounded with the ſudden blow ſtruck by

[a] STRUV. p. x. lib. vi. HEIDENST. lib. i. p. 62. [b] SLEIDAN. p. 325.

Maximilian's party; and that prince was on the point of being eſtabliſhed in the throne of *Poland*, when the ſpirit of one gentleman overthrew all their deſigns, and revived the hope of the *Piaſtes*. In imitation of the tribunes of *Rome*, who had the power of oppoſing the decrees of the ſenate, this *Poliſh* gentleman proteſted againſt the proclamation, and with great intrepidity declared it was violent and illegal. He was ſupported by the two palatines, the *French* intereſt, and count *Tenczin*, who proceeded to the election of the princeſs *Anne* and *Stephen Batori*, whom they accordingly proclaimed [a].

A. D. 1576.

STEPHEN BATORI.

Stephen Batori *elected king of* Poland.

IT was now obvious, that ſtrength and celerity muſt determine which election was legitimate: both parties wrote to the princes for whom they had declared, intreating them to come with all poſſible expedition to take poſſeſſion of the throne. *Batori* proved the more alert: while *Maximilian* was diſputing about certain conditions, which the *Poles* required for the ſecurity of their privileges, he entered *Poland*, married the princeſs, and was crowned by the firſt day of *May* following. He appeared to poſſeſs ſuch qualities as ſoon increaſed the number of his friends, and proportionably leſſened the intereſt of *Maximilian*, who had not yet abandoned his claim; but was, on the contrary, preparing to treat *Batori* as an uſurper. All acknowledged that the new king was a warrior and politician; that he was affable, generous, and virtuous. Beſides, they knew the reſpect which the Grand Seignor entertained for this prince, and were ſenſible that the whole force of the *Othoman* empire would be employed to ſupport his election. However, *Maximilian* was buſied in promoting his deſign when death ſurpriſed him, and happily extinguiſhed all apprehenſions of a civil war [b].

BATORI begun his reign in circumſtances the moſt proſperous that could be wiſhed. All the provinces yielded immediate obedience, while the people in general teſtified the ſtrongeſt attachment to his perſon (A). The city of *Dantzick* adhered

[a] BARRE, ibid, tom. ix.

[b] FLOR. Polon. lib. iv.

(A) It is ſufficient proof of *Batori*'s abilities, that he raiſed himſelf from a private ſtation in *Tranſylvania* to the ſovereignty of that country, and to the crown of *Poland*, by the faireſt means, and univerſally acknowledged merit. His firſt education was in the camp, as he had in his earlieſt youth ſhewn an inclination to arms. His courage, capacity, and prudence, ſoon acquired him the eſteem of the ſoldiers, and great autho-

adhered to the houſe of *Auſtria*; and, though *Maximilian* was now dead, refuſed, under various pretexts, to acknowledge *Batori*'s ſovereignty. The inhabitants had even the preſumption to demand an oath from the king, in acknowledgment of their abſolute freedom and independence. *Batori* referred them to the ſenate, declaring, that he had no power to give up the rights of the republic; and admoniſhed the *Dantzickers* to avoid all occaſion of a civil war, which muſt neceſſarily terminate to their prejudice: but the obſtinate citizens, conſtruing the king's lenity into fear, ſhut their gates againſt the ambaſſador, ſeized upon the fortreſs of *Grebin*, and publiſhed a manifeſto equivalent to a libel on the prince and the republic. Incenſed at theſe proceedings, the king marched againſt *Grebin*, retook the caſtle, and ravaged certain territories belonging to the magiſtrates of *Dantzick*; who retaliated on the ſee of *Uladiſlaw* and the monaſtery of *Oliva*, which they burnt to the ground, to prevent the *Poles* from taking poſſeſſion of ſo important a ſituation [a].

The Dantzickers revolt.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe outrages, *Batori* renewed his overtures for an accommodation, conſidering the *Dantzickers* ſtill as his ſubjects, whom he ought, if poſſible, to reclaim with reaſon; but they were deaf to all propoſals, which obliged him to declare them rebels, and enemies to the ſtate. *Zborowski* was accordingly ſent with a body of troops to lay ſiege to the city; but as his numbers were not conſiderable, the *Dantzickers* ventured to quit their walls, and march into the field to give him battle. They were aſſiſted by a corps of *Germans*, and the reſolution was formed of attacking the *Poles* in their camp by ſurprize; but the project was diſconcerted by a ſudden ſtorm, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning, which ſpread a panic through the army, as if

[a] HARTNOCH, lib. i.

authority among the people, who pitched upon him to tranſact ſome difficult negotiations at the imperial court, which he had the good fortune to accompliſh to the mutual ſatisfaction of the parties. When the ſupreme dignity became vacant, by the death of *John Sigiſmund*, nephew of *Sigiſmund* II. king of *Poland*, *Batori* was nominated ſucceſſor by the univerſal voice, without his once ſoliciting the honour, or even entertaining thoughts of raiſing himſelf ſo high above his countrymen. This laid the foundation of his future good fortune, which may intirely be aſcribed to the early proofs he had exhibited of diſtinguiſhed merit and ſolid talents (1).

(1) *Flor. Polon. lib.* iv.

it had been a judgment from heaven, and obliged *John de Collen*, who commanded, to return to the city.

As ſoon as they had recovered their ſpirits, they ſailed under the conduct of the ſame officer up the *Viſtula*, and were proceeding to *Warſaw*, when they were attacked by the *Poliſh* army, who defeated them, after an obſtinate conflict, with the loſs of eight thouſand men ſlain, a great number of priſoners, and ſeveral pieces of cannon, which, inſtead of abating the courage, animated the *Dantzickers* to a more vigorous exertion of their ſtrength, and incenſed them againſt *Collen*, to whoſe miſconduct they attributed the late diſgrace. *Collen* uſed perſuaſion, and at laſt appeaſed the multitude by aſſurances that he would take ample vengeance on their enemies, and defend the privileges of the city with the laſt drop of his blood[a].

Irruptions of the Ruſſians.

MEAN time *Poland* was preſſed on another quarter. The czar of *Muſcovy*, thinking the preſent opportunity was favourable for extending his dominions, and revenging the preference given to *Henry de Valois* in the preceding election, ſent a powerful army againſt *Revel*, and beſieged that city with great fury and obſtinacy: however, all his efforts proved ineffectual againſt the courage of the garriſon. He was forced to relinquiſh the ſiege, and content himſelf with ravaging *Livonia*, which he executed with the utmoſt inhumanity. Yet could not this unprovoked irruption draw *Batori* from his reſolution of laying ſiege in perſon to *Dantzick*, and purſuing his meaſures with the utmoſt vigour. The city was inveſted, and battered with great fury; while the beſiegers made the moſt animated efforts in their own defence, defeated the *Poles* in a variety of ſallies, and obliged the king to abandon certain approaches which he had made quite to the wall, and to encamp at a greater diſtance. *Collen* recovered his reputation among his countrymen by actions that were ſignally gallant: he headed every attack upon the royal camp, and was become terrible to the beſiegers, when he periſhed in a ſally where prodigious ſlaughter was made on both ſides. Immediately the ſpirit of the beſieged ſubſided, and rendered it evident, that on *Collen*'s capacity and courage they had founded their chief hope of reſiſtance. He had not been two days ſlain when they ſuſtained a variety of attacks, which determined them to have recourſe to the clemency of *Batori*, after they had obtained a promiſe from the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, in conjunction with the landgrave of *Heſſe*, to interpoſe their mediation. The king was not difficult in the terms

Peace with the Dantzickers.

[a] FLOR. Polon. lib. iv. p. 306.

he

he demanded. His main deſign was to eſtabliſh repoſe, and reclaim the *Dantzickers*; and accordingly he ſigned a peace, whereby it was ſtipulated they ſhould aſk his pardon, acknowledge his ſovereignty, diſband their forces, and repair the monaſtery of *Oliva*; while his majeſty, on the other hand, confirmed all their privileges, and promiſed to grant them full liberty of adhering to the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*, of which they had for ſome time been ſtrenuous advocates [a].

BATORI had no ſooner reduced *Dantzick* to obedience than he convoked a diet at *Warſaw*, to deliberate on the means of revenging the ravages committed by the czar in *Livonia*, ſupporting the dignity of the crown, and retrieving the honour of the nation, that was ſullied by the unpuniſhed and unreſented violation of treaties. This royal barbarian had made himſelf maſter of the chief towns in the province: *War with* an inſidious air of clemency inclined many cities to open their Ruſſia. gates to him, rather than by reſiſtance incur the diſpleaſure of a prince whoſe power they could not withſtand. Motives of policy directed the czar to perform his promiſes to ſome, in order to glut the more ſecurely his bloody diſpoſition, by ſacrificing the innocent credulous inhabitants of others. Among the latter was the city of *Aſcherod*, where a great number of the *Livonian* nobility then reſided. As ſoon as the burghers had opened the gates, the *Ruſſians* began the moſt barbarous maſſacre recorded in the annals of time, ſlaughtering all without diſtinction who were capable of bearing arms, and abandoning the women and children to the ſhocking brutality and the moſt ſavage violations of the *Tartars*. Such was the horror inſpired by the perfidy and cruelty of their conduct, that the inhabitants of *Wender* choſe rather to bury themſelves in the ruins of an untenable town, than ſurrender to ſo inhuman an enemy. Accordingly they ſunk mines under their houſes, and, not being able to reſiſt longer, they deſcended glorioufly to their graves, and periſhed in the vaults they had made for themſelves and families. However, all *Livonia*, except *Riga* and *Revel*, bled under the ſevere ſcourge of this inſulting conqueror, before the *Poles* had entered upon meaſures to check the progreſs of the czar's arms. At laſt a body of A. D. forces was detached into the province, *Wender* and *Dunne-* 1578. *burg* were ſurpriſed, and an army which the czar had ſent to retake the former was defeated [b].

MEAN time *Batori* was making great preparations to take the field in perſon, large ſums of money were borrowed for

[a] Id. ibid. etiam. FONTAINES, p. 221. [b] HEIDENSTEN. rer. Polon. lib. ix.

the ſupport of the war, and *Chriſtopher* prince of *Tranſylvania* had orders to join his majeſty with all the ſtanding forces of that country. Levies were likewiſe made in *Germany*; a corps of *Pruſſians* and *Hungarians* joined the *Poles*, and the royal army was immediately after augmented by ten thouſand *Lithuanians*. With theſe forces the king laid ſiege to *Polocz* on the *Dwina*, one of the ſtrongeſt cities on the frontier, and a place of great conſequence, as it opened a communication between *Lithuania* and the province of *Livonia*. It was one of the towns which had been ſeduced by the czar's ſpecious promiſes to ſurrender its liberties, and now the inhabitants ſuffered the puniſhment of their credulity. As ſoon as the *Ruſſians* received advice of the approach of the *Poliſh* army, they reſolved to put all the citizens to death, thinking to ſtrike terror by this means into the king's troops. The moſt ſhocking ſpectacle which fancy can imagine was preſented to *Batori* as he advanced: a prodigious number of mangled bodies, faſtened to planks, and panting in the laſt agonies, were rolled by the rapid tide of the river, dyed with human blood. Nothing could be more dreadful than the wanton uſeleſs barbarity, which, inſtead of terrifying, animated the moſt ardent ſpirit of revenge. The *Poles*, finding their cannon made ſcarce any impreſſion on the walls, mounted to the aſſault with burning torches in their hands, ſet fire to the wooden fortifications, and would have reduced the city, and conſumed the garriſon to aſhes, had not a deluge of rain baffled their endeavours. At laſt the *Hungarians*, incenſed at the reſiſtance of the beſieged, and encouraged with the king's promiſe of diſtributing the whole booty among the ſoldiers, advanced to the walls amidſt the furious diſcharge of artillery from the ramparts, applied their torches, and ſoon put the whole in a blaze; upon which the *Muſcovites* ſurrendered at diſcretion. It reflects the higheſt honour on *Batori*, that he did not retaliate upon the garriſon, though he had ſcenes before his eyes ſufficient to authorize the keeneſt revenge. A variety of *Germans* were found in the city, ſome expiring under the moſt dreadful tortures, and others dead of pains which human nature could not ſupport. The blood freezes at the very recital of ſuch barbarities as were here committed. Several of the officers had been dipped in cauldrons of boiling oil, with a cord drawn under the ſkin of the umbilical region, which faſtened their hands behind; in which wretched ſituation their eyes were torn out from the ſockets, or burnt with red-hot irons, and their faces otherwiſe cruelly mangled. The diſfigured carcaſes evidently declared the barbarous treatment with which they had met, and the dreadful tale was

Cruelty of the Ruſſians.

confirmed by the teſtimony of the few who ſurvived. The *Poliſh* ſoldiers were wrought up to a degree of madneſs: they eagerly ſought to lay violent hands on the bloody authors of this tragedy, and ſcarce all *Bateri's* authority could prevent the whole *Muſcovite* garriſon from falling a ſacrifice to their reſentment.

THE reduction of *Polocz* led the way to other advantages. Two detachments from the army penetrated the enemy's country by different roads, waſted all before them to the gates of *Smolensko*, and returned with the ſpoils of two thouſand towns and villages, which they had pillaged and deſtroyed: ſuch was the cruel method of carrying on war in the northern kingdoms.

IT is remarkable, that the *Swedes* waged war at the ſame time in *Livonia*, and were deemed equally the enemies of the *Poles* and *Muſcovites*. *Revel* had, ſince the laſt reign, put itſelf under the protection of this crown, and was maintained, according to the *Swediſh* writers, by a garriſon placed there by duke *John*; a circumſtance about which the *Poliſh* hiſtorians are intirely ſilent. They acknowledge, indeed, that the *Poles* were at war with the *Swedes* and *Muſcovites*, the *Swedes* with the *Poles* and *Muſcovites*, and the latter with the *Poles* and *Swedes*, each ſtriving to gain poſſeſſion of the province of *Livonia*, and committing the moſt cruel ravages on the territories of the others. The reader has ſeen the particulars of this irregular triple war in the Hiſtory of *Sweden*[a], and it would only be loading the memory with facts which diſgrace human nature to be more particular in this place (A). Sufficient it is, that the *Poles* and *Swedes* at laſt determined to compromiſe their differences, and fall with united forces on the ſavage *Ruſſians*, whoſe numbers ſeemed to increaſe under the moſt bloody and ſeemingly deciſive victories. At the time when this accommodation was ſet on foot, *Pontus de la Gardie*, a *French* gentleman in the *Swediſh* ſervice, to whom king *John* had given his natural daughter in marriage, was beſieging *Oeſel*, after having made great progreſs in the reduction of the country. Now the religious contentions which aroſe in *Sweden* prevented that monarch from bearing his ſhare in the *Muſcovite*

State of Poland *and* Sweden.

A. D. 1579.

[a] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. p. 7.

(A) The reader will perceive that we have purpoſely omitted, for the ſake of brevity, a variety of diſputes between *Sweden* and *Poland*, that have already been recited in the *Swediſh* Hiſtory; it being our intention only to relate ſuch circumſtances as are differently told by the hiſtorians of each country.

vite war, which *Batori* was left to proſecute ſingly, and without any other aſſiſtance than what aroſe from his own courage and the affection of his ſubjects. However, he thought it ſufficient that he was at liberty to employ the whole ſtrength of *Poland* againſt the czar; and accordingly made the moſt vigorous preparations for opening another campaign, which he doubted not would bring the war to a fortunate iſſue. Early in the ſeaſon *John Sariowzamoski*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the *Swedes*, was appointed general, and ſent with a powerful army to inveſt *Pleskow*, one of the ſtrongeſt cities in poſſeſſion of the *Ruſſians*. The ſtrong caſtle of *Oſtrow*, ſituated in an iſland which covered the city, was firſt attacked, in order to open a way for regular undiſturbed approaches, and carried, after an obſtinate defence; in which the *Ruſſians* had ſhewn, that they were not deſtitute either of courage or military genius. Upon this, trenches were opened before *Pleskow*, and the king arrived in the camp to direct in perſon the operations of the ſiege. The garriſon conſiſted of ſeven thouſand men, the walls were extenſive and ſtrong, and the enterprize required not only a numerous army, but the utmoſt vigilance and conduct. The city was ſupplied with all kinds of proviſion, and was watered by numerous ſtreams, that not only ſupplied the garriſon with water and fiſh, but greatly diſturbed the beſiegers, by filling their trenches, and frequently, upon a flood of rain, deſtroying their works. It ſtood in the midſt of a fertile plain, and was bounded by rugged hills, which pinched the *Poliſh* camp, at the ſame time that they were at too great a diſtance for their batteries. Forty monaſteries ſurrounded *Pleſkow*, and not only added greatly to the beauty, but to the ſtrength of the city, ſerving for the purpoſe of ſtrong baſtions joined by the walls. A ſtrong citadel roſe in the center, which was maintained by a ſeparate garriſon of two thouſand *Muſcovites*, and ſeemed in a manner impregnable. So formidable an appearance ſtruck terror into ſome of the *Poliſh* officers, who adviſed *Batori* to relinquiſh an enterprize which might prove fatal to his reputation, and lay ſiege to *Novogrod*; but he deſpiſed their puſillanimity, and ſeemed to be animated by the difficulties, in ſurmounting which he ſhould only acquire more glory. At firſt the garriſon made vigorous ſallies, and, relying upon their own ſtrength, fought a kind of pitched battles, in which they were almoſt always defeated. Aſſiſted by the townſmen, who were extremely numerous and warlike, they poured forth like a torrent, and called for the exertion of all *Batori*'s courage and conduct: at laſt the *Muſcovites*, perceiving they were weakened by repeated defeats, without in the leaſt ſlackening the

Pleskow *beſieged.*

operations of the *Poles*, reſolved to ſhut themſelves within their walls, and content themſelves with merely defenſive meaſures. The *Poles* confined their attacks to one quarter of the town, while the *Germans* and *Hungarians* were battering another. The moment the latter effected a breach, they determined to ſtorm it; but their commander being ſlain, the troops were diſpirited, and would have been wholly routed, had not the *Poles* come to their relief, marched up the breach, and planted the *Poliſh* ſtandard on the tower of *Porchow*. Their valour was imitated by the *Hungarians:* a lodgment was effected, and the garriſon on the point of ſubmitting, when the brave *Swisky*, who commanded, mounted his horſe, though covered with blood and wounds, re-animated the *Muſcovites* by his example, led them back to the breach, and checked the progreſs of the aſſailants on the brink of the laſt ditch ſunk for the defence of the tower. The clergy themſelves came to the attack, and inſpired the troops, by their moving diſcourſe, with all the fury and ardour that religion was capable of imparting: the *Poles* firſt gave way, and were followed by the *Hungarians*, after they had maintained their ground for the whole day, expoſed to a galling fire from the artillery of the tower, and the muſketry and arrows of the garriſon, equal to them in number.

But the *Poles* did not confine themſelves to the ſiege of *Pleskow:* detachments entered the enemy's country in different quarters, and reduced a great number of cities, towns, and fortreſſes; deſtroying at the ſame time an infinity of villages, and laying all waſte around. This, together with the neceſſity to which the brave garriſon of *Pleskow* was reduced, humbled the pride of the czar, and obliged him to propoſe an accommodation by means of the pontiff, whoſe intereſt he gained by a ſolemn promiſe, that he would effect an union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, and acknowledge the ſupremacy of the holy ſee. A ſplendid ambaſſy was ſent to *Rome*, magnificent preſents were made, and the nuncio *Poſſevinus* accordingly was appointed to begin negotiations for reſtoring the tranquillity of the North. What made the czar more earneſt in ſuing for peace was the entrance of a *Swediſh* army into *Livonia*, under *Pontus de la Gardie*, who drove the *Ruſſians* out of *Wikke*, *Weſenberg*, *Totſburg*, and was laying ſiege to *Narva*, after having ſurpriſed *Iwanogrod* on the oppoſite bank of the river. Nor was *Batori*, on the other hand, averſe to a pacification. He ſaw that all his advantages ſerved only to ruin the enemy's country, without producing any advantage to his own: he had loſt forty thouſand men by the rigour of the ſeaſon, the fatigue of ſieges and marches, and the deſperate

rate valour of the garriſon of *Pleskow*. The ſeverity of the winter obliged the *Poles* to convert the ſiege of this place into a blockade, which harraſſed the troops as much as more vigorous operations, as they were perpetually in arms, to prevent being ſurpriſed by the ſpirited *Swisky*, who was endeavouring to aſſemble all the neighbouring garriſons, in order to give battle to the *Poliſh* general *Zamoski*. Diſeaſes now appeared in the camp, in conſequence of the extremity of the cold, and the ſcarcity of proviſions. The huts and tents in which the ſoldiers were lodged, were converted into ſolid frozen ſnow; and the centinels, though relieved every hour, were frequently found dead upon their poſts, or ſo chilled, that, when they recovered their natural heat, they were ſeized with ardent fevers. It is true that *Swisky* fell into an ambuſcade, while he was endeavouring to ſurpriſe the *Poliſh* camp; but the advantage gained by *Zamoski* was inconſiderable, though it was purchaſed with the lives of a thouſand of his beſt ſoldiers. In a word, every circumſtance concurred in rendering the king of *Poland* tired of a war, in which he acquired nothing beſides the reputation of a ſkilful general, and an active able monarch. He liſtened therefore to the perſuaſions of the nuncio, and at laſt ſigned a peace at *Zapolia*; whereby the czar yielded up *Livonia*, the very province which had occaſioned the rupture; while, on the other hand, the king of *Poland* withdrew his forces from *Pleskow*, and reſtored all the places he had taken from the *Muſcovites*. Upon the whole, *Batori* gained no other advantage from this war, beſides that of diſabling a powerful turbulent neighbour from again diſturbing his government. He had ſuſtained great loſſes; but they bore no proportion to the ſufferings of his enemy, who ſacrificed the lives of four hundred thouſand of his ſubjects to the deſire of reducing a province which did not contain ſo many inhabitants. Beſides, all the provinces compoſing the *Ruſſian* frontier were intirely deſolated, and converted into a deſert, and the *Ruſſians* were cut off from all communication with the *Baltick*, ſhut up in their foreſts, excluded from all commerce with other nations, and deprived of every outlet, except what the frozen ſea afforded for a few months in the year [a].

Peace with Ruſſia.

BATORI, having eſtabliſhed the public repoſe, applied his attention to the civil government of his kingdom, the ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, the forming laws, correcting the abuſes which had crept into government during the late tumult and confuſion, and putting his cavalry, the chief natural

[a] Flor. Polon. lib. iv. p. 347.

ſtrength,

ſtrength, upon the beſt footing. In every thing he diſplayed he ſage, provident, and vigilant monarch. From him the *Poliſh* cavalry received thoſe regulations which rendered them o formidable to the *Ruſſians*, *Turks*, and other neighbours, nd by which they are governed at this day. They were excellent at the time, though they now require thoſe reformaions which the improvements in the art of war, and in ſcience n general, hath introduced among the other *European* naions [a]. This is the military eſtabliſhment to which the *Poles* ave given the appellation of *Quartienne*, becauſe a fourth of he revenue is aſſigned for its maintenance. *Batori* ſent this ody of cavalry towards the frontiers of *Tartary*, to check the ncurſions of thoſe barbarians; by which means the *Ukraine*, a aſt tract of deſert country, was filled with flouriſhing towns nd villages, and formed into a ſtrong barrier againſt the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Muſcovites*.

BUT the meaſure that reflects the greateſt glory on the memory of *Batori*, was the politic method he took of diſcipining the *Coſſacks*, and attaching them to the *Poliſh* crown [b]. This people derive their name, according to *Alberto Vimiria*, from the *Sclavonic* word *Coza*, which ſignifies a goat, either becauſe they cloathed themſelves with the skin of that animal, or lived like it in woods, mountains, and foreſts. Others affirm, that the word *Coſſac* ſignifies robber in the *Sclavonian* language; and that the people who now bear this name deduce their origin from a ſet of banditti, who fled from the neighbouring countries, and ſettled in the iſlands formed in the outlet of the *Boriſthenes*. They lived by plunder, and made incurſions through *Tartary* and *Turkey* even to the gates of *Conſtantinople*. They alſo committed piracies on the *Black Sea*, and promiſed fair for becoming able navigators. They ſoon extended their country above an hundred leagues in length, and became a formidable powerful people; and the maſters of a territory ſo prolific, that half the corn is yearly waſted, for want of the means of tranſporting it to other countries. The *Coſſacks* were eſteemed ſtrong, robuſt, gallant, and generous ſoldiers, ſtrongly attached to liberty, and impatient under the mildeſt reſtriction, which rendered their government ſo irregular. They profeſſed the *Greek* religion in general, though many followed the tenets of the church of *Rome*, and ſome embraced the doctrines of *Luther*. Their language is a dialect of the *Sclavonic*, extremely ſoft and muſical, as it abounds in diminutives. They generally

Batori *attaches the* Coſſacks *to* Poland.

[a] HEIDENSTEN. lib. ix. p. 7.

[b] Guer. civil. de Polon. lib. i.

fight

fight on horſeback, though the *Coſſacks* occaſionally diſmount ſince the days of *Batori*. No troops in the world can better endure the extremities of cold and hunger. They live whole campaigns on a kind of coarſe black biſcuit, which they eat with garlic. They never intrench themſelves, their waggons being their only fortifications, in which they defend themſelves with great obſtinacy. Such were the men whom *Batori* reſolved to render ſerviceable to *Poland*, to civilize and inſtruct in the arts of war and peace. His firſt endeavour was to gain their affection by his liberality; for which purpoſe he preſented them with the city *Techtemeravia*, ſituated on the *Boriſthenes*, which they formed into a magazine, and the reſidence of their chieftains. He gave them officers of all degrees, eſtabliſhed diſcipline among them, altered their arms, and formed them into a regular militia, which afterwards performed eminent ſervices to *Poland*. All kinds of trades and manufactures, then known in *Poland*, were erected among the *Coſſacks*. The women were employed in ſpinning and weaving woollen and linen cloths, while the men were cultivating the earth, and learning the art of brewing, malting, and baking [a].

In this manner was *Batori* employed, when the *Swedes* broke the convention reſpecting *Livonia*, and were on the point of gaining poſſeſſion of *Riga*, in contempt of the ſolemn treaty ſubſiſting between the two crowns. *Batori* had promiſed the inhabitants intire liberty of conſcience; but was unfortunately prevailed on to ſend a miſſion of Jeſuits thither, in order to convert the people to the Catholic faith; which ſo irritated them that they revolted; and their ſyndic, *Gottard Willinger*, was practiſing the means of introducing a *Swediſh* garriſon into the city. As ſoon as the king received advice of the conſpiracy he mounted the *poſpolite*, advanced an army to *Riga*, and built a fortreſs on the oppoſite bank of the *Dwina*, to keep the enemy within bounds, and prevent their making incurſions. Theſe vigorous ſteps ſoon convinced the rebellious citizens of the neceſſity of imploring pardon; for which purpoſe they ſolicited the mediation of the duke of *Courland*; but *Batori* would liſten to no excuſes, being reſolved to puniſh their diſaffection with the utmoſt ſeverity. However, before he could execute his vengeance, it pleaſed Providence to carry him off, as ſome alledge, in a violent epileptic fit, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and tenth of his reign.

Death of Batori.

A few months before his death *Batori* endeavoured to prevail on the diet to fix the ſucceſſion, with a view, as was

[a] Cheval. Hiſt. de Coſſac.

ima-

nagined, of retaining the crown in his own family, and ranſmitting it to his brother as he had no iſſue himſelf. All is attempts however proved fruitleſs: the ſtates were re-ılved to exclude their monarchs from all influence in elec-ons, and to preſerve their own rights inviolate, which gave reat offence to *Batori*, who had never in any other parti-ılar deviated from the conſtitution. Except in this ſingle ſtance his conduct was irreproachable. Prudent, gallant, ſtive, and juſt even to rigour, he equally commanded the re-ect, and won the affections of his people. His vigour and high putation won him the crown; his wiſdom and vigilance pre-rved it untarniſhed by the ſmalleſt blemiſh, and tranſmitted it its full luſtre to his ſucceſſors. Yet with all his good ſenſe, ere was a violence in his temper, which ſometimes tranſ-rted him to an exceſs bordering upon madneſs: to this ſpoſition one writer aſcribes the fit which occaſioned his *Death of* Batori. eath. The ſight of the envoys from *Riga* threw him into rage, that ended in an univerſal ſpaſm of the nervous ſyſ-m [a] (A).

THE death of *Batori* ſoon involved *Poland* in freſh ſcenes A. D. f confuſion, notwithſtanding the prudent regulations made 1586. preſerve unanimity among the electors. As ſoon as the

[a] FLOR. Polon. HEIDENSTEIN, ibid.

(A) To this day the *Poles* re-re the memory of *Batori*, and ribe to him literally all the rtues enumerated in the fol-lowing epitaph, compoſed with intention it ſhould be inſcribed on his tomb.

In templo plus quam ſacerdos.
In republicâ plus quam rex.
In ſententia dicenda plus quam juris conſultus.
In exercitu plus quam imperator.
In acie plus quam miles.
In adverſis perferendis injuriiſque condonandis, plus quam vir—
In publicâ libertate tuendâ, plus quam civis.
In amicitiâ colenda, plus quam amicus.
In convictu plus quam familiaris.
In venatione feriſque domandis, plus quam Leo.
In totâ reliqua vitâ plus quam philoſophus.

is paſſion for hunting was ſo reat, that he removed his re-dence to *Grodno* in *Lithuania*, r the greater conveniency of rſuing that diverſion; though has been imagined that he was actuated by other motives, and particularly the deſire of living at a diſtance from his queen, who was above ſixty years of age, when policy in-duced him to marry her (1).

(1) *Flor. Polon. lib.* iv. *pag.* 349. *Font. lib.* iv.

diet

diet was aſſembled, a decree paſſed that the monarch ſhould be elected by the univerſal conſent of the deputies, whether *Poliſh* or *Lithuanian*; and that whoever entered into cabals, or factions, to diſturb the public tranquillity, ſhould be regarded as enemy to the ſtate, and declared a traitor. It was alſo decreed, that corruption ſhould be capital; that the confederation made upon the election of *Henry de Valois*, reſpecting religion, ſhould be obſerved; and that the new king ſhould promiſe to recal the decree of attainder iſſued out againſt *Chriſtopher Zborowſki*. The occaſion of this decree is not ſpecified in any of the *Poliſh* writers that have come to our hands. It is probable that he too warmly pleaded the cauſe of the inhabitants of *Riga*, as he was ſuppoſed to be a follower of the *Lutheran* doctrine; and this afforded a handle to his great rival *Zamoſki* to procure his diſgrace and baniſhment. The diet now took part with the fugitive *Zborowski*, and deprived *Zamoski* of his commiſſion, which was beſtowed on *Nicholas Herbert*, who then commanded the troops in *Volhinia*. *Zamoski* oppoſed the reſolution of the ſtates, and both the chiefs came to the diet, attended by numerous armies of their friends and dependents. Thus all the endeavours of the archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and the more prudent perſonages in the government, were rendered abortive by the private animoſity of two ambitious noblemen, neither of whom could bear an equal in the adminiſtration, nor a rival in the king's favour.

THE *Lithuanians* encreaſed the public diſturbances, by inſiſting that *Podolia*, *Volhinia*, and *Livonia*, which they ſaid had been diſmembered from their dutchy, ſhould be reunited to it, and the *Poles* ſtripped of all thoſe rights which they had uſurped from the dutchy. It was alledged, the republic had elected the two laſt kings without the participation of the dutchy; that ſhe had ſent an ambaſſy to *Rome*, without ſo much as acquainting the *Lithuanians* with the intention of the ambaſſy: beſides, in the preſent inſtance, it looked, they ſaid, as if they had a deſign of aboliſhing the freedom of elections, by introducing an armed force to overawe and intimidate. To complete the ſcene of diſcord, the *Pruſſians* ſent in a long bill of grievances, which they demanded ſhould immediately be redreſſed. They complained they were oppreſſed with taxes; that all preferments, either honourable or lucrative in their country, were beſtowed on foreigners; that ſeveral *Dantzick* merchantmen were detained in *Denmark*, for debts owing by the republic and crown of *Poland*; with a variety of other particulars, which it would be tedious to ſpecify: but the diet gave no ear to complaints raiſed

raiſed merely to make an advantage of the preſent ſtate of affairs. They were therefore remitted for examination to a more ſeaſonable opportunity; and in the mean time the ſtates proceeded to give audience to the foreign miniſters.

THE competitors for the crown were the princes *Erneſt*, *Matthias*, and *Maximilian*, of the houſe of *Auſtria*; *Sigiſmund* prince of *Sweden*, nephew of king *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*, the predeceſſor of *Henry de Valois*; and *Theodore* czar of *Muſcovy*. Each of theſe had a ſeparate party, and were equally oppoſed by the *Piaſtes* faction, which declared in favour of a native of *Poland*, and the Grand Seignior, who eſpouſed the nephews of the late king *Batori*. The princes of *Auſtria* had gained to their intereſt the powerful family of *Zborowski*, the head of which had taken refuge at *Vienna* during his baniſhment, and the count *de Gorka*, a nobleman of conſiderable influence. His birth rendered the prince of *Sweden* extremely agreeable to the *Poles*, who conſidered him as the deſcendant of the royal houſe of *Jagello*, under which they had been happily governed for a ſeries of years. *Theodore*, grand-duke of *Ruſſia*, was chiefly ſupported by the *Lithuanians*. He had rendered his pretenſions tolerably popular, by a ſcheme which he offered of incorporating his vaſt empire with the republic, and thereby cutting off all occaſion for thoſe bloody contentions which had depopulated both countries. Though this propoſal was liable to ſuſpicion in point of ſincerity, and to numberleſs other objections, yet it was embraced with avidity by the *Lithuanians*, who were the moſt expoſed to the incurſions and ravages of the *Muſcovites*. The *Lutherans* ſeized the opportunity of recovering certain privileges which they had wreſted from them in the laſt reign, and formed ſo powerful an intereſt, that more was granted than even the conſtitution admitted. They not only obtained a perpetual liberty of conſcience, but certain political immunities, which gave ſo much offence to the primate that he quitted the aſſembly. What was very extraordinary, they joined with the *Auſtrian* faction, eſpouſed by the pope's nuncio, *Zborowski*, count *de Gorka* palatine of *Poſnania*, and the cardinal *Radzivil*. They were by much the more numerous party; but *Sigiſmund* was ſupported by the ſenate and the flower of the *Poliſh* army under *Zamoski*, together with the affections of the people. Of this party were likewiſe the primate, the biſhops in general, and the chancellor, all of whom retired from *Warſaw*, and held a ſeparate aſſembly in the neighbourhood. Here *Zamoski*, by his vigilance, prudence, and ſuperior policy, broke all the meaſures of the oppoſite faction; upon which the *Lutherans*, perceiving

The candidates for the crown.

perceiving they could not obtain the crown for a prince of the houſe of *Auſtria*, joined themſelves to the *Lithuanians*, and eſpouſed the cauſe of the czar of *Muſcovy*. Here too they were unſucceſsful; the *Lithuanians* had confined themſelves for forty days within their camp, which they ſtrongly entrenched; but the count *de Gorka*, having been gained by the *Swediſh* party, diſconcerted their projects, and effected a majority in favour of prince *Sigiſmund*. For ſome time the *Lutherans* and *Lithuanians* ſtood out; but being intimidated by *Zamoski* with his regulars, and perceiving that the nation in general was inclined to a prince of the houſe of *Jagello*, they at laſt conſented that the prince of *Sweden* ſhould be proclaimed king on the ninth day of *Auguſt*. The queen dowager indeed, who was ſiſter to the queen of *Sweden*, was chiefly inſtrumental in putting the crown on the head of her nephew, although no notice is taken of this circumſtance by the *Poliſh* writers[b]. We have already ſeen the oppoſition made by the ſtates of *Sweden* to the election of *Sigiſmund*, and the reſtrictions which they laid on the young prince, as abſolutely neceſſary to the ſecurity of the kingdom, and the preſervation of the *Lutheran* religion, *Sigiſmund* having been bred in Catholic principles. It is time to ſee what meaſures the friends of the houſe of *Auſtria* took to ſupport the intereſt of *Maximilian*, who alone of the three candidates of that family perſiſted in his claim.

A. D. 1587. Sigiſmund *prince of* Sweden, *and* Maximilian *of* Auſtria, *both elected.*

THE nuncio and *Zborowski* faction were no ſooner acquainted with the election of *Sigiſmund*, than they proclaimed *Maximilian*, and ſent an ambaſſy to that prince, requeſting his immediate preſence in *Poland*, as the ſureſt method of completing what they had begun; while on the other hand *Zamoski* and his party demanded of the prince of *Sweden*, that he would unite *Livonia* to *Poland*; maintain a fleet at his own expence, for the protection of the *Poliſh* commerce; provide a ſupply of arms and ammunition for carrying on the *Muſcovite* war, as the czar ſeemed diſpoſed to break the late treaty; remit the ſums due to *Sweden* on account of the money borrowed by *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*; relinquiſh all the claims of *Sweden* upon *Poland*; and laſtly, ſwear to obſerve all the articles propoſed to *Henry de Valois*. *Eſthonia* was the great bone of contention between the two kingdoms; beſides, the *Poles* and *Swedes* were mutually jealous that the young king would act partially in favour of one or other of the nations; the former dreaded his being a *Swede*, the latter

[b] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. p. 188. PUFFEND. tom. iv. lib. iv. cap. vi. FLOR. Polon. lib. iv.

was

was no less apprehensive of his being a Catholic, and consequently of the same principles with his new subjects. *Martin Linowolski* was appointed to compliment him in *Sweden*, and the bishop of *Wladislaw*, with several lords, had directions to receive him in the road of *Dantzick*, and to offer him the oaths upon the *pacta conventa*, before he should enter the kingdom. Some of the articles were scrupled both by king *John* and his son; both feared giving offence to the *Swedes*, and they were obliged to promise to the diet of that kingdom, that *Sigismund* would rather abdicate the throne of *Poland* than cede any of the rights or territories of his native country. At last, letters from the *Swedish* ambassador at *Crakow* removed all scruples, as they assured the prince that nothing more than his presence was wanted to secure the crown on the most equitable and honourable conditions. In consequence he embarked, and arrived safe with a large fleet at *Dantzick*, where he took all the oaths required, except what respected *Livonia*. Nothing more was wanting to secure the affections of the greatest part of the *Polish* nation; accordingly *Zamoski*, entering the capital, had manifestos printed and dispersed through the kingdom, declaring the legality of *Sigismund*'s election, and his assent to the *pacta conventa*. He likewise signified to the nuncio, the imperial ambassador, and the ministers of foreign princes, that *Sigismund* was elected by a majority of the *Poles*, while his competitor was only nominated by outlaws, who hoped to repair their shattered fortunes, by the civil wars they were endeavouring to excite, or under a monarch whom they expected to govern, because they alone had espoused his interest.

These declarations were answered by similar writings published by the opposite party, to support which *Maximilian* was already advanced to the frontiers of *Poland*, and had taken the oaths required by the constitution. He was attended by a body of forces, which were joined by a number of troops raised by *Zborowski*, and approached within five miles of the capital, with intention to besiege it; but all his schemes were disconcerted by the active *Zamoski*, who gave him battle, defeated his army, killed two thousand *Germans*, and obliged *Maximilian* to retire precipitately with the remainder to *Silesia* (A). This victory was soon followed by another still

(A) Some writers alledge, that *Maximilian* had actually laid siege to the capital before *Sigismund* had taken the oaths proposed to him at *Oliva*, in the neighbourhood of *Dantzick*. He hoped to gain possession by means of a secret correspon-

Maximilian *twice defeated, and taken priſoner.* A. D. 1588.

ſtill more deciſive, as it proved fatal to the liberty of *Maximilian*. Having paid his compliments to *Sigiſmund* on his arrival at *Cracow*, *Zamoski* ſet out in purſuit of *Maximilian*, who had been joined by a body of *Hungarians* on the frontiers, where he was collecting his ſcattered troops, and augmenting his army with new levies brought by *Zborowski*. The archduke retreated as the *Poliſh* general advanced, and deferred coming to action until he had aſſembled a ſuperior force. He was purſued from *Willun* to *Witzen*, and from thence to *Biczycna*, where at laſt he made a ſtand, was attacked, and defeated with great ſlaughter. At firſt the *Coſſacks* were put in confuſion by the *Hungarians*; but *Zamoski* coming up with the *Poliſh* cavalry, ſoon repulſed them, made terrible carnage, and forced the archduke to take ſhelter in *Biczycna*, where he ſurrendered priſoner at diſcretion after a ſhort reſiſtance. So complete a victory fixed the crown on the head of *Sigiſmund*, and raiſed *Zamoski*'s glory almoſt to the higheſt pitch, though his clemency to the priſoners likewiſe encreaſed its luſtre. He treated *Maximilian* with all the reſpect due to his quality, as the ſon and brother of an emperor; and diſplayed ſo much moderation to ſuch of the *Zborowski* family (his inveterate enemies) as fell into his hands, that they could not but equally admire his valour, magnanimity, and policy. Great numbers immediately ſwore allegiance to *Sigiſmund*, and believed that juſtice muſt be on that ſide which was graced with every other virtue. *Cracow* blazed with rejoicings, and the whole kingdom was a ſcene of tumultuous mirth, except the few places poſſeſſed by *Zborowski*, who never abandoned the hope of placing the unfortunate archduke on the throne, and thereby recovering his own loſſes, and procuring a revocation of the ſentence of baniſhment paſſed upon him through the intereſt of his rival[a].

[a] Fontaines, lib. v. Hartnoch, lib. i. cap. ii.

dence which he carried on with ſome *Germans* who inhabited the ſuburbs, and had undertaken to lodge two regiments privately in their houſes. *Zamoski* had intelligence of their deſign, ſuffered the two regiments to enter the ſuburbs, then ſet fire to the houſes, which he conſumed, together with the archduke's ſoldiers. Upon this the ſiege was raiſed, as our author relates, and *Maximilian* drew up his army in the plain with intention to give battle. *Zamoski*, who was equally eager to come to a deciſive action, advanced, attacked the enemy, and after a ſharp conflict, which laſted for two hours, obtained a complete victory, obliging the archduke to retire to *Coſtchow* whither he did not think it neceſſary to purſue him (1).

(1) *Hart. lib.* i. *cap.* ii. *p.* 103.

With

WITH reſpect to the imperial court, every face was covered with ſadneſs, ſhame, and confuſion. They conſidered the defeat and captivity of *Maximilian* as a diſhonour to the whole empire. The princes talked of taking up arms for his releaſe, and placing him by mere force on the *Poliſh* throne; but neither the diſpoſition of the emperor, nor the conjuncture were favourable to ſo vigorous a meaſure. *Rodolphus* was timid, weak, and puſillanimous, equally afraid of the threatened invaſion of the *Turks* on the one hand, and the united efforts of *Poland* and *Sweden* to ſupport *Sigiſmund* on the other. He preferred pacific means, and accordingly ſolicited the pontiff's mediation, who, in compliance with his requeſt, ſent the political cardinal *Aldobrandini* to *Poland*, to accommodate matters, and endeavour to procure the archduke's releaſe. The court of *Vienna* was extremely deſirous that *Maximilian* might be allowed to preſerve the regal title, though he ſhould renounce all claim to the crown of *Poland*. This point was particularly recommended to the artful prelate, and he exerted his utmoſt addreſs in bringing it to effect, though to no purpoſe. *Sigiſmund* indeed diſplayed great humanity and moderation upon this occaſion: he was adviſed by his friends to demand a large pecuniary ranſom for the archduke; and the example of *Charles* V. with reſpect to the *French* king was ſet before him. The cardinal even offered a conſiderable ſum, provided *Maximilian* might be permitted to bear the title of royalty; but *Sigiſmund* replied with true magnanimity—"The crown of *Poland* I will not divide; it ſhall either be the archduke's or mine; but as for a ranſom, I do not imagine that any authority is ſufficient excuſe for a mean action. *Charles* V. releaſed *Francis* for a ſum of money, and thereby brought diſgrace on his imperial diadem; for my own part, I am ſatisfied with the advantages which Providence hath given me over my competitor, and ſhall not add inſult to misfortune. I ſhall give *Maximilian* his liberty, and not oblige him to buy it[b]." He impoſed no other conditions than, that he ſhould renounce his claim to the crown of *Poland*, promiſe never to reſume it upon any pretence during his reign; that he ſhould lay aſide the title and arms of *Poland*, reſtore certain territories to count *Cepus*, which had been violently ſeized, and uſe his utmoſt influence to maintain all the treaties between *Poland*, and the courts of *Vienna* and of the princes of the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Maximilian* was on the point of accepting the conditions, when ſome flattering proſpects laid

Sigiſmund's *generoſity.*

[b] Id. ibid. CONNOR, tom. i. let. iii.

before him by *Zborowski* made him alter his ſentiments; but he ſoon grew tired of confinement, found all his hopes were deluſive, and ſigned the articles; upon which he was immediately releaſed. The agreement was ratified by the emperor, and *Maximilian* was conducted under a *Poliſh* guard to the frontiers of the empire, where he ſoon diſcovered his inclinations to break through all his engagements, and ſhewed that malevolence which little minds ever expreſs towards thoſe who excel them. He deteſted *Sigiſmund* for the obligations which he owed him, and could hardly refrain from ordering violent hands to be laid on the guard; but the emperor paid a more religious regard to his faith, and the duties of religion and gratitude. He even apologized for his brother's conduct, which he aſcribed to his diſappointment and the rage of an unſucceſsful ambition: he obliged *Maximilian* to make the renunciation he promiſed, and to fulfil every part of the treaty which the emperor and *Germanic* body had not only ratified but guarantied [a].

A. D. 1589.

SIGISMUND III. *ſurnamed DE VASA.*

Sigiſmund III. *His policy.* A. D. 1590.

SIGISMUND, ſurnamed *de Vaſa*, was now firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, as far as regarded competitors, tho' it was plain that a vacancy in the throne of *Sweden* would again diſturb the public tranquillity. On his acceſſion he had been bound down to ſuch reſtrictions, by the diets of each kingdom, as rendered it next to impoſſible for him to retain both crowns. It was this prince's maxim however not to anticipate evil: he now reſolved to govern *Poland* in the ſame manner as if he had a certainty of always wearing the diadem of this kingdom. Accordingly he began his adminiſtration with recommending it to the diet to deliberate on effectual means for ſtemming the torrent of corruption which had over-run the kingdom, and which had like to be attended with ſuch fatal conſequences at the laſt election; for to the corruption of the members he aſcribed thoſe civil diviſions which had almoſt terminated in the deſtruction of liberty. While the nation was divided againſt itſelf, ſome prince would one day, he ſaid, find his way to the throne by the ſword, and cut down all thoſe barriers which they had for ſo many years been erecting in defence of their privileges. A ſpeech to this purpoſe from the throne could not but inſpire the people with a favourable opinion of the royal juſtice, and intention to promote the good of his ſubjects: it produced that effect, and ſunk deep in the heart of the *Poles*,

[a] Barre, tom. ix.

who

o aſſured his majeſty, that they hoped the preſent age uld never be expoſed to the conſequences of another elec- ı; yet out of reſpect to his majeſty's recommendation, would do all that lay in their power to deſtroy that venal it which too generally prevailed among all orders in the ublic. At this diet it was likewiſe ordained, that the part *ivonia* belonging to *Poland*, ſhould be governed ſucceſ- y by a *Poliſh* and *Lithuanian* palatine; and means were ght of for reſtraining the unbounded licences, and bar- us incurſions of the *Coſſacks* into *Turkey* and *Tartary*, ch it was apprehended might involve the republic in a with the *Porte*; but theſe deliberations were now too

The *Tartars*, to the number of ſeventy thouſand men, croſſed the *Boriſthenes*, with a view of retaliating on the *acks*, who had ſurpriſed certain veſſels upon the coaſts of *Black Sea*, and plundered *Coſlovia*. They were encamped veen the lake *Amadoka* and *Leopold* in *Pruſſia*, from nce they ſallied out in large detachments, and laid waſte the adjacent country. It was neceſſary to give an imme- e check to ſuch ruinous irruptions, and for this purpoſe *oski*, the hero of the ſtate, was ſent againſt them with rmy, to prevent their penetrating into *Poland*. A *Turk-* rmy encamped in *Walachia* watched the ſucceſs of the *ar* irruption, determining to fall upon *Caminiec* if an ortunity offered, by the *Tartars* gaining any conſiderable ntage. *Zamoski* penetrated into their deſign, and there- ſtrongly fortified this bulwark of *Poland* againſt the *Otho-* power; after which he put himſelf at the head of the *acks*, and went in purſuit of the *Tartarian* army, though ble the number of his own forces. The *Coſſacks* had ſuſ- ed two defeats before his arrival; however they were animated by the preſence of a general who had always n victorious, and fired not only with a deſire of wiping the late diſgraces, but of ſignalizing themſelves under the of ſo excellent a judge of valour and conduct. Their ol drew them into a ſnare, in deſpite of the remonſtrances *Zamoski*, who had foreſeen all the conſequences of their d impetuoſity; but they extricated themſelves by their ige, and the valour and capacity of the *Poliſh* general. he cham had joined the *Tartars* with a reinforcement, ch augmented that army to an hundred thouſand men; even with this prodigious force the cham would not ven- to give battle in the open plain to *Zamoski*. Inſtead of he drew on the *Coſſacks* by ſkirmiſhes into a defile, which had ſurrounded with a triple line of his troops. The uſed his utmoſt influence with the *Coſſacks* to check their

War with the Tartars, *who are repeatedly defeated.*

ardor; but they pushed on, and were soon hedged in every side by an almost impenetrable rampart of arm *Tartars*. In this situation they offered to capitulate; t the cham would listen to no other terms than their surrend ing at discretion, which drove them to despair, and produ the resolution of selling their liberty at the highest pri They encouraged each other never to surrender, but to fi it out to the last drop of blood; they began a furious tack, and soon made terrible carnage. The cham saw son killed before his face, and was himself dangero wounded. His people lay slaughtered in heaps, yet he co not think of yielding the victory to a handful of men, t fought under the greatest disadvantages. This obsti tended only to the destruction of his people: after the field intirely covered over with blood, the soldiers at last defi their prince, who must infallibly have fallen into the h of the *Cossacks*, but for the extraordinary efforts of a fe his faithful attendants. The scattered remains had taken s ter in an adjacent wood, from whence they were soon dr by famine, and barbarously massacred by the *Cossacks* as t appeared. In a word, of this whole formidable army, t the cham and a few of his officers reached their own co try: all the rest were either slain in the field, butch after the battle, or starved to death in their retreats and h ing places. So complete a victory encouraged the *Co* to make an irruption into *Tartary*, from which all the thority of *Zamoski* could not dissuade them. Regardless his threats and admonitions they pushed on, destroyed e thing with fire and sword, and had near produced a rup between the republic and the *Porte*, too wide to admit of remedy [b].

Not contented with the ravages committed during winter the *Cossacks* began another expedition early in A. D. spring, and plundered several *Turkish* vessels, who, rel 1593. upon the faith of treaties, were refreshing on the coa the *Black Sea*. Next they entered *Chersonesus*, and with t success rose in their barbarity. Neither age nor sex spared; they first pillaged, and then massacred the inh tants. Such enormities at last kindled the wrath of *Am* the *Turkish* emperor: he attributed the whole to the *P* republic, which he imagined might have checked the in sions of the *Cossacks*. He therefore pointed his vengea against *Poland*, directed the *Tartars* to make an irrup into that kingdom, and issued orders to his bashaws to n

[b] Hartnoch, lib. i. cap. ii. Fontaines, cap v.

for

forces, and ſecond the *Tartarian* irruption with a powerful army. The *Tartars* chearfully obeyed an order ſo agreeable to their own inclinations: they thirſted for revenge, entered the *Poliſh* frontier, and marked their way with blood and horror. Even the *Coſſacks* themſelves were outdone in barbarity. Loaded with ſpoils they were returning to their own country, when they were ſurpriſed by the *Coſſacks*, defeated, diſperſed, and totally ruined. *Zamoski* too was advancing to oppoſe the *Turkiſh* army, now intimidated by the fate of the *Tartars*: he was too prudent however wantonly to bring on a war with the *Othoman* empire, by juſtifying the conduct of a ſet of free-booters, who paid no regard to treaties, or the law of nations. On his approaching the *Turkiſh* camp, he ſent a trumpet to the baſhaw, acquainting him that the republic intended nothing more than to defend her own territories, and repulſe any attacks upon her dominions. He likewiſe deſired to know in what manner he was to regard ſo powerful an army as was then encamped on the frontiers of *Walachia*, and gave the *Turkiſh* general to underſtand, that an explicit declaration was abſolutely neceſſary to prevent bloodſhed. To this meſſage the baſhaw replied, that he would offer no hoſtilities, provided the *Coſſacks* were puniſhed for their unprovoked ravages. This brought on a negotiation, which terminated in a treaty and entire reconciliation, under the auſpices of the *Engliſh* ambaſſador. *Peace with the* Turks.

It was about this time that *Sigiſmund* had a conference with his father the king of *Sweden* at *Revel*, where he ſpent a month, and withſtood all the ſolicitations of his parent to abdicate the crown of *Poland*, from an apprehenſion it might occaſion the loſs of the crown of *Sweden*. We have already ſeen the event of this interview [c]; ſhortly after which *John* died, and thereby opened the way for *Sigiſmund* to aſcend his throne. It was impoſſible for the *Poliſh* diet to refuſe the king leave to viſit *Sweden* upon ſo important an occaſion; yet they gave their conſent with reluctance, and, remembering the conduct of *Henry de Valois*, loaded the monarch with a variety of reſtrictions, and exacted the moſt ſolemn oaths and proteſtations that he would ſoon return, and tranſact nothing during his reſidence in *Sweden* to the prejudice of the republic. *Sigiſmund* kept his word: he even expreſſed a partiality towards *Poland*, and by this means incurred the reſentment and jealouſy of the *Swedes*. His religious principles rendered him more attached to the *Poles*, and the unſeaſonable prejudices in this way which he had diſplayed, *He ſucceeds to the crown of* Sweden.

[c] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. pag. 191.

ſtill widened the breach between him and the *Swediſh* nation. Superſtition had ſo far blinded his underſtanding, that he inſiſted on being crowned by *Malaſpina*, the pope's legate, A. D. 1594. contrary to the conſtitution of the kingdom, and was oppoſed by the primate, the ſenate, and particularly by his uncle duke *Charles*, who had himſelf a deſign upon the crown. The whole kingdom regarding it as a deſign to introduce popery, took the alarm, and *Sigiſmund* was forced to reſt ſatisfied with being crowned by a Proteſtant biſhop, and ſwearing to all the ordonnances made in favour of *Lutheraniſm*, and to the perpetual excluſion of the Catholic religion. He took an oath never to attempt any alterations in the eſtabliſhed religion, never to deviate from the ordonnances paſſed by his grandfather, in conjunction with the ſenate and diet, to adhere religiouſly to the decrees of the laſt ſynod held at *Upſal*, in favour of the confeſſion of *Augſburg*: he was, in a word, tied up by the ſtrongeſt engagements from indulging in his religious tenets at the expence of the *Swediſh* nation, and obliged even to have recourſe to the ſolicitations of the *Poliſh* lords who attended him, for leave to keep a prieſt and confeſſor, and the celebration of maſs at his court. Such beginnings boded no great emolument either to *Sigiſmund* or his *Swediſh* ſubjects, from the new government. His politic ambitious uncle converted every circumſtance to his own purpoſes, and, under the inſidious air of a patriot and ſtrenuous defender of the conſtitution of the church and ſtate, was paving the way for his own elevation.

Duke Charles *forms deſigns on the crown of* Sweden.

SIGISMUND's return to *Poland* afforded *Charles* the faireſt opportunity for undermining his nephew, and rendering him odious to his *Swediſh* ſubjects, as a prince attached to *Poland*, and bigotted in the doctrines of the church of *Rome*. Before the king's departure he appointed the duke regent of the kingdom, by the advice of the ſenate; and though he was ſenſible of the conſequences, he could not avoid the meaſure without anticipating the evils he was deſirous of avoiding, by coming to an open rupture with the ſenate and his uncle. What he foreſaw ſoon happened; *Charles* committed divers violent actions, under pretence of defending the *Lutheran* eſtabliſhment againſt the encroachments of the *Roman* Catholics. As if the king had already broke through all his engagements, he ſhewed an inclination to excite a general diſaffection in the kingdom; caviled at his nephew's reſidence in *Poland*, and attributed it to his ſuperior love for that people, though it was nothing more than the execution of thoſe engagements into which he entered at his coronation. It would be repeating what we have already

already related from the *Swediſh* writers, to enlarge upon the particulars of this prince's conduct; ſufficient it is, that the *Poliſh* writers deny the exceſſes attributed by the *Swedes* to *Sigiſmund*, and throw the whole blame upon the ambition of his uncle. In both accounts there is probably ſome truth. *Sigiſmund*'s inſiſting upon being crowned by the pope's nuncio was ſufficient to render the *Swedes* ſuſpicious of his conduct; and the duke's ſtrenuous defence of the *Augſburg* confeſſion was enough to expoſe him to the reſentment of his nephew and the *Poliſh* nation. It was indeed next to impoſſible that two kingdoms, divided in intereſt, religion, and manners, who had of late years been engaged in conſtant war about certain territories claimed by each, could remain in harmony under the ſame monarch. Theſe particulars, without the aſſiſtance of the duke to blow up the ſparks of contention, were foundation enough for the revolution which afterwards happened. As it would be impoſſible to reconcile the different relations of the hiſtorians of each country, we ſhall here follow the accounts of the *Poliſh* writers, as we formerly did thoſe of *Sweden* in the hiſtory of that kingdom.

THE firſt ſtep taken by the duke, which drew forth remonſtrances from *Sigiſmund*, was his procuring from the ſenate an eſtabliſhment of the authority and dignity of regent, independent of the king's appointment. By this he intimated his intention of governing *Sweden* without the participation of *Sigiſmund*, who was regarded only as a nominal ſovereign. He next, in direct contradiction to the king's orders, aſſembled a diet, from which he was indulged with a commiſſion to take every meaſure which he thought neceſſary for the ſecurity of the *Swediſh* conſtitution. Here likewiſe ſeveral decrees were paſſed, contrary to the treaty of union with *Poland*, and thoſe conditions upon which both nations allowed *Sigiſmund* to wear the double diadem; all thoſe were beſides declared traitors, who did not, in the ſpace of ſix months, ſubſcribe to the declarations of the diet and regent. He turned out the magiſtrates appointed by the king, and filled all public poſts and offices with his own creatures[a]. Several of the ſenators who eſpouſed *Sigiſmund* were removed, others were attainted, and *Charles*, under the name of regent, exerciſed all the prerogatives of deſpotic ſovereignty. *Eric Sparre*, chancellor of *Sweden*, was removed from the government of the province aſſigned him by the king; and the *Finlanders*, refuſing to acknowledge the regent's authority independent of the king, *Charles* entered their country

Relation of the Poliſh hiſtorians.

[a] Vid. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. pag. 201, 202, & ſeq.

in

in a hoſtile manner, ravaged the towns and villages, and threw the principal nobility into loathſome priſons, where ſeveral periſhed of cold and hunger [b].

A. D. 1598. SUCH groſs enormities, and violations of the royal prerogative, called for the preſence of the monarch. Accordingly *Sigiſmund* aſſembled the diet, reported the ſtate of affairs in *Sweden*, and obtained their conſent to paſs into that kingdom, upon his fixing his return to the feaſt of *St. Bartholomew* the ſucceeding year, or about that ſeaſon. Before his departure however from *Poland*, the duke gained poſſeſſion of *Stockholm*, and ſome other conſiderable places, having, as the *Poliſh* writers alledge, bid defiance to the king, and broke out into open rebellion. They aſſign no cauſe, beſides his own ambition; but the reader will find, on peruſing our account of *Sweden*, that *Sigiſmund* had made divers infractions on the conſtitution of that kingdom. Be this as it may, the king determined to puniſh the duke's inſolence; and with that view embarked at *Dantzick* with five thouſand men, intending to effect a landing in the neighbourhood of *Calmar*; but contrary winds, his own dilatorineſs, and a variety of accidents, rendered his voyage ſo tedious, that *Charles* had aſſembled a numerous army before his arrival. At laſt he was obliged to make land near *Stekeburgh*, where, inſtead of marching directly to the capital, he loitered ſeveral days in fruitleſs conferences with his ſiſter. Reaſon, indeed, dictated that *Sigiſmund* ſhould have marched by land to *Sweden* by the route of *Finland*, a province ſtrongly attached to his perſon; but there ſeemed to be a fatality in all his meaſures, moſt of which miſcarried, though ſagely projected, and proved odious, notwithſtanding they were well intended. It was certainly unpopular to enter *Sweden* at the head of foreign troops; but *Sigiſmund* believed they were neceſſary to the ſafety of his perſon. It was equally impolitic to uſe force, when gentle means might have produced an accommodation; but this may alſo be excuſed by alledging, that the royal honour was engaged to puniſh the ambitious treacherous carriage of the regent. Certain it is, that, in all diſputes of this nature, reſentment carries men into exceſſes beyond their original deſign. One ſtep leads on to another, and the parties frequently end in actions which they would condemn and abhor before the blood was heated, and the paſſions were enflamed. That this was really the caſe, both with *Sigiſmund* and *Charles*, appears from the poſterior reflections of the former, and the conduct of the latter, on the approach of the two armies on the plains

Sigiſmund *returns to* Sweden.

[b] HARTNOCH, lib. i. c. ii. HEIDEN. lib. x. FONTAIN. c. v.

of

of *Lincoping*. Here he diſpatched certain lords to the king with propoſals for an agreement; but *Sigiſmund* for a long time refuſed giving them audience, and behaved with great haughtineſs. Beſides, an accident happened in the mean time, which widened the breach, and brought matters to extremities. At the very time the duke's ambaſſadors were negotiating a peace with *Sigiſmund*, the *Hungarian* troops in the royal ſervice fell ſuddenly upon the *Swedes* with ſo much fury, that all the duke's forces muſt have been defeated and ſlaughtered, had not the king in perſon gone into the field, and checked their impetuoſity by loud menaces; though all his authority could not prevent their ſavagely mangling the dead bodies which overſpread the plain. Nothing could be more unjuſt than attributing this action to *Sigiſmund*; yet certain it is, that it ſtrangely alienated the minds of the *Swedes* from him, and diſguſted the ſincereſt of his friends in that nation, who conſidered him as guilty, becauſe he did not puniſh the perpetrators, without reflecting on his tickliſh ſituation, and the neceſſity he was under of preſerving the affection of his troops. Several lords deſerted his intereſt, and went over to the duke: in a word, his influence in *Sweden* was quite loſt; he retired to *Poland*, and duke *Charles* was raiſed to the throne, in the manner we have related in the 33d volume. A. D. 1604. Sigiſmund *is depoſed.*

SIGISMUND, however, did not tamely reſign his crown: a war enſued between *Poland* and *Sweden*; *Stockholm* and *Calmar*, which, in deſpite of the duke's garriſons, had declared for *Sigiſmund*, were conquered by *Charles*, who held a diet, and preſcribed a day for the king's appearance in *Sweden*, to anſwer to the charge of high crimes and miſdemeanors drawn up againſt him; on failure of which he was to be formally depoſed. The war was carried into *Livonia*; and all that province, except a few fortreſſes, yielded to the ſuperiority of the *Swediſh* arms. At laſt *Zamoski*, the moſt renowned general of the republic, was ſent with an army to ſtem the torrent of diſgrace; and he ſoon turned the ſcale of fortune, retaking, with the utmoſt rapidity, all the *Swediſh* conqueſts: after which, covered with glory, he returned to *Poland*, leaving the army under the conduct of the ſpirited and experienced *Chotkiewitz*. The new general approved himſelf a worthy ſucceſſor of the famous *Zamoski*: the ſame tide of proſperity attended his arms, and he ſeemed to poſſeſs every quality which natural talents, tutored under ſo great a maſter in the art of war, as *Zamoski*, could impart. The *Swedes* increaſed their army in *Livonia* with twelve thouſand men, and laid ſiege to *Riga*, the harbour of which they blocked up with a numerous fleet. The beſiegers were to have been Feb. 6.

joined

joined by a *Swediſh* corps of four thouſand men from *Revel*. *Lunderſen*, the commanding officer, begun his march; but the *Poliſh* general, having intelligence of his motions, waylaid and defeated him with abundance of ſlaughter, ſcarce a ſingle man being left to join the enemy before *Riga*. *Chotkiewitz* next ſeized upon certain eminences in the neighbourhood of the *Swediſh* camp. Here he poſſeſſed every advantage of being ſecure, of harraſſing the enemy with impunity, and overlooking all their operations. The *Swedes* made frequent attempts to diſlodge him; but in vain. They made equally fruitleſs efforts to draw him into a general engagement: *Charles* encamped on an eminence directly oppoſite to the *Poles*, and ſeparated from their camp only by a ſpacious valley. The opportunity, he imagined, would prove too ſtrong a temptation for the *Poliſh* nobility, who ſometimes force their general to battle, contrary to his inclinations, and to prudence. *Chotkiewitz*, however, had too much authority, and the *Poles* were made ſenſible of the rectitude of the meaſures he was purſuing. He foreſaw that the irkſome ſituation, in which he kept the enemy, would at laſt oblige them either to raiſe the ſiege, or come to an engagement upon unequal terms. With this view he kept firm in his poſt, and the event fell out as he had conjectured. *Charles*, fretted with continual alarms, grew impatient of a battle, from which he expected relief, as the ſuperiority of the *Swedes* would neceſſarily, he imagined, ſecure victory. He deſcended to the plain, and began an attack upon the outpoſts of the enemy; which being perceived by *Chotkiewitz*, he determined to ſeize the opportunity, and compenſate the inequality of his numbers by the advantages of ground and ſituation. Accordingly he poured down like a torrent from the hills, and pointed his whole force againſt the centre of the enemy, which he broke after an obſtinate conflict. *Charles* rallied his troops, and detached the cavalry in the wings to attack the *Poles* in flank, and ſurround them, if poſſible; but the motion was foreſeen and anticipated by prince *Sapieha*, who faced about with a ſtrong corps, received the *Swedes* with vigour, and at laſt obliged them to retire in confuſion. Yet theſe ſucceſſes could not oblige victory to declare for the *Poles*: the enemy's numbers and courage prolonged the battle: they rallied repeatedly, and made prodigious efforts; but were always repulſed by the gallantry and conduct of *Chotkiewitz*. Prodigies of valour were performed on both ſides; but the *Swedes* were in the end defeated, and purſued with terrible ſlaughter. Eight thouſand men periſhed in the field, great numbers loſt their lives in the moraſſes, and near two thouſand of the fugitives were

The Swedes *defeated in* Livonia.

A. D. 1605.

were maſſacred by the peaſants and parties of the garriſon of *Riga*. In a word, the ſiege was raiſed, the army of the beſiegers ruined, and *Livonia* remained the reward of victory to the conquerors [a] (A).

SIGISMUND, being now at reſt on the ſide of *Livonia* and *Finland*, by the uninterrupted flow of ſucceſs which attended the *Poliſh* arms, applied his attention to the affairs of the *Ruſſian* empire, which he hoped to turn to his own advantage. He ſaw it would be vain to proſecute the war againſt *Sweden*, with a view of dethroning *Charles*, who was now firmly eſtabliſhed. Attacks on the frontier provinces could never work this effect; and to invade *Sweden*, or attack it in its vital parts without a fleet, or a more powerful army than the republic could maintain in her preſent condition, was impoſſible. He therefore prudently reſolved to ſuffer the *Swedes* to be the aggreſſors, and endeavoured to deduce ſomething to the intereſt of *Poland* from the civil diviſions which tore *Ruſſia*, the moſt formidable enemy of the republic, in pieces. The late czar *Fœdor* had raiſed *Boris*, his brother-in-law, to the higheſt offices of the ſtate. He was artful, inſinuating, perfidious, and ambitious: his unmerited promotion ſerved only to excite *Boris* to attempt greater matters, and graſp at ſovereignty. Obligations never impreſſed him with a ſenſe of gratitude: he ſaw *Fœdor* without iſſue, the crown ready to devolve on prince *Demetrius*, the czar's younger brother; and he ventured, even in the life-time of his ſovereign and benefactor, to ſtain his hands with the blood of the royal family, and pave the way to his own elevation by the murder of *Demetrius*. His cunning found means to conceal this baſe action from the czar. Some of the court, indeed, entertained ſuſpicions; but the high credit of *Boris*, ſupported by the favour of the prince, and the intereſt of his ſiſter, wife to the czar, locked up their tongues, and prevented their communicating to the czar ſuſpicions not grounded on circumſtantial evidence,

Revolutions in Ruſſia, *in which* Sigiſmund *takes part.*

[a] BIZARDIERE, p. 76. HARTNOCH, lib. i.

(A) The *Swediſh* writers, beſides calling the *Poliſh* general *Codekewitz*, differ in numberleſs other particulars from the account we have given above. According to them, the *Swediſh* monarch, after a fatiguing march, attacked the enemy, without refreſhing his troops: however, they acknowledge that he was intirely defeated; and that he muſt infallibly have fallen into the hands of the *Poles*, but for the fleetneſs of a horſe furniſhed to him by one of his officers (1).

(1) *Puff. tom.* vi. *p.* 193.

or the ſtrongeſt preſumptions. Beſides, the artful *Bo* contrived to render himſelf equally the minion of th reign and the darling of the people. He diminiſh taxes, redreſſed private grievances, liſtened to the com of the cities, and purſued every other meaſure which render him popular. In 1598 the czar died, leaving t miniſtration in the hands of his wife. The people offi take the oaths of allegiance to the empreſs; but th ceſs, either influenced by her brother, or yielding to ceſs of grief for the death of her huſband, declined t nour propoſed, renounced the world, and retired to a tery. This paved the way for the elevation of *Boris*: a favourite, and the *Ruſſians* demanded with one voice might be raiſed to the honours due to his ſiſter, and r juſt reward of his own merit. Nothing could be more than the conduct of *Boris* on this occaſion: he preten unwillingneſs to accept ſo weighty a charge, and enflan ardour of the people by his ſcruples, which they co into a proof of his ſuperior merit and modeſty. At yielded to their intreaties; but only on expreſs con that the boiares, or lords, would divide with him th of ſo painful an employment. Soon after an offer was n the crown, to avoid which he retired to the ſame c where his ſiſter had taken up her reſidence; and ſuffere ſelf to be ſupplicated for ſeveral days, before he yielded own inclinations; having at laſt ſecured the ſupreme rity, and wielded the ſceptre with more power than an predeceſſors, becauſe his empire was founded in the h his people. Whether it was that he abuſed his pow that ſome of the nobility envied his proſperity, hiſto not clearly ſpecify: certain it is, that a ſtranger appea the name of *Demetrius*, called himſelf the brother of t czar, alledged he had eſcaped from the ſnares laid by and now demanded the throne of his anceſtors. The bility of his ſtory, the reſemblance of his perſon to *Demetrius*, and a thouſand other circumſtances, conſpi give credit to the tale. The pope, from views of poli conded his deſign, and engaged the king of *Poland* in tereſt. He came to *Sandomir*, made ſecret promiſes of riage to the daughter of the palatine, and was preſent that nobleman to *Sigiſmund*, who was perſuaded, fro dignity of his manner, that he muſt have been born a p The truth was, *Sigiſmund* willingly believed what he per might turn out to his intereſt. He ſuffered the impo raiſe ten thouſand men in *Poland*, furniſhed him with and money, perſuaded the *Coſſacks* to take part in his q

and enabled him to paſs the *Boriſthenes*, and ſurpriſe *Zerniga*[b].

THE aſſiſtance afforded to *Demetrius* produced expoſtulations from the court of *Moſcow*: *Boris* remonſtrated, ſupplicated, and menaced: he attempted the ſenators by bribes, and endeavoured to move *Sigiſmund* by threatening him with the vengeance of the whole empire of *Ruſſia*; but the king was reſolute in his meaſures, as he foreſaw that a conſiderable party would declare for *Demetrius* in the very heart of the *Ruſſian* dominions. *Boris* therefore raiſed an army, and marched againſt his rival with a hundred thouſand men; while the palatine of *Sandomir*, who commanded the *Poles*, ſought the opportunity of coming to an engagement, on the ſuppoſition that moſt of the czar's forces would deſert their prince, and join *Demetrius*. Full of this hope, he met the enemy, gave them battle, and was defeated, *Demetrius* eſcaping with difficulty into a caſtle, where, with a handful of men, he defended himſelf gallantly, extricated himſelf from his diſtreſſed circumſtances, ſoon appeared at the head of a freſh army, came a ſecond time to action with greatly inferior forces, and by dint of conduct and valour obtained a complete victory over the *Ruſſians*. After this ſucceſs, he over-run divers provinces, gained poſſeſſion of ſeveral cities and fortreſſes, aſſembled a train of artillery compoſed of one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, augmented his army almoſt to an equality with that of the enemy, and at laſt obliged *Boris* to have recourſe to the thunders of the church, and the ſtill baſer weapons of aſſaſſination. The patriarch publiſhed a decree, whereby he excommunicated all the followers of *Demetrius*, and *Boris* employed emiſſaries to murder his rival. The aſſaſſins were diſcovered, ſeized, and pardoned by the clemency of *Demetrius*; who at the ſame time admoniſhed the patriarch to confine himſelf to the care of his flock, and relinquiſh politics, which did not by any means belong to his function. It was ſoon after this that he ſent a ſpirited remonſtrance to *Boris*, reproaching him with the perfidious meaſures by which he uſurped the imperial throne; which is ſaid to have operated ſo powerfully on the violent temper of that prince, that, in the tranſport of paſſion, he was ſeized with an apoplexy, of which he ſuddenly died. A. D. 1606.

THIS event did not, however, produce the conſequences which *Demetrius* might reaſonably expect. He was now ſupported by a powerful intereſt among the *Ruſſians*, and a numerous *Poliſh* army; yet the ſon of *Boris* was raiſed to the

[b] Id. ibid. BIZARD. p. 84. LE COMB. Revol. de Ruſſ.

ſupreme

ſupreme dignity by the nobility of the empire, ſ
meaſures purſued for cruſhing the pretended *D*
they proved unfortunate: the young prince was
long from the throne, and *Demetrius* placed in hi
to ſhew the power and caprice of fortune. He
of merit raiſed himſelf to the imperial diade
obtained over the *Ruſſian* army, by the *Poliſh* ge
had opened the way to the capital, which *Deme*
in triumph; the ceremony of his coronation w
performed; he was backed by an army of *Poles*,
himſelf fixed in the affections of the *Ruſſians*:
tiality which gratitude induced him to exert in
former gave birth to a new revolution, and eff
of this proſperous impoſtor; for ſuch he is real
by the moſt authentic hiſtorians. He had im
tainted ſeventy lords attached to the late czar, a
their eſtates among the *Poliſh* nobility who had
mental in his elevation. So open a declaration i
people whom the *Ruſſians* always regarded as in
mies, could not fail of exciting murmurings;
rather to increaſe the inſolence of the *Poles*, wh
ſelves patronized by the monarch. They boaſt
given a ſovereign to *Muſcovy*, and very imprude
to themſelves the glory of having conquered this
In fact, the conſequences of *Zaposki*'s victory w
than a conqueſt; and what particularly flattered
the *Poles* was its being obtained with very unequ
dint of ſuperior conduct and valour. With thi
ſionally upbraided the *Ruſſians*, and aſſiſted to
ſparks of ſedition, and ſpread the diſcontents,
dy became too general. *Baſilius Suski*, or *Swi*
man deſcended from the antient czars, was how
perſon who ventured to declare his ſentiments.
bold and impetuous: he not only attacked the c
ment, but declaimed againſt him in public as an
uſurper. He remonſtrated, with the utmoſt ve
ſpirit, againſt the *Poles*; and encouraged the peo
arms, and drive both them and the falſe *Demetri*
kingdom: but perceiving that his invectives pro
fect, and that the people wanted courage to purſu
of their reſentment, he entered upon ſecret intri
voured to form a conſpiracy againſt the perſon
was diſcovered, carried priſoner before the czar,
by an act of clemency, which proved fatal to
Demetrius.

SWISKI, tho' he admired the character of the ſovereign, could not brook the ſervitude in which the nation was kept by a ſet of proud foreigners, who engroſſed all the lucrative and honourable employments, fleeced the *Muſcovites* at pleaſure, and baſked alone in the radiance of the imperial power, to ſupport which they contributed not the ſmalleſt proportion. He took the opportunity, when the czar was buſied in ſolemnizing his nuptials with the daughter of the palatine of *Sandomir*, ſent with great magnificence from *Poland*, to ſet on foot new intrigues. He repreſented, in the moſt pathetic terms, that the knot of union between the czar and the *Poles* would be drawn harder by this alliance, and of conſequence the chains of the *Ruſſians* would become ſtill more galling. He inveighed with ſuch bitterneſs againſt this nation, and repreſented the ſtate of *Ruſſia* in ſo deplorable a ſituation, that pity, pride, and the antient animoſity, began to exert themſelves; the firſt effects of which were ſeen at a public entertainment, where the *Poliſh* ambaſſador inſiſted upon a ſeat at the czar's table, contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the country. The *Ruſſian* nobility reſented the inſolence, *Swiski* fomented the quarrel, and the parties were hardly reſtrained from coming to blows in the czar's preſence [a].

'THIS was the ſignal to a general revolt. A few days after *Swiski*, at the head of the conſpirators, appeared in arms: he was joined by great numbers of the nobility, and the people followed the example of the *boyards*. The *Poles* were but few in number, and *Demetrius* had no guards beſides the diſaffected *Ruſſians*, having ſome time before diſmiſſed the *Germans* in his pay. There was nothing to oppoſe to the general tumult, and he ſaw his favourite *Poles* maſſacred, without having the power of affording them protection. The *Ruſſians* attacked that quarter of the city aſſigned for their reſidence, and put all to the ſword without diſtinction. They next advanced to the palace, and obliged *Demetrius* to leap over the window with his ſword in his hand. The violence of the fall ſtunned him; he was taken priſoner, brought before *Swiski*, and immediately put to death (A). His body was expoſed

[a] LA COMB. Hiſt. des Revol. p. 61.

(A) We refer the reader for the particulars of this extraordinary ſeries of revolutions to our account of *Ruſſia*, as we cannot in this place recite more than is abſolutely inſeparable from the *Poliſh* hiſtory. It may be neceſſary, however, to mention that *Demetrius* maintained his courage to the laſt; and, even when he was expiring, ſupported the dignity of his rank, and the juſtice of his claim. Some writers indeed alledge, that the dowager

poſed for ſeveral days, and treated by the populace with utmoſt indignity. Near two thouſand *Poles* periſhed in the blood; and a few only of the number retained by *D* at his court, ever returned to *Poland*. The czarina, *Demetrius*, and daughter of the palatine of *Sandom* thrown down from the pinnacle of good fortune, and to languiſh in a loathſome dungeon: and as ſoon as of this barbarous people was ſatiated, they proceede election of a new ſovereign; and the choice fell upon the hero who had ſo boldly vindicated the rights of h try, and broke the chains of ſervitude.

THOUGH this prince had taken the utmoſt pains liſh the particulars of the birth and death of the lat *trius*, yet he was ſcarce ſeated upon the throne before impoſtor appeared, maintaining that he was the very *trius* ſuppoſed to have been ſlain; and affirming, that eſcaped with a ſmall party of his guards, who remai tached to his perſon. Nothing could be more impude this impoſture, as crowds of the people had been wit the death of the prince whom he perſonated; yet the tained ſome degree of credit. The *Poles*, for politi ſons, countenanced the impoſture; and the *Coſſacks* eſpouſed the falſe *Demetrius*, becauſe they foreſaw t ſtruggle for the imperial diadem would furniſh manif portunities of plundering with impunity. *Demetrius* knowledged by the widow of the late prince as her i huſband, and ſome progreſs was made in the deſign of him in the throne; but fortune did not prove ſo propi it had done to his predeceſſor.

Sigiſmund in perſon enters Ruſſia, *and places his ſon on the throne.* A. D. 1610.

WHILE *Ruſſia* was labouring with the throws of ci tion, *Sigiſmund* entered the frontiers of the empire at t of a numerous army, and made rapid conqueſts. His was the revenging the late horrible maſſacre of his ſ and ſupporting the legitimate prince; but his real a the extenſion of his own dominions, and the conq all *Ruſſia*. A fairer opportunity could not have offered *niund* advanced againſt *Smolenſko*, a ſtrong city form longing to *Poland*, after having defeated an army o thouſand *Ruſſians*. By the way a detachment from th army reduced *Zarova*; and now, all obſtructions bei

dowager czarina diſowned him for her ſon, when ſhe found he was no longer able to ſupport her with royal ſplendour; but even this we cannot reg proof that he was an tor (1).

(1) *La Comte Revol. d'Empire de Ruſſie, p.* 52.

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moved, the city was inveſted, and the ſiege puſhed with the utmoſt ardour. For the ſpace of two years the *Ruſſian* garriſon defended themſelves valiantly, and frequent battles were fought under the walls. Several armies had been ſent to force the *Poliſh* works, and raiſe the ſiege; but they were always repulſed, and above two hundred thouſand *Ruſſians* periſhed by the ſword of the conqueror. At laſt the brave garriſon, ſpent with ſickneſs, fatigue, and famine, ſurrendered at diſcretion: whole provinces followed their example; and the *Poles* were directing their march to the capital, when, to avoid the diſgrace of being conquered, the *Ruſſians* depoſed *Swiſki*, ſent him priſoner to *Sigiſmund*, and raiſed to the imperial throne *Uladiſlaus*, prince of *Poland* [b].

THE young prince had not taken poſſeſſion of the throne when the whole *Ruſſian* empire again revolted, notwithſtanding the uſual oath of allegiance had been taken to *Uladiſlaus*; and he could not poſſibly have given offence, as he had not yet aſſumed the reins of government. Some attribute this event to the terror they were under of becoming ſlaves to *Poland*: others aſcribe it to the natural inconſtancy of the people; while a few ſeem to think, with more reaſon, that the people were ſeduced by the addreſs of *Miceſlaus*, governor of *Moſcow*, to elect the prince of *Poland*; a meaſure of which they preſently afterwards repented, regarding it not only as an indignity to the whole empire, but the greateſt injury to themſelves, to become the voluntary ſubjects of a prince whom they ought to conſider as a natural enemy. Whatever might be the motives, certain it is, that *Uladiſlaus* was no ſooner elected than he was depoſed. *Zachary Lippanow* raiſed an army, marched to *Moſcow*, drove out the *Poles*, and reverſed the election, raiſing *Michael Fœderowitz Romanow* to the imperial throne. Before this prince could eſtabliſh himſelf in the ſovereignty, the *Poles* regained poſſeſſion of the capital, in which they were ſoon beſieged by the new czar; and finding it incapable of defence, they evacuated it, after having laid an hundred thouſand houſes in aſhes, and conſumed immenſe riches. The *Poles* then, to the number of ſeven thouſand, retired to the citadel, where they made ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance as would have foiled all the power of *Ruſſia*, had they been ſeconded by *Sigiſmund*; but though his glory and intereſt dictated that he ſhould ſuccour this garriſon, he was ſo chagrined with the diſappointment of *Uladiſlaus*, that he ſuffered them to waſte and languiſh under the preſſure of a tedious ſiege, and at laſt to capitulate, after having ſuffered the laſt

Uladiſlaus *is depoſed.*

A. D. 1618.

[b] FONTAINES, c. v. CONNOR, tom. i. lib. iii.

extremities, and been reduced to a third of the original number [a].

To the ſame inactivity on the ſide of *Poland* we may aſcribe the reſolution taken by the czar *Fœderowitz*, of regaining the provinces and cities conquered by the *Poles* during the late civil diſſentions. With this view, having provided for the defence of *Moſcow*, he advanced with a numerous army to *Smolensko*, defended only by a ſlight diſpirited garriſon. The firſt attack carried the city; the garriſon was unable to withſtand the fury of an aſſault made with ſuch ſuperior numbers, and every living ſoul was put to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex. Every thing yielded before the weight of this powerful empire, now unanimous in redeeming paſt errors, in revenging paſt inſults, and the blood of above two hundred thouſand *Muſcovites*, which ſtreamed in every quarter, and cried aloud for vengeance. All *Sigiſmund*'s endeavours to retrieve his affairs proved fruitleſs; the critical moment eſcaped when he either might have ſubdued the divided *Ruſſians* by his power, or united them in his intereſt by his policy; the ſame circumſtances never again returned, and thus, after ſeeing himſelf in poſſeſſion of the whole empire, and his ſon called to the throne by the voice of the people, he was glad to ſit down ſatisfied that he had preſerved the dutchies of *Severia* and *Novogrod* of all his conqueſts, and theſe too purchaſed at the expence of a multitude of lives and immenſe treaſures. In this manner ended a war which proved almoſt fatal to *Ruſſia*, and had once raiſed *Poland* to the moſt powerful and formidable ſtate in *Europe*. The indolence of *Sigiſmund* is blamed on all hands as the cauſe of the laſt revolution, though we muſt confeſs we do not conceive how it was poſſible for him to avoid the conſequences of ſo general and ſudden a change in the ſentiments of the people, which ſeemed to be effected by means inviſible and inſcrutable to the human eye: beſides, it is highly probable that his attention was neceſſarily diverted from the affairs of *Ruſſia*, by the revolution which fell out in *Tranſylvania*, and threatened *Europe* with a dreadful ſtorm on the ſide of the *Othoman* empire. It would be difficult otherwiſe to reſcue the character of *Sigiſmund* from contradiction. He was allowed to be a wiſe and politic prince; he had for ſeveral years given the cloſeſt application to the revolutions in *Ruſſia*, and narrowly watched every change; he had laviſhed great ſums of money, and ſhed rivers of blood in purſuing the conqueſts of that country: it would

Sigiſmund's conduct vindicated.

[a] Bizardiere, pag. 86. La Comb. ibid.

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be abſurd therefore to aſcribe to indolence his now dropping a ſcheme which he had ſo long and ſo eagerly proſecuted; let us rather impute it to the neceſſity of the times, and the alteration in circumſtances, which required a change in his meaſures.

A VARIETY of circumſtances concurred to diſturb the peace of all the countries bordering upon *Poland*; and in this ſituation it was not poſſible that *Sigiſmund* could ſit a tame ſpectator. *Bethlem Gabor*, a nobleman of *Tranſylvania*, aſpiring at the ſovereignty of that country, defeated and depoſed *Gabriel Batori*, and made himſelf maſter of the principality. The unſettled ſituation of *Bohemia* furniſhed him with the means of extending his conqueſts. *Gabor* had ambition, and he reſolved to gratify it at the expence of *Hungary*, which kingdom he attacked with great vigour, and reduced ſeveral important towns and fortreſſes. At laſt he ſeized upon *Preſburg* the capital, and aſſumed the title of prince of *Hungary*. The *Bohemians* applied for his aſſiſtance againſt the emperor, and *Gabor*, ſure of being ſupported by the *Othoman* court, promiſed all they deſired. The *Poles* on the other hand, dreading the power of the uſurper *Gabor*, and compaſſionating the ſituation of *Batori*, a deſcendant of the family of their beloved monarch, took part with the emperor. *Sigiſmund* detached a body of *Poles* and *Coſſacks* to join the Imperialiſts in *Bohemia*, and by their aſſiſtance *Frederic*, elector-palatine, choſen king of *Bohemia*, was driven out of that country [b]. A. D. 1620.

THIS was only the prelude to a bloody war. Hitherto the *Turks* had remained neutral; now they reſented the part which *Poland* took in the affairs of provinces, over which the ſultan claimed a ſovereignty. *Tranſylvania* had repeatedly paſſed from the hands of the Imperialiſts to thoſe of the infidels; at this juncture *Gabor* was protected by the Grand Seignior, and the interpoſition of the *Poles* was deemed an infraction of the treaty ſubſiſting between the *Porte* and king *Sigiſmund*. The intrigues of *Gabor* likewiſe accelerated the rupture; for this prince accuſed *Gratiani*, vaivode of *Moldavia*, of adhering to the *Poles*, though he was protected by the ſultan. In conſequence a *Turkiſh* army was ordered to paſs into that province, and ſeize upon the perſon of the vaivode. The honour of *Sigiſmund* was intereſted in the defence of this ally, on the brink of falling a ſacrifice to his attachment to *Poland*. Accordingly *Zolkiewiski*, general of the crown, was detached with eight thouſand *Poles*, and a body *War with the* Turks.

[b] BARRE Hiſt. ſub. Ann. FONTAINES, cap. v.

of *Coſſacks* to his aſſiſtance. The vaivode promiſed to join him with fourteen thouſand *Moldavians*; but the ſudden irruption of the *Turks* had diſconcerted his meaſures, and obliged him to ſeek ſhelter in the *Poliſh* army, with no more than ſix hundred followers. In this ſituation the *Poliſh* general was forced to place his whole confidence in his own abilities and the valour of his troops. His intire force did not exceed twenty thouſand men, moſt of theſe were irregular *Coſſacks*, upon whom he could have no dependance, becauſe they embraced every opportunity of going in queſt of plunder. The *Turkiſh* army amounted to ſeventy thouſand men, among whom was a large body of janiſſaries, the flower of the whole *Othoman* empire. *Zolkiewiski* however perceiving the impoſſibility of retreating with honour, formed the brave reſolution either of conquering this vaſt multitude, or of periſhing in the attempt. He omitted nothing that prudence could dictate to ſupport valour: he ſeized upon the moſt advantageous poſts, and by his addreſs and ſuperior ſkill in chuſing his ground and encampments, drew the *Turks* into a ſituation where they could not poſſibly put forth their whole ſtrength. Having gained this point he harraſſed their out-parties, cut off their convoys, and reduced them to the neceſſity of attacking him in a ſituation almoſt impregnable, to avoid periſhing by famine. Never was any action brought on with more conduct, or maintained with greater valour: for a whole day he ſuſtained the moſt furious attacks from the janiſſaries in front, and the *Tartars*, who had found means to penetrate the woods and climb vaſt mountains, in his rear and flanks. After prodigious carnage of their troops, the *Tartars* were forced to ſound a retreat, and leave the glory of the day to the *Poles*, though they propoſed renewing the attempt in the morning. Had *Zolkiewiski* been ſupported by his officers, it is probable he muſt have intirely ruined the *Turkiſh* army; but either the baſhaw's money, or their own fears prevailed upon them to forſake their gallant general, and to quit the camp at this critical juncture with half the *Poliſh* army.

The memorable victory and retreat of Zolkiewiski *the* Poliſh *general.*

THERE now remained no hopes of being able to reſiſt ſo powerful an enemy, reduced to deſpair by neceſſity. *Zolkiewiski* was forced to think of a retreat, and the great difficulty was how to effect it and regain *Poland*, by cutting his way through the ſwarms of *Turks* and *Tartars*, which occupied all the paſſes in *Moldavia*. Imagination cannot form a more beautiful plan than he had laid for this purpoſe, and though it was fruſtrated by accident, the name of *Zolkiewiski* will be tranſmitted to poſterity among the firſt of heroes

who

who do honour to the republic of *Poland*. He was no ſooner informed of the perfidy of his officers, and the deſertion of half of his troops, than he formed the remainder into a ſquare battalion, encloſed by a kind of moveable entrenchment compoſed of the waggons and carriages that accompanied the army. In this order he begun his march for the *Neiſter*, and had reached within three days journey of the *Poliſh* frontiers, in deſpight of the utmoſt endeavours of the whole *Turkiſh* and *Tartarian* forces, who were making continual attacks upon him during his march, blocking up the paſſes, breaking the roads, and cutting off his proviſion and means of ſubſiſtence. All the day was employed in repulſing the enemy, foraging and bringing proviſions to his flying camp; at night he made forced marches, and by break of day advanced ſo far, that ſometimes the enemy were uncertain what route he had taken. Hiſtory affords no inſtance of ſo extraordinary a retreat, performed with ſucceſs for the ſpace of eight days by five thouſand men, in the face of eighty thouſand incenſed enemies. Even the retreat of the ten thouſand *Greeks* under *Xenophon* would appear leſs memorable than this exploit of the *Poliſh* general, had it not been recorded by the inimitable pen of the ſame perſon who had conducted the enterprize.

ZOLKIEWISKI had now reached within two leagues of the *Neiſter*, the repaſſing which river would have placed him in perfect ſecurity, and eternized his glory. He was on the point of compaſſing his laſt wiſh, and his little troop were preparing the bridges, when a panic, which ſeized the attendants of the camp, ſent upon a foraging party, ſpread through the whole army, and ſacrificed to imaginary dangers a corps that had reſiſted ſo many real ones, and ſurmounted difficulties hardly incredible. All fell into confuſion; the endeavours of the general, the exhortations, menaces, and example of *Zolkiewiski* were vain. They fled about the country without a poſſibility of eſcaping, and were cut in pieces or made ſlaves by the *Tartars*. *Zolkiewiski* was almoſt the only perſon of the whole army who ventured to diſpute his life: his courage and preſence of mind never forſook him; but now he was abandoned by all his forces, they were exerted to no purpoſe. He made the nobleſt efforts, but was at laſt overpowered with numbers, ſlain, decapitated, and his head ſent to *Conſtantinople*, as the moſt valuable preſent that could be offered to the ſultan. In this unfortunate manner ended the glorious atchievements of the *Poliſh* hero, while the enemy ravaged *Podolia*, the only important conſequence they deduced from their triumph over the *Poles*.

A. D. 1622.

THE deſtruction of *Zolkiewiski* and his little corps only whetted the ardor of the *Porte* for greater advantages; and perhaps the policy of that court required that the army ſhould be kept employed to prevent inteſtine commotions. *Oſman* was at the head of the empire in the room of the depoſed *Muſtapha* (A). He was young, fierce, ambitious, and warlike: he beheld with indignation the check given to an army of eighty thouſand *Turks* by a handful of *Poles*, and was not ſatisfied with the blood of the hero who had thus ſet the *Othoman* empire at defiance. As if *Poland* could not produce another *Zolkiewiski*, he meditated the entire deſtruction of the republic, and made ſure of ſucceſs. Indeed his vaſt preparations threatened very fatal conſequences to *Poland*. All *Turkey* was in motion, and the emperor appeared early in the ſpring upon the frontiers of *Moldavia*, at the head of three hundred thouſand men. *Poland* ſtood ſingly againſt this formidable power, which ſeemed capable of cruſhing the republic at one blow. The emperor, apprehending that the torrent would fall upon his own dominions, deſerted *Poland*, though *Sigiſmund* had brought this danger upon himſelf, by affording him aſſiſtance againſt the king of *Bohemia* and the uſurper of *Tranſylvania*. In this critical juncture *Cholkiewitz*, who had gained ſuch reputation againſt the *Swedes* and *Muſcovites*, was detached towards the frontiers with an army of no more than twenty thouſand men, to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy. He encamped on the banks of the *Neiſter*, in an advantageous ſituation, where he was attacked with great impetuoſity by the whole *Turkiſh* army. *Oſman* deſpiſed the weakneſs of the *Poles*; encouraged by the preſence of their emperor, the *Turks* made frequent attempts to force the lines, and were conſtantly repulſed with great ſlaughter[a].

The ſultan takes the field.

He is foiled,

WHILE the two armies lay facing each other, and in continual action, the brave *Cholkiewitz* died of a malady contracted by the perpetual care, vigilance, and activity which he exerted, leaving the command of the *Poles* to *Staniſlaus Lubomirski*, an officer who had exhibited ſignal proofs of his

[a] BIZARD. pag. 97. FONT. lib. v.

(A) This prince, called *Oſman* by the Chriſtian writers, was *Morad* IV. who ſucceeded in the beginning of the year 1622. It is probable, that by a miſtake in the chronology they mean *Othman*, who was ſtrangled the preceding year; a point which will be cleared up by comparing this with what we have related in the twelfth volume of the Univerſal Hiſtory (1).

(1) *Sub. hoc Ann.*

courage

courage and ability. This event threw a conſiderable damp over the ſpirits of the *Poliſh* ſoldiers; but the vigorous meaſures taken by the new general revived their courage, and the junction of the *Coſſacks* augmented their numbers, and enabled them to fight upon more equal terms, though ſtill inferior to half the number of the enemy. The *Coſſacks* had fought their way through a ſuperior army of *Tartars* ſent to oppoſe their joining the *Poles*. For the ſpace of eight hours a paſs had been diſputed, and at laſt carried ſword in hand by the *Coſſacks*, who muſt be allowed to have contributed greatly to the happy iſſue of this war, in which they had eminently ſignalized their valour.

OSMAN, perceiving that the Chriſtian army was encreaſing daily, propoſed a general attack on their lines by the twenty-eighth of *September*, and led his troops in perſon. The janiſſaries began the action by break of day, and fought with the moſt deſperate fury for the ſpace of twelve hours, freſh troops conſtantly ſupplying the place of the fatigued, wounded, and ſlain. Ten times were the *Turks* repulſed, and as often were they led back to the attack by their baſhaws, who charged under the immediate eye of the ſultan, and were ambitious of diſtinguiſhing themſelves. All their efforts were fruitleſs; the *Poles* were impenetrable, and the infidels were at laſt forced to found a retreat, after having left near thirty thouſand ſlain before the intrenchments. From the time the two armies had firſt faced each other, the different attacks coſt the ſultan upwards of threeſcore thouſand lives, the bulk of whom conſiſted of janiſſaries, the flower of the army, and the bulwark of the *Othoman* empire. Diſeaſe and famine co-operated with the ſword, and the *Turkiſh* army was diminiſhed to half the forces brought into the field. The country was incapable of ſupplying either proviſion or forage; the horſes on both ſides periſhed in thouſands of hunger; the ſtench of dead carcaſſes in the neighbourhood of the camps became intolerable; even at this ſeaſon of the year a peſtilence was dreaded from the putrid exhalations which had impregnated and poiſoned the atmoſphere: the ſultan relinquiſhed all hopes of penetrating into *Poland*; and *Lubomirski* grew tired of contending with ſo vehement, obſtinate, and potent an enemy: a conference was propoſed by the *Turk*, and accepted by the *Pole*; in conſequence of which a truce was concluded, extremely honourable to the republic, though it did not produce a ſingle advantage. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, that notwithſtanding the ſultan ſhould have the nomination of the vaivode of *Moldavia*, that prince ſhould always be a Chriſtian, and all infidels be excluded from

and forced to make peace.

from the ſovereignty of the principality: this was gaining a barrier againſt the future incurſions of the *Turks*. That the *Poles* ſhould reſtore *Choczin* to the *Porte*; and that the *Tartars* and *Coſſacks*, who ſhould henceforward commit ravages, and occaſion a rupture between the ſultan and the king of *Poland*, ſhould be mutually puniſhed by theſe monarchs with the utmoſt ſeverity. Theſe were the principal articles of a treaty which reſtored tranquillity to *Poland*, and diverted that gathering ſtorm which threatened to overwhelm all *Europe* [b].

War with Sweden *in* Livonia.

THE ſtate of repoſe now reſtored to *Poland* was but of ſhort duration. The active, ambitious, and heroic *Guſtavus-Adolphus* now filled the throne of *Sweden*, and among other projects for extending his dominions, and gaining *Sweden* weight in the ſcale of Chriſtendom, laid a ſcheme for the recovery of *Livonia*, which had been repeatedly attempted in the late reign, while *Poland* was engaged in wars with the *Turks* and *Muſcovites*. As far back as the year 1607, king *Charles* endeavoured to retrieve his diſgrace before *Revel*, and for that purpoſe ſent the count *de Mansfeld* with an army into this province. At firſt the *Swedes* met with ſome ſucceſs; he laid ſiege to *Wiſſenſtein* and reduced it: the ſame fortune attended him before other fortreſſes, which he took by aſſault; after which he made a fruitleſs attack on *Wolmar*, and was defeated by the garriſon of *Derpt*. Next year a ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed upon by the generals; but the *Swediſh* monarch refuſing to ratify it, ordered *Mansfeld* to lay ſiege to *Dunnamunde* and *Rockenhauſen*, both which he reduced. To the campaign ſucceeded negotiations, which were rendered abortive by the obſtinacy of the parties. The *Poles* inſiſted upon the reſtitution of the places perfidiouſly attacked by the enemy, while a truce ſubſiſted between the armies; and the *Swedes* refuſed this demand, under pretence that their king had not ratified the armiſtice. Thus the conferences broke up, becauſe the deputies could not agree upon preliminaries. Mean time the *Swediſh* fleet was cruizing off *Dunnamunde*, to intercept the *Riga* ſhipping, and ruin the commerce of the *Poles*. The inhabitants of *Riga* had their revenge, by ſeizing upon a favourable opportunity of ſlipping ſeveral fireſhips in the night into the middle of the *Swediſh* fleet, by which three men of war and two frigates were deſtroyed, and the admiral forced to quit his ſtation. In the year 1613 the republic of *Poland*, being deeply engaged in the affairs of *Muſcovy*, was deſirous of

[b] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xii. LOCCEN. lib. viii. HEIDEN. lib. xi. PUFFEND. tom. vi. lib. vi.

com-

ompromiſing the differences with *Sweden* about *Livonia*. It
as with this view that an armiſtice was ſigned by the gene-
als of both ſides; but as it had not received the ſanction of
ither government, *Sigiſmund* was ſenſible that the *Swedes*
ight profit by it as they had done in the late reign. He
herefore ſought to eſtabliſh a ſolid peace, under the media-
on of the elector of *Brandenburg*. To gain more weight
ie elector ſolicited the king of *Great Britain*, and the ſtates-
eneral of the United Provinces, to join in the mediation,
nd exert their influence with the court of *Sweden*: and
ey were both the more readily induced to interpoſe their
ood offices, becauſe they hoped, by ridding *Guſtavus* of
ie *Poliſh* war, to engage him in defence of the Proteſtants
f the empire. *Guſtavus-Adolphus* expreſſed his inclination
yield to the terms offered by the mediators, provided
iat *Sigiſmund* would acknowledge his right to the crown of
weden, and make a formal renunciation of his own preten-
ons. The reſult was, that the truce concluded between
ie generals ſhould be confirmed in its full intention and ex-
nt by the monarchs; that each ſhould retain what he then
ſſeſſed; but that the *Swediſh* troops ſhould not be required to
t in conjunction with the *Poles* againſt the *Ruſſians*. Af-
rwards the truce was prolonged by authority for two years,
id repeated armiſtices were made by the commanders of
oth ſides, as ſoon as the truce between the nations was ex-
red; but in the year 1616 *Guſtavus* ſent *Jerom Gylderſtern*
ith a ſquadron, and *Nils Sternchild* with a body of forces
Livonia, by which means he ſurpriſed fort *Dunnamunde*,
hich had been reſtored by the late truce to *Poland*, and
iereby ſtruck ſuch terror into *Riga*, that if the *Swediſh* ge-
eral had purſued the blow, and improved his advantage,
iat valuable city muſt have ſubmitted. Nothing beſides
ight ſkirmiſhes paſſed until the year 1620, when *Guſtavus*
ſolved to carry on the war in perſon in *Livonia*, and to
ake intire conqueſt of that province. The *Poliſh* troops
ere now employed in *Moldavia*, and the conjuncture ap-
eared in every reſpect favourable. With a numerous fleet of
ien of war and tranſports, on board which was an army of
venty-five thouſand men, he ſteered his courſe to *Riga*,
ade a deſcent, and laid ſiege to that important city, which
id long been the cauſe of diſſention between the republic
id *Sweden*. *Sigiſmund* had no army to oppoſe to the young
ing, and he was forced to repoſe his whole confidence in
ie valour of the beſieged and the ſtrength of the fortifica-
ons. *Radzivil*, general of the *Lithuanians*, endeavoured
throw in ſuccours; but he was too weak to keep the
field

Guſtavus-Adolphus *lays ſiege to* Riga.

field againſt the *Swediſh* out-parties. For ſix weeks the inhabitants defended the city with all poſſible gallantry and conduct; but it was not poſſible to reſiſt the united preſſure of fatigue, diſeaſe, famine, and an active powerful enemy; deſpairing of relief they at length capitulated, and obtained conditions worthy of the valour they had exerted. *Guſtavus* not only granted all the former privileges of the city, but endowed it with new and valuable immunities, which he promiſed to extend farther ſhould the people prove equally faithful to him as they had ſhewn themſelves to the king of *Poland*. The only change he introduced was the baniſhment of the Jeſuits; and this meaſure was abſolutely neceſſary to the repoſe of the city, as theſe meddling eccleſiaſtics were perpetually at the bottom of ſome intrigues, dictated by ambition and a reſtleſs ſpirit.

Riga taken by the Swedes.

NOR could *Sigiſmund* prevent the *Swediſh* monarch from carrying his conqueſts into *Courland*, where he reduced *Mittau*; a place of which he made reſtitution at the enſuing truce. A negotiation for this purpoſe had been ſet on foot immediately after the ſurrender of *Riga*, and was now at laſt concluded for the ſpace of one year; by which time *Sigiſmund* hoped to clear his hands of the *Turkiſh* war that had given full employment to all the forces of the republic. However, before this *Poliſh* army could be withdrawn from *Walachia* the truce was expired, and *Guſtavus* renewed hoſtilities, extending his conqueſts to the gates of *Dantzick*, which city he likewiſe blocked up with a ſquadron. Several towns in *Pruſſia* ſubmitted to the *Swedes*; and *Sigiſmund* perceiving that even his preſence and utmoſt endeavours could not ſtem the torrent of diſgrace, ſollicited a prolongation of the armiſtice, and obtained it on condition that he would contribute all in his power towards accompliſhing a ſolid and durable pacification [a].

Truces between the two nations.

DURING this ceſſation of hoſtilities, a variety of expedients were propoſed for terminating the differences between the two monarchs. The *Swediſh* writers blame the obſtinacy of *Sigiſmund*; while the *Poles* recriminate by aſcribing the continuation of the war to the ambition and unreaſonable demands of *Guſtavus*, who was deſirous of treating with the high hand of a conqueror. Among other ſchemes of accommodation it was propoſed, that *Guſtavus* ſhould cede *Livonia* to the *Poles*, and *Sigiſmund* renounce all claims on *Eſthonia* and *Finland*; that, in caſe *Guſtavus* died without male iſſue, one of *Sigiſmund*'s ſons ſhould ſucceed to the throne

[a] Mem. Suec. Gent. pag. 61, 62.

of

f *Sweden*; that *Sigiſmund* might in the mean time quarter he *Swediſh* arms; but that he ſhould bind himſelf by the noſt ſolemn engagements not to diſturb the government of *uſtavus*, or make any attempts for the recovery of the *Swe-iſh* crown in the life-time of that prince. If we may credit *occenius* and *Puffendorff*, this propoſal was ſtrongly ſup-orted by *Radzivil*, general of the *Lithuanians*, by which he ncurred *Sigiſmund*'s diſpleaſure. Certain it is, that the re-ublic differed widely in opinion from the king, who was al-noſt ſingle in rejecting the terms offered by *Sweden*. *Si-iſmund* ſought only the opportunity of taking the *Swedes* at a iſadvantage, when the projecting head of *Guſtavus* ſhould ave involved him in other affairs. For this reaſon he would nly conſent to ſhort ceſſations, which were from time to me prolonged, while the ſtates were deſirous of a permanent eace, and perſiſted ſo ſtrenuouſly in theſe ſentiments, that ey refuſed contributing to the ſupport of the war. This ontention between the king and people furniſhed *Guſtavus* ith the faireſt opportunity of extending his dominions, and rcing *Poland* into ſuch terms as he ſhould chuſe to preſcribe. nmediately on the expiration of the laſt truce he took the eld, and made himſelf maſter of all that remained to *Sigiſ-und* of *Livonia*. In vain did prince *Sapieha*, with three thou-ind *Lithuanians*, make ſeveral vigorous efforts to check his rogreſs; his force was unequal, and his talents greatly in-rior to thoſe of *Guſtavus*. In conſequence *Derpt*, *Roken-uſen*, and a variety of other places were reduced, and gar-ſoned by *Swediſh* forces. Nothing indeed could withſtand is young conqueror, who was now juſtly ſtiled the Lion of ie North; and it proceeded from ignorance of his true haracter, that *Sigiſmund* had ſo long perſevered in a reſolu-on which was like to have proved fatal to *Poland*. The re, courage, genius, and ambition of *Guſtavus*, had not yet lazed forth in meridian luſtre: however his talents had ſuf-ciently appeared to convince the ſtates of *Poland*, that heir wiſeſt conduct would be to ſteer clear of all diſputes vith a monarch ſo well acquainted with his own rights, ſo ealous of the honour of his crown, and ſo able and ready o do himſelf juſtice.

A. D. 1625.

War renewed.

THE fluctuating councils of *Poland*, and the advantages A. D. lready obtained, encouraged *Guſtavus* to penetrate into *Li-buania*, where he reduced *Birſen*, and ſpread conſternation ver the whole dutchy. This town he deſpoiled of ſixty ieces of fine cannon, which he ſent to *Riga*, a port that he heriſhed with the moſt tender care, in hopes of attaching 1626.

the

the inhabitants to his intereſt. The reduction of *Birſen* was ſucceeded by the entire defeat of prince *Sapieha* with a body of *Lithuanians*, which was cut in pieces near *Wolſen* by the *Swediſh* generals *Horn* and *Thurn*. Yet did not theſe ſucceſſes prevent *Guſtavus* from making overtures of peace, in order that he might purſue unmoleſted ſome other ſchemes which he had planned. He made now the ſame propoſals that had been rejected the preceding year, offering to divide with *Sigiſmund* the title of king of *Sweden*; to declare his ſon preſumptive heir of his crown; and to reſtore *Livonia* upon no other conditions than that *Finland* and *Eſthonia* ſhould be confirmed to *Sweden*; but *Sigiſmund*, grown peeviſh with old age, infirmity, and diſappointment, carried his pretenſions beyond his power, and indiſcreetly refuſed offers which in a little time he could not expect. It is thought that he relied greatly on the emperor's aſſiſtance, whoſe arms were at this time triumphant in *Germany*; a deluſive hope that ſoon vaniſhed before the vigour and good fortune of *Guſtavus*. It was on the refuſal of theſe ſecond overtures, that *Guſtavus* made a deſcent on *Pillau* with a numerous ſquadron, and an army of twenty-ſix thouſand well-diſciplined ſoldiers. *Elbing*, *Marienburg*, *Dirſchau*, *Chriſtburg*, *Great* and *Little Werden*, with a variety of other towns, cities, and fortreſſes in *Pruſſia*, yielded to the conqueror, and *Sigiſmund* had ſcarce found time to throw a body of three thouſand men into *Dantzick*. The ability however of *Koniecksſpolski*, and the return of *Guſtavus* to *Sweden*, turned for a while the ſcale of fortune, and produced ſome advantages to *Sigiſmund*. The *Poles* laid ſiege to *Mariemburg* and *Merve*, fought two obſtinate battles with the *Swediſh* generals who attempted the relief of the garriſons, and though worſted upon both occaſions, found means to reduce the latter place to ſurrender at diſcretion. The ſame general likewiſe prevented the *Swedes* from ſuccouring *Pautzke*, took that place, and defeated on the frontiers of *Pomerania* a body of *Germans* who were on their march to join the enemy; but the return of *Guſtavus* again changed the face of affairs. He defeated the *Poles* at *Kaſammarck*, with the ſlaughter of three thouſand of their men; after which he laid ſiege to *Dantzick*, now almoſt the only ſea-port belonging to the republic. *Koniecksſpolski* exerted his utmoſt diligence and ability for the relief of a city ſo important: he aſſembled his troops, attacked the *Swediſh* intrenchments, was ſeconded by a vigorous ſally of the beſieged, and proved ſo fortunate as to oblige the king to break up his camp, in conſequence of a dangerous

Progreſs of the Swediſh arms.

rous wound which he received (A). It must be confessed deed that the relations of the *Polish* and *Swedish* historians of e principal actions of these two campaigns differ widely in aterial circumstances, which it would be impossible to clear p at this distance of time, as each speak positively to facts, hich the other deny. For this reason we have only given superficial review of transactions which we have already plicitly related upon the best authorities, merely to preve the thread of the *Polish* narrative [b]. It will be sufficient mention in this place, that ambassadors from the states-eneral now arrived in *Prussia* to mediate an accommodaon, with a view that *Gustavus* might be at liberty to turn is arms to the succour of the Protestants in *Germany*.

WHILE the conferences were carried on, both sides enleavoured to gain better conditions, by some fortunate stroke nd successful act of hostility. In the neighbourhood of *Dirschau Konieckspolski* was attacked by the *Swedes*, with such mpetuosity, that his army being defeated he escaped with reat difficulty. In this action *Gustavus* was a second time rounded, as he was forcing the *Polish* intrenchments. The *Polish* general however retrieved this disgrace, by an advanage obtained before *Marienwerder*, which might have proved ital to the glory of *Gustavus*, had the *Poles* been sufficiently trong to pursue the blow. It was the inferiority of his troops hat induced *Konieckspolski* to press *Sigismund* to listen to the erms of accommodation proposed by the *Hollanders*. The king of *Sweden* consented to restore all his conquests except *Riga*, which he insisted should be sequestered for thirty years in his hands. He renewed the proposal for a partition of the title and arms of *Sweden*, which might be retained by both monarchs, and was supported in this offer by the *Polish* senate, which made the warmest remonstrances to *Sigismund*. However all the fruits of *Gustavus*'s moderation, and of the prudence of the senate, were blasted by the intrigues of the house of *Austria*. Both the emperor and king of *Spain* were

[b] Univ. Hist. tom. xxxiii. pag. 224, 225, 226, 228, 229.

(A) The account given of his transaction by the *Swedish* writers is very different: they alledge, that no attack was made on the king's intrenchments; but that having effected a breach in the walls, he ordered it to be stormed, was warmly received, and wounded by a musket ball in the belly. The consequences deduced by the historians of both nations are similar (1).

(1) *Univ. Hist. vol.* xxxiii. *pag.* 226.

aware of the advantages they might deduce from keeping up the flames of war in the North; and they gave *Sigiſmund* the moſt flattering hopes that he ſhould not only recover, with their aſſiſtance, the provinces of *Livonia*, *Finland*, and *Pruſſia*, but the crown of *Sweden*. For this purpoſe a ſplendid ambaſſy was ſent to *Poland* by the court of *Madrid*[c]; *Gabriel de Roi* was at the head of this ambaſſy, and authorized to aſſure the king, that his Catholic majeſty would immediately ſend a fleet of twenty-four men of war to the *Baltic*, and twelve thouſand men, under the conduct of the celebrated *Wallenſtein*, in order to carry fire and ſword into the bowels of the *Swediſh* dominious. Promiſes were likewiſe made, that *Spain* would ſupport the whole expences of this armament, in proof of which a large ſum was already advanced by bills of exchange. *Sigiſmund* was the dupe of theſe large unmeaning proteſtations; even the ſenate gave credit to the ſolemn aſſeverations of the miniſter, and conſented to the king's breaking off the conferences, to which the troops ſent by the imperial court, under *Adolphus* of *Holſtein*, greatly contributed. Hoſtilities were now immediately reſumed, and *Guſtavus*, by dint of activity, made himſelf maſter of *Worndit* before the *Poles* were in motion. But the circumſtances moſt pernicious and irkſome to the republic were, that the *Lithuanians* concluded a ſeparate truce with *Guſtavus*; and that the *Swedes* carried on the war in *Pruſſia* without any expence, merely by means of the heavy contributions which they levied on the province. To this may be added, the vain expectation of the *Spaniſh* ſquadron, which had for months cheared the hopes of the king and republic. *Sigiſmund* had collected nine ſhips of war to reinforce this auxiliary fleet; but he now found that the court of *Spain* relied on her influence with the hanſe towns to perform her engagements; and that for this purpoſe the ambaſſador was gone to ſollicit the regencies of *Roſtock* and *Lubeck*, who, dreading the eſtabliſhment of the *Spaniſh* power in the *Baltic*, refuſed to furniſh a ſingle veſſel. Beſides theſe diſappointments, *Sigiſmund* was let in more clearly into the deſigns of the houſe of *Auſtria*, by another incident. When he applied to the ambaſſador to advance him the remittance ſent by *Spain*, that he might hire ſhips in *Denmark* for tranſporting his army to *Sweden*, he was anſwered, that the court of *Madrid* had given no inſtructions upon that head. Yet did the artful ambaſſador ſtill continue to flatter the republic with the hopes of the ſpeedy arrival of the promiſed ſquadron, and

Sigiſmund is made the dupe of the houſe of Auſtria.

[c] PUFFEND. tom. vi. lib. vi.

contrive

ntrive means to prevail on *Sigiſmund* to ſend the little eet he had collected to *Wiſmar*, in order to raiſe a ſpirit nong the hanſe towns, which he affirmed would declare emſelves as ſoon as they found ſufficient protection. In nſequence the *Poliſh* ſquadron ſet ſail, and by the way enountered a ſmall ſquadron of *Swediſh* ſhips, which they atcked, defeated, and deſtroyed; though, before the end of ie campaign, the *Poles* themſelves were either taken, run round, burnt, or diſperſed by the fleets of *Sweden* or *Denark*, both theſe powers being equally jealous of their acuiring a maritime force [a].

DURING the next campaign the *Poles* were generally orſted in *Pruſſia*, becauſe the ſtates, finding they were deeived by the court of *Madrid*, ſtrongly inſiſted upon peace; nd to drive the king into their meaſures, refuſed contributg the ſupplies neceſſary for the continuance of the war. n ſome occaſions now even the *Poles* were ſucceſsful; *Guſtaus* had ſent a detachment from his army to ſeize one of the ut-forts of the city of *Dantzick*: this party was attacked ith great vigour by the *Poles*, and defeated; but the adantage was more than compenſated by the event of another nore general engagement, in which the *Poles* ſuſtained a omplete overthrow, by which *Guſtavus* opened a way to lay iege to *Dantzick* a ſecond time. He had ſtationed a ſquaron of nine ſhips to block up the harbour, and was advaning with his army on the other ſide, when the *Dantzickers* entured to give battle to the *Swediſh* admiral. The *Dantuck* ſquadron conſiſted of ten ſhips of war; it bore down with a favourable gale on the enemy, began an engagenent, and maintained it with ſkill and obſtinacy for ſeveral ours. *Nils Sternchild*, the *Swediſh* admiral, was ſlain by a annon-bullet, his ſhip taken, and his vice-admiral blown p; while the *Dantzickers*, on their ſide, loſt their admiral nd four hundred ſeamen, together with two of their beſt hips, one of which was ſunk and the other ſet on fire. The *wedes* claimed the victory, though from the conſequences e may fairly aſcribe the advantage to the *Dantzickers*, who y this action opened a free paſſage to their harbour, and bliged *Guſtavus* to relinquiſh the deſign of beſieging the ity (A). At the ſame time the *Poles* fruſtrated a deſign which

Sea-fight between the Poles *and* Swedes.

[a] BIZAR. pag. 72. PUFFEN. lib. vi.

(A) It is extraordinary, that n an event ſo recent the acounts of writers ſhould be ſo inconſiſtent. According to *Puffendorff* and the *Poliſh* writers, *Guſtavus* laid ſiege twice to *Dant-*

which *Guſtavus* had formed of ſeizing upon certain magazines they had eſtabliſhed in the neighbourhood of *Newburg*, where likewiſe a ſum of ſix hundred thouſand crowns was lodged for the ſupport of the army. On this occaſion the *Swediſh* detachment was cut in pieces, and the military cheſt, with all the proviſion and ammunition, tranſported ſafe to a place of greater ſecurity. Retribution was made by the *Swedes*, who not only reduced *Straſburg*, but concluded the campaign with gaining poſſeſſion of *Broderitz*. Upon the whole, the fortune of the combatants was pretty equal for the whole ſeaſon, and the *Poles* more ſucceſsful in general than could be expected, when we conſider the inferiority of their troops, the divided ſtate of the republic, the vigour of *Guſtavus*, and the excellency of the *Swediſh* ſoldiers.

THE winter was ſpent as uſual in fruitleſs negotiations, and early in the ſpring the *Poles* attempted to regain poſſeſſion of *Broderitz*; an enterprize that terminated unfortunately. There they were attacked in their lines by the *Swediſh* general *Wrangel*, and defeated with the loſs of three thouſand men, ſome pieces of cannon, and near two thouſand waggons loaded with proviſion, ammunition, and baggage. This victory would have put them in poſſeſſion of *Thorn* had not general *Dorckoff* provided ſeaſonably for the ſecurity of that city, by augmenting the garriſon with a choſen body of troops, and aſſuming the command in perſon, by which the burghers were encouraged to take arms in their own defence. Yet after all *Wrangel*'s victory would have compelled *Sigiſmund* to ſue for peace, had not his hopes been one more revived by the arrival of *Arnheim*, who joined the *Poliſh* general with five thouſand infantry and two thouſand cavalry; a reinforcement which enabled him again to take the field and face the enemy. In point of numbers the *Poles* were now greatly ſuperior; but the auxiliary *Germans* conſiſted of new levies, and the national troops had never ſeen action before the preſent campaign, all the old troops being ſo much fatigued and worn out, as rendered it neceſſary to put them in garriſon. A battle enſued at *Quidzin*, and the *Poles* were defeated with great ſlaughter, after a very obſtinate conflict, in which *Konielſpolski* diſplayed talents that merited better fortune [b]. Even after his loſſes he found means

Poles *defeated by land.*

[b] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. pag. 229.

Dantzick; whereas *Loccenius* and Mr. *Hute* mention only one ſiege, which he broke up in conſequence of his wound and the overflowing of the *Viſtula* (1).

(1) *See Univ. Hiſt. vol.* xxxiii. *pag.* 229.

to

to lay ſiege to *Steim*; an enterprize which proved more fatal to the *Poliſh* affairs than the overthrow at *Quidzin*, tho' no blame could be laid upon the general. In a ſally of the beſieged four thouſand men were ſlain; a calamity, with great probability of truth, charged upon the perfidious *Arnheim*, who communicated all that paſſed in the *Poliſh* councils to the elector of *Brandenburg*, by which means it became known to the *Swediſh* monarch.

In this manner was *Sigiſmund* betrayed by the imperial general, and deluded by the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador. The courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* had no other aim than to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant intereſt in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, before *Guſtavus* could diſengage himſelf from the war with the republic. He now at length perceived how little confidence he ought to place in allies, who had ſo repeatedly deceived him. He highly reſented the perfidy of *Arnheim*, attributed it to the inſtructions of his court, and filled *Europe* with his complaints. The mediators embraced the favourable opportunity, confirmed the king in his ſuſpicions, and renewed the conferences for an accommodation, to which *Sigiſmund* made no objection, becauſe he was ſenſible of his inability to cope ſingly, and againſt the inclinations of the republic, with ſo powerful an enemy as *Guſtavus*. The famine, the peſtilence, and the deſertion which raged in the *Poliſh* camp, together with the eagerneſs of the *Swediſh* monarch to enter upon the *German* expedition, which he had ſo long projected, greatly facilitated the meaſures of the mediators. Accordingly a truce for ſix years was concluded, upon terms more favourable than *Poland*, after ſo many loſſes, could reaſonably expect. The particulars we have already ſeen in the *Swediſh* hiſtory [c]; yet did *Sigiſmund* ſign it with reluctance, becauſe it was ſtipulated that certain places ſhould be ceded to *Sweden*, in the defence of which he had laviſhed ſo much blood and treaſure. However, he yielded to the importunity of his ſubjects and to neceſſity, fell into a melancholy ſtate of mind, became dejected, deſponding, and froward, which brought on a lingering diſorder that ended only with his life, in about two years after he had reſtored tranquillity to a people who had ſcarce taſted the ſweets of repoſe ſince his acceſſion. Unfortunate as the laſt years of *Sigiſmund*'s reign were, he certainly poſſeſſed a virtuous mind, and conſiderable talents both for the field and cabinet. His reputation ſuffered by the loſs of the crown of *Sweden*, and the imperial diadem of *Ruſſia*; but if we conſider that his attachment to the doctrines of the

Truce with Sweden *for ſix years.*

A. D. 1629. *Death and character of* Sigiſmund.

[c] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. pag. 229, 230.

church of *Rome* rendered his authority unpopular in the former kingdom, and reflect impartially on the concurrence of extraordinary circumſtances which wrought a revolution in the latter, we ſhall find leſs reaſon to cenſure the conduct of *Sigiſmund*, than to admire the power and wiſdom of that being who effects the greateſt purpoſes by means the moſt trivial and incomprehenſible to human underſtanding. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that bigotry, obſtinacy, and ſelf-ſufficiency, led him into ſome irretrievable blunders, and that he frequently perſiſted in error, not from want of penetration to diſcover his miſtake, but from ſhame to acknowledge that he ever was in the wrong. Principle occaſioned the loſs of *Sweden*; zeal for religion contributed to the loſs of *Ruſſia*; attachment to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and the good of Chriſtendom, involved him in a war with the *Turks*; and a regard for the dignity of his crown brought on the laſt rupture with *Sweden*. Indeed we may affirm, that a regard for equity, beyond what ſound policy dictated, was the cauſe of the long ſtruggle with *Guſtavus*. He regarded that prince as an uſurper; and, as he was incapable of injuſtice himſelf, he would not ſuffer it in another. Upon the whole, he was a prince whoſe virtues exceeded his vices, and who, in other circumſtances, would have died equally eſteemed and regretted [a].

[a] FONT. cap. v. BIZAR. pag. 82. CON. tom. i. lib. iii.

SECT. VI.

Containing the Reigns of Uladiſlaus, John Caſimir, *and* Michael Wieſnowiski, *to the Election of the celebrated* John Sobieski *in* 1674.

PRINCE *Uladiſlaus* was conſidered as heir to the crown of *Poland*, though the conſtitution required that a diet ſhould meet to determine the ſucceſſion. When *John-Sigiſmund* was in his laſt agonies, he placed the *Swediſh* crown on the head of the prince; but was ſo tender of the liberties of the republic, that he left the *Poliſh* diadem to be given at the pleaſure of the diet. At firſt it was imagined, that *Guſtavus-Adolphus*, covered with the laurels reaped in *Germany*, and become the admiration of mankind, in conſequence of thirty victories obtained over the moſt celebrated generals of *Europe*, would have demanded the crown of *Poland* as the reward of ſuperior merit. This was earneſtly wiſhed by all the Proteſtant members

members of the republic, who were now extremely numerous; but *Guſtavus* was too deeply engaged in war to apply his attention to canvaſſing at an election. It is remarkable indeed, that the *Lutherans* in *Great Poland* declared openly againſt the king of *Sweden*, the moment his name was mentioned as a candidate, and marked all thoſe as enemies to their country who ſhould preſume to nominate a prince ſo bold, ambitious, and dangerous to republican liberty; yet had *Guſtavus* declared his reſolution of appearing a candidate, it is probable they muſt have altered their meaſures, and yielded to the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the throne filled by a prince of their own perſuaſion, under whom they might reaſonably expect extraordinary privileges.

A. D. 1632. It was with more truth that prince *John Caſimir* was ſuppoſed to entertain hopes of being raiſed to the ſovereign dignity. The queen his mother, who was ſecond wife to *Sigiſmund*, made ſome attempts in his favour, to the prejudice of *Uladiſlaus*, whom ſhe had always regarded with the indifference of a ſtep-mother. She had ſet on foot certain intrigues in the king her husband's life-time to have *Caſimir* declared heir to the crown; and propagated reports injurious to the character of *Uladiſlaus*; but the generoſity of her ſon, his paternal affection and regard for the *Poliſh* conſtitution, broke all the meaſures of this ambitious princeſs. *Caſimir* deſpiſed the thoughts of ſupplanting a brother by acts of calumny, and put himſelf at the head of the nobility who declared for *Uladiſlaus*. The diet of election was fixed for the twenty-ſeventh of *September*; but though there appeared no competitor, the ſeſſion was ſpun out to conſiderable length. *Caſimir* propoſed his brother *Uladiſlaus*, and was ſupported by the biſhop of *Premiſlaw*, who enforced the nomination with all the powers of oratory. He ſoothed the diet with the moſt flattering encomiums on their independency, but artfully inſinuated the particular regard always ſhewn for the offspring of good princes: he reminded the aſſembly of the obligations which *Poland* owed to the excellent adminiſtration of the houſe of *Jagello*, of the affinity which *Uladiſlaus* had to that family, who, he ſaid, might be conſidered as a lineal deſcendant; he pleaded the merit of his father the late king, and the promiſing genius of the prince, which afforded the moſt pleaſing hopes of a happy reign; and he concluded with obſerving, that there was ſcarce room for oppoſition or deliberation, when every motive of reaſon, intereſt, and paſſion united in determining their choice in favour of prince *Uladiſlaus*. Next the pope's nuncio, and the ambaſſadors from the emperor and king of *Sweden* were admitted.

The two first warmly recommended *Uladislaus*, and the latter made no objection to his election, provided he would renounce all pretensions to the crown of *Sweden*; a proposal that was resented by the diet as unseasonable and impertinent to the intention of the ambassy. Thus no competitor appearing, and the votes being unanimous in favour of *Uladislaus*, he was declared king of *Poland* on the thirteenth day of *November*, and crowned the succeeding year with the usual formality.

ULADISLAUS VII.

Uladislaus VII.

BEFORE *Uladislaus* was firmly established in the throne an occasion offered for the exertion of his utmost ability. The *Russians*, hoping to profit by the unsettled state of the government under a young monarch, determined to recover the provinces lost during the late troubles. With this view they advanced with a great army towards *Smolensko*, from whence they made irruptions into *Poland*, desolating the countries through which they passed. They laid siege to *Smolensko*, pushed their operations with great fury, and were bravely resisted by the *Polish* garrison, who were animated by advice they received that *Uladislaus* was advancing with the flower of his troops, to give battle to the besiegers. The king was greatly inferior in point of numbers to the enemy; but relying on the attachment of the *Poles*, and convinced of their courage, and the ability of his generals, he ventured to attack the *Russian* lines. The battle was obstinate, but their intrenchments were at last forced, and the *Russians* driven into a narrow defile, surrounded with impervious woods, where they were obliged to submit to the terms imposed by the victorious *Uladislaus*. These were, that they should lay down their arms, return quietly to their own country, and not again molest the tranquillity of *Poland* for the space of six years. To these terms the king added another article; namely, that the czar should renounce all pretensions to the dutchies of *Smolensko* and *Zernikow*. The *Turks*, displeased with the last treaty into which they had been compelled, thought to retrieve the credit of the *Othoman* arms at this juncture, when the chief strength of *Poland* was engaged in stopping the progress of *Russia*. They made several irruptions into the *Polish* dominions; but after the defeat of the *Russian* army, they were surprised by *Uladislaus*, defeated with great slaughter, obliged to indemnify *Poland* for her losses and the expences of the war [b], and to conclude a truce

A. D. 1634. *He obliges the* Russians *and* Turks *to solicit peace,*

[b] Id. ibid. PUFFEND. lib. iv. tom. iv. pag. 326.

for

for ſeveral years. The Grand Seignior was even under the neceſſity of apologizing to the republic for the infraction of the treaty concluded with *Sigiſmund*, by capitally puniſhing the baſhaw who commanded the *Turkiſh* army, as if he had acted without orders from the divan. In a word, the *Turks* and *Muſcovites* were ſoon convinced of the vigour that reigned in the *Poliſh* councils, and the ſpirit of the monarch, which determined them to become more religious obſervers of their treaties with the republic.

BUT as if the glory of *Poland* could not be complete before *Sweden* was humbled, *Uladiſlaus* turned his attention to that ſide, and took advantage of the unhappy ſtate in which that kingdom was involved, in conſequence of the death of the great *Guſtavus*, ſlain in the arms of victory at the famous battle of *Lutzen*. *Sweden* was governed by an infant princeſs and a regency. The generals who ſerved under *Guſtavus* had, for ſome time after his death, ſuſtained the glory of his arms; but the unfortunate iſſue of the battle of *Nordlingen*, gave a turn to affairs favourable to the deſigns formed by *Uladiſlaus*. It was impoſſible for the regency to extricate themſelves from the affairs of *Germany*, and their enemies were daily multiplying on every quarter. The truce with *Poland* being now expired, it was neceſſary to ſend an army for the defence of *Pruſſia*, which could not be accompliſhed without leaving ſome other quarter of the *Swediſh* dominions expoſed. In this ſituation it appeared expedient to prolong the truce with the republic at any rate, to prevent *Uladiſlaus* from joining his victorious arms to the enemy. *La Gardie* marched indeed a body of forces into *Pruſſia*; but this motion was intended only to give weight to the negotiations they were labouring to eſtabliſh. On the other hand, *Uladiſlaus* was rather averſe to a war with *Sweden*, though he reſolved not to neglect the opportunity of reclaiming a valuable province, which he conſidered as the undoubted right of the republic. As the *Swedes* now propoſed a method by which he might attain the ſame end, without involving his people in freſh ſcenes of blood and horror, he conſented to the conferences propoſed, and reaped the fruits of his policy. Deputies met at *Stumſdorf*, and without much difficulty it was agreed that the truce between the two nations ſhould be prolonged for twenty-nine years, on condition that *Sweden* ſhould evacuate all the towns they poſſeſſed in *Pruſſia*, and make formal renunciation of that province, which was all that *Uladiſlaus* could have expected in conſequence of a ſucceſsful war, attended with vaſt conſumption of blood and treaſure. It was neceſſary likewiſe to avoid a rupture with

A. D. 1635.

and Sweden to *reſtore* Pruſſia, *and prolong the truce.*

Sweden, at a time when the domeſtic concerns of the kingdom required his utmoſt attention [c].

For a ſeries of years the *Coſſacks* had acknowledged the ſovereignty of the republic, though they were governed by their own laws, and acted in moſt reſpects as an independent people. They were regarded as a ſtrong bulwark againſt the deſigns of the *Turks* and *Muſcovites* to extend their dominion on that ſide, at the expence of *Poland*. In many inſtances however their irregularity and love of plunder involved the republic in wars with her neighbours; yet this inconvenience was winked at on account of the ſervices performed by the *Coſſacks* to *Poland*, and from a dread of giving offence to a warlike powerful people tenacious of their privileges. *Batori*, who foreſaw the utility which this body of militia might produce to the ſtate, had indulged the *Coſſacks* with lands and a variety of immunities. This proved an inducement to the *Poliſh* peaſants, oppreſſed by their maſters, to take refuge in the *Ukraine*, where they could enjoy more liberty, and poſſeſs their property without fear of being deſpoiled by rapacious cruel tyrants ſet over them as lords. Multitudes of people, harraſſed with the exactions and drudgery required of them, retired with their families to the *Ukraine* to live under the free government of the *Coſſacks*, who received them joyfully, as it ſtrengthened the community, and rendered the country more populous. Theſe migrations proved not only an injury to the republic in general, but were particularly detrimental to many of the gentry, whoſe eſtates were left without ſufficient hands to cultivate the earth. They applied to the government, and demanded back their vaſſals; but the *Coſſacks* refuſed to ſurrender unhappy wretches who threw themſelves upon their protection. This produced altercation, and ſet the nobility of *Poland* upon a ſcheme of revenge, which might at the ſame time turn out to their own emolument. Several of them poſſeſſed large eſtates in the *Ukraine*, but upon a different footing with their lands in *Poland*. In the *Coſſack* country the inhabitants of the lands were free, and ſubjected only to a moderate annual rent to the landholder. The *Poles* now required, that they ſhould be put upon the footing of the peaſants of the republic, which would not only enrich the nobility, but likewiſe very conſiderably encreaſe the revenue. It was this motive which ſwayed with the king and ſenate, who imprudently embraced the project, not only for the above reaſons, but becauſe they imagined it would be the means of

[c] Id. t. vi. lib. vi.

civi-

civilizing this barbarous lawleſs people, and uniting them ſtill more cloſely to the republic. They never reflected upon the difficulty of reducing to a ſtate of ſlavery, a bold warlike free people, ſtrongly attached to liberty, and the allies of *Poland* merely out of gratitude and policy; nor ſhould they be able to accompliſh their ſcheme, that it would be deſtroying the very intention of this militia, by emaſculating and breaking the ſpirit of men, who ought to be regarded as the ſtrength and barrier of the republic againſt the ambitious deſigns of the czar of *Muſcovy* and the Grand Seignior. The ſenate was compoſed of perſons who found their intereſt in this ruinous project; the king was directed by the ſenate, and thus, without deliberating ſeriouſly on the conſequences, *Koniekſpolski* was ſent with an armed force to the *Ukraine*, where he erected the fortreſs of *Hudac*, at the confluence of the *Zwamer* and *Boriſthenes*, as a check on the *Coſſacks*, and the firſt ſtep towards the deſtruction of their liberty.

As it could not be imagined that the *Coſſacks* would ſit tame ſpectators of this infraction of their liberties, and breach of the conditions on which they acknowledged the ſovereignty of the republic, meaſures were taken for ſupporting the firſt violation. The *Coſſacks* armed in defence of liberty, and exerted their utmoſt endeavours to fruſtrate the deſigns of the *Poliſh* general; but all their efforts were baffled by the vigilance, activity, and valour of that commander. They were defeated in divers encounters, and obliged to ſubmit, to deliver up their general *Bauluski*, and ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality among them, who were beheaded contrary to the treaty, and in defiance of the pardon granted and ſigned by the hand of the ſovereign. This is an indelible ſtain on the character of *Uladiſlaus*, as it evinces either that he paid no regard to his word, or that he had no authority in the government. In the treaty with the *Coſſacks* not only a general amneſty was agreed upon, but the republic ſolemnly promiſed to withdraw her forces; inſtead of which ſhe augmented the army in the *Ukraine*, and aſſembled a diet, wherein it was decreed, that all the privileges beſtowed on the *Coſſacks* by *Batori* ſhould be revoked and extinguiſhed; that they ſhould be deprived of the fortreſs of *Techtemeravia*, given them by the ſame monarch (A), and reduced to the ſame ſtate of ſubjection as the *Poliſh* peaſants. A. D. 1637. *The* Coſſacks *revolt.*

(A) The name of this place is differently ſpelled by writers. Some of the *Latin* authors write it *Tectimoravia*; the *French* call it *Tretimerow*; but we have followed the *Poliſh* orthography.

MEASURES

MEASURES ſo extravagant can hardly be attributed to *Uladiſlaus*, as they appear totally inconſiſtent with all his former conduct; but he cannot be excuſed for not oppoſing, with his whole authority, a project that ſavoured ſtrongly of inſanity, and that rage of deſpotiſm which has ever diſtinguiſhed the nobility of *Poland*. A more numerous army was ſent to the *Ukraine*, to enforce the decrees of the diet; and the *Poliſh* general advanced to lay ſiege to that fortreſs which the *Coſſacks* regarded as the bulwark of their liberty. They aſſembled to oppoſe the *Poles*, and, by dint of ſtratagem and valour, defeated all their deſigns, reduced the *Poliſh* army to great extremity, and forced the general to relinquiſh the enterprize. Notwithſtanding this advantage, they ſolemnly proteſted that they were far from any deſign of revolting from the obedience they owed the republic; their ſole view was to preſerve the immunities conferred on them by the illuſtrious *Batori*, and confirmed by all his ſucceſſors. Theſe they boldly affirmed they would aſſert with the laſt drop of their blood; but, as a proof of their attachment to the republic, they were willing, though conquerors, to lay down their arms, upon the ſame conditions ſtipulated in the late treaty, and a renewal of the amneſty then granted. The king and ſenate aſſented to all that was propoſed, becauſe they were in no condition to withſtand the power of the victorious *Coſſacks*; but they reſolved to break through their engagements as ſoon as the opportunity offered; and the *Coſſacks* had ſcarce returned to their houſes and diſbanded their forces, when the *Poliſh* lords committed a variety of outrages, which rekindled the flames of war with redoubled vehemence. They ſent detachments thither to ſeize upon the peaſants who had taken ſhelter with the *Coſſacks*; they ſuppreſſed the *Greek* religion, which that people profeſſed, and deprived them of their churches; they tyrannized over a people who were really their conquerors, and whom they ought to have ſoothed and cajoled, had they paid the leaſt regard to the true intereſt of the republic: in a word, they drove to extremity this warlike body of militia, and lighted up a fire which was ſcarce extinguiſhed but with the deſtruction of *Poland*. The particular cauſe of the revolt is thus related:

KLMIELNISKI, originally a *Lithuanian*, had acquired great influence and credit among the *Coſſacks*. In his youth he had been carried off by the *Tartars*; but redeemed by his mother, he returned to the *Ukraine*, and cultivated an eſtate bequeathed to him by his father, in the neighbourhood of the *Poliſh* fortreſs of *Czerin*. He added a piece of waſte ground to his patrimony, which lay contiguous to the fort; but

but after he had cleared and cultivated it, the *Poliſh* governor claimed it as his right, and enforced his pretenſions by a violent ſeizure of the ground. The *Coſſack* appealed to *Uladiſlaus*, and was determined to be in the wrong, the land being adjudged to the *Poliſh* governor, whoſe intereſt prevailed at court; nor was any acknowledgment made for the expence with which he had cultivated a piece of waſte ground. Fired with the injury, the *Coſſack* complained to his countrymen, exclaimed againſt the partiality of the court, and behaved with great haughtineſs to the governor, whom he treated as a tyrant. The diſpute roſe higher; and the governor, in contempt of *Kzmielniski*, carried off his wife by violence, raviſhed and then put her to death. Not contented with this piece of barbarity, he ſet fire to the houſe of the *Coſſack*, in which periſhed his infant ſon in the cradle. Some writers vindicate the *Pole* by aſſerting, that he committed theſe cruelties in revenge of *Kzmielniski*'s having him publicly and ignominiouſly whipped [a]. Be this as it may, certain it is, that theſe tranſactions, together with a number of other violences, gave birth to the revolt which now ſuddenly broke out. The *Coſſack* chief deſerted his habitation in a rage, took ſanctuary in the iſlands of the *Boriſthenes*, where he ſtirred up the whole nation to a reſolution of renouncing the ſovereignty of the republic, revenging the injuries they had ſuſtained, aſſembling an army, and either conquering or periſhing in the cauſe of liberty. *Kzmielniski* was elected chief, and the moſt vigorous meaſures were purſued for executing the dictates of the moſt ſignal vengeance.

SUCH was the ſituation of *Poland*, on the eve of a dangerous war, when the ſovereign was ſeized with a malignant fever, of which he died in a few days at *Merick* in *Lithuania*, in the ſixteenth year of his reign. This was a terrible blow to the republic, who, beſides the troubles to be apprehended from an election, had loſt in *Uladiſlaus* the beſt general in *Poland*, at a period when ſhe moſt wanted the exertion of his valour and abilities. His death removed the barrier which had reſtrained the *Coſſacks* from breaking out ſome years before into open rebellion; and they now ſeized the opportunity of giving vent to their fury during the inter-regnum. Their general, though brought from the plough to command an army, diſplayed a courage and capacity which would have reflected honour on the moſt conſummate officer and politician. By his addreſs and eloquence he ſubdued that invin-

Death of Uladiſlaus May 1648.

[a] HEIDEN. lib. xi. pag. 327. FONT. lib. v. CONN. tom. i. lib. iii. BIZARD. pag. 89.

cible

cible hatred which had always rendered the *Tartars* and *Coſſacks* declared enemies, and united both nations by the cloſeſt ties of union and amity againſt *Poland*. The confuſion in *Poland*, conſequent on the diviſions of the nobility, who declared in favour of different competitors for the crown, facilitated his projects; he marched with an army of *Tartars* and *Coſſacks*, gave battle to the *Poliſh* general *Potoski*, and obtained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of *Korſen*. This ſucceſs was followed by another victory gained over the *Poles* in *Volhinia*, and by an irruption into the provinces of *Podolia* and *Ruſſia*, which he deſolated with all the fury of an enraged barbarian. All the gentry were put to death, and the peaſants were pillaged, ſtripped, and turned out naked into the fields to ſtarve with cold and hunger, if they refuſed to enliſt under his banners. *Leopold* eſcaped being plundered by paying a large contribution, and *Cracow* was threatened with ſuch imminent danger, that the crown jewels were removed to a place of greater ſecurity. In a word, the ravages of the *Coſſacks* were ſo dreadful, that whole provinces were rendered deſart, and the *Poliſh* frontiers, towards *Muſcovy* and *Tartary*, which before were ſo populous, turned to a ſolitude, remaining deſtitute of inhabitants to this day. Every town in *Poland* was overwhelmed with conſternation; and the diet at *Warſaw* entertained ſome thoughts of tranſlating the aſſembly to *Dantzick* as the only place of ſafety; but this intention was rendered unneceſſary by ſome fortunate circumſtances, to which and not to the manly endeavours of the *Poles*, we are to aſcribe their eſcape from the moſt imminent peril that ever threatened the republic.

The Coſſacks defeat the Poles.

THE *Coſſack* general, purſuing his advantage, advanced with his army to *Pilavi*, where he defeated a third army of *Poles*, and found in their camp an immenſe booty, called by ſome equal to ſix millions of the money of the country. Though the victory was obtained without the aſſiſtance of the *Tartars*, yet as theſe free-booters joined the army next day, they demanded a ſhare in the ſpoils, and were refuſed by the *Coſſacks*; who, fearing they ſhould attempt violent means, returned with the utmoſt diſpatch to the *Ukraine*, relieving the diet from the moſt terrible apprehenſions. To this booty may we attribute the ſafety of *Poland*, which otherwiſe muſt have fallen inevitably under the power of the conquering *Kzmielniski*. Now the diet was at liberty to enter upon meaſures for checking the progreſs of the rebels, for reſtoring the uſual vigour of the government, by terminating an inter-regnum which had almoſt proved fatal to the kingdom. A ſpirit began to diſplay itſelf among all degrees of men; even

even the clergy contributed half their revenues towards levying and maintaining an army. The example was followed by the gentry, and recruits were raiſed in ſuch abundance, that an army, more than ſufficient to cruſh the *Coſſacks*, might have been aſſembled, had not the diviſions about a prince rendered the laudable efforts for the defence of the ſtate fruitleſs. Some of the candidates were formidable, and threatened to aſſiſt either in ſuccouring or deſtroying *Poland* with powerful armies, according as they ſucceeded in their election. Among theſe were *Ragotzi* prince of *Tranſylvania*, and the czar of *Muſcovy*; the former appearing at the head of thirty thouſand men to ſerve againſt the *Coſſacks* if he was choſen, or to join with them if his propoſals were rejected; the latter expreſſing himſelf in a ſtill more imperious manner, and determining to ſeize by force a crown which always depended on the free gift of the people. Such menaces could not fail of encreaſing the inquietude of the nation at ſo critical a juncture; the diet however had the courage not to be influenced by them ſo far as to relinquiſh their own rights. A majority of voices appeared in favour of *John-Caſimir*, though aſſiſted by no troops, recommended by no powerful foreign intereſt, and labouring under the diſadvantage of eccleſiaſtical engagements, which at the ſame time diſqualified him as a candidate, and intimated his incapacity of ſupporting the weight of ſovereignty. He had been educated a Jeſuit; but to abſolve him from the vows made to that ſociety, the pontiff beſtowed on him a cardinal's hat. The Jeſuits had occaſioned great diſturbances in the laſt reign; and the hatred which ſeveral of the nobility bore to the whole ſociety, fell heavy upon a prince who had once been a member of the community of *Jeſus*. Accordingly *Charles-Ferdinand*, biſhop of *Ploskow*, the younger brother of the late monarch, was oppoſed to *Caſimir* his brother, and warmly ſupported by the biſhop of *Kiow*, whoſe ambition flattered him with the primacy and dioceſe of *Gneſna*, could he ſucceed in appointing the ſovereign. *Chriſtina* queen of *Sweden* likewiſe ſupported this prelate ſtrenuouſly from motives of policy, and merely becauſe ſhe knew his want of capacity. It was her intereſt to ſee *Poland* governed by a weak prince; ſhe therefore exerted her utmoſt influence againſt *Caſimir*, becauſe ſhe dreaded his talents, and the popularity he was likely to acquire. The Proteſtants of the kingdom too unanimouſly cloſed in with the deſigns of the prelate of *Kiow*, becauſe they apprehended *Caſimir*'s education among the Jeſuits muſt neceſſarily influence all his future conduct; but the *Roman* Catholics urged his election with the utmoſt zeal,

Diſputes about the election of a ſucceſſor.

zeal, from the notions they entertained of his ability and piety. But what operated the moſt powerfully on the minds of the electors was an elegant manly ſpeech made by the biſhop of *Samogitia*, in which, by the force of his eloquence, he overturned all the arguments advanced againſt *Caſimir's* elevation by the oppoſite party, and unanimouſly determined the diet to his election. Even the *Swediſh* ambaſſador yielded to this prelate's irreſiſtible perſuaſion; and, informed of the engagements which *Charles-Ferdinand* had contracted with the houſe of *Auſtria*, queen *Chriſtina* became a ſtrong advocate for the prince ſhe had lately oppoſed [a]. The pope's nuncio, and the *French* ambaſſador likewiſe, contributed to bring over ſome of the more obſtinate among the deputies to his intereſt. Thus prince *John-Caſimir* was proclaimed on the twentieth day of *November*.

JOHN-CASIMIR.

John-Caſimir *elected.*

CASIMIR was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in the throne than he expreſſed his diſapprobation of the meaſures which had given birth to the *Coſſack* rebellion. He knew the true intereſt of the kingdom, and perſiſted in accommodating matters, in oppoſition to the whole body of nobility. No advantage he was ſenſible could ariſe even from a ſucceſsful war, except to a few individuals, whoſe avarice and tyrannical diſpoſitions might poſſibly be gratified by impoſing ſervitude on this warlike race, and thereby augmenting the number of their own dependents, and enlarging the ſphere of their deſpotiſm. They exhorted *Caſimir* to take the field, and received for anſwer, that they ought not to have ſet *Kzmielniski's* houſe on fire (A). In theſe ſentiments he proved ſo inflexible, that the nobility reſolved to act without his conſent, and accordingly raiſed an army, and marched into the *Ukraine*. The relations given of the firſt operations of the campaign are extremely deficient. One writer alledges, that the nobility, raiſing fifty thouſand men, were defeated on their firſt appearance by ten thouſand *Coſſacks*, who, in conſequence of the victory, reduced and plundered *Kiow*; and that, reſolving to repair their loſs, and wipe off their diſgrace, they raiſed every ſeventh man in the kingdom without the king's con-

A. D. 1649.

[a] Heid. lib. xi. Puffend. lib. iv. tom. iv.

(A) Some writers alledge, that it was the *Coſſack* chief's mill, and not his houſe, that was burnt; a circumſtance indeed of very little conſequence (1).

(1) *Puffend. Hiſt. Gener. tom.* iv. *pag.* 328. *Connor, let.* iii.

ſent,

ſent, came to action a ſecond time, and were defeated with ſtill greater ſlaughter and ignominy [b]. Other hiſtorians on the contrary alledge, that the *Poliſh* army did not exceed nine thouſand men [c], who were attacked by the *Coſſack* chief and the cham of *Tartary*, at the head of three hundred and forty thouſand men: that, ſhut up in *Zbarro* they courageouſly defended themſelves, and reſiſted the united preſſure of famine, fatigue, and a powerful enemy, until *Caſimir*, taking compaſſion on their deplorable circumſtances, pardoned their errors out of admiration of their valour, and marched with the utmoſt rapidity with the crown army to their relief. The king's forces amounted only to twenty thouſand men, but they were compoſed of veterans and the flower of the *Poliſh* dominions. On his approach the cham and *Kzmielniski* marched out of their lines with an hundred and ten thouſand choſen men to give him battle, the remainder of their army being employed in blocking up all the paſſes, and reſiſting the ſallies the *Poles* beſieged in the town. *Caſimir* prudently entrenched himſelf, the better to withſtand this unequal force; his camp was attacked, and he gave ſo warm a reception to the combined chiefs, that they ſoon became tractable, and voluntarily made overtures of pacification, which the king, always averſe to the war, gladly embraced. A treaty was accordingly concluded, whereby the king promiſed to renew the tribute paid to the cham by the republic, and aboliſhed in the laſt reign; to paſs an act of indemnity; to confirm the *Coſſacks* in all their privileges; to grant them the free exerciſe of the *Greek* religion; and to augment the number of their militia. On their ſide the chiefs engaged to defend the frontiers of the republic, and that the *Coſſacks* ſhould ſtrictly obſerve the allegiance which they owed to the king and commonwealth of *Poland*.

He concludes peace with the Coſſacks.

AMBITION had now taken poſſeſſion of the mind of *Kzmielniski*, who at firſt was actuated only by the deſire of obtaining juſtice, gratifying a private revenge, and ſecuring the liberty of his country. His ſucceſſes had inſpired him with the thoughts of entirely throwing off his dependence on the republic, and of forming a community under the protection of the *Othoman* empire, with which he could ſtipulate his own terms, as the ſubmiſſion was voluntary, and equally advantageous to the Grand Seignior and to the *Coſſack* chief. To this circumſtance, and to the refuſal of the peaſants in the *Ukraine* to ſubmit to the *Poliſh* lords, the bulk of writers aſcribe the infraction of the late treaty, and the freſh rupture which enſued.

[b] Id. ib. [c] FONT. cap. v.

Puffen-

War renewed.

Puffendorff[a], however, lays the blame on the *Poliſh* nobility, who, he alledges, attacked *Kiow* at the time *Kzmielniski* was celebrating his ſon's nuptials with a daughter of the vaivode of *Walachia*, plundered the town, and carried off the *Greek* patriarch. The *Coſſacks* ſent deputies to the king to complain of the injury, to know if he had authoriſed it, and to demand redreſs; to which *Caſimir* replied, that it was an act of the *Poliſh* nobility, which he had no power to puniſh, though he greatly diſapproved the proceeding. Upon this the *Coſſacks* aſſembled, and in revenge made an irruption into *Poland*, in conjunction with the *Tartars*. To which ever of theſe cauſes we aſcribe the war, certain it is, that the preſervation of the ſtate obliged the king to take the field, to oppoſe the ruinous depredations of the united barbarians, who laid every province deſolate through which they paſſed. He levied an army of one hundred thouſand men, advanced againſt the enemy, and in a pitched battle defeated, with great ſlaughter, a *Tartarian* army of thrice his number. This victory was obtained in the neighbourhood of *Bereteskow*, before the *Coſſacks* could come up to the relief of their allies, and the very report of it was ſufficient to put thoſe rebels in confuſion. *Kzmielniski*'s lieutenant marching out with a detachment to attack an out-poſt of the *Poles*, a panic ſeized the whole *Tabor*: it was thought their general had deſerted them, the whole fled with precipitation, and reached the *Ukraine*, before they had diſcovered their miſtake, or recollected their ſpirits. Here cool reflection took place of their reſentment: propoſals of peace were ſent to the king, and accepted, on condition that the *Zaporavian* militia ſhould be reduced to twenty thouſand men; that the *Coſſacks* would expreſs their penitence, and engage to adhere to the articles of the late treaty. The nobility murmured at this treaty as too favourable to the enemy; and the *Coſſack* chief determined to maintain it no longer than until he could retrieve his affairs, and raiſe ſufficient forces to vindicate his perfidy.

Caſimir *defeats the enemy.*

A. D. 1653. *The* Ruſſians *break with* Poland.

In this ſituation was the republic, when the *Ruſſians* determined to make their advantage of the diſpoſition of the *Coſſacks*, and the diviſions that ſubſiſted between *Caſimir* and the *Poliſh* nobility. They entered *Lithuania* by the way of *Smolenſko* with a prodigious army, and were immediately joined by a ſtrong detachment of *Coſſacks* ſent by *Kzmielniſki*; while the main bodies of the *Coſſack* and *Tartarian* armies ravaged *Poland* on the other ſide. The *Ruſſians* laid ſiege to *Smolenſko*, and reduced it, after a tedious ſiege, and gallant de-

[a] Lib. iv. tom. iv. p. 329.

fence

ce made by the *Poliſh* garriſon. They afterwards ravaged great dutchy of *Lithuania*, reduced *Wilna* and other es, which they pillaged, after treating the inhabitants with utmoſt barbarity, and committing the moſt horrible cruel-. But, as if the republic had not been ſufficiently em-raſſed with ſuch a variety of powerful enemies, *Charles-ſtavus*, who ſucceeded to the crown of *Sweden* on the abdi-ion of *Chriſtina*, determined to aſſiſt in compleating her fortunes. The opportunity was ſeaſonable for retrieving loſſes conſequent on the battle at *Nordlingen*, and breaking treaty of *Stumſdorf*, by which *Pruſſia* was intirely eva-ted. The ambitious *Charles* carried his deſigns to the in-conqueſt of *Poland*; and as he was aſſiſted not only by numerous forces of the barbarians, but likewiſe by certain ontented lords, who reſented *Caſimir*'s lenity to the *Coſ-s*, his project had all the appearance of ſucceſs. In vain the court of *France* interpoſe her good offices, and endea-r to break a ſtorm which threatened *Poland* with inevitable ruction. The king of *Sweden* was too earneſt in the pur-of his ſchemes, and too ſanguine of ſucceſs, to liſten to reaſonable conditions. What chiefly incenſed *Charles* was proteſt entered by the *Poliſh* miniſter at *Stockholm* againſt *iſtina*'s reſignation. This firſt put him on the ſcheme of enge, and made him deaf to all the propoſals made by *Ca-r*, by the ſeveral ambaſſadors whom he diſpatched to *Swe-. Charles* refuſed giving audience to ſome of theſe; and particular ordered the *Poliſh* miniſter *Merſtein* to quit his rt, with an air the moſt inſolent and contemptuous.

IMMEDIATELY after the departure of the ambaſſador, he ered part of his army to advance into *Poland* by the *Lower* *nerania* and the *New Marche*, under the conduct of general *ttemberg*, whoſe firſt appearance diſperſed a body of fifteen uſand *Poles*, ſent by the king to oppoſe his progreſs. In ſequence ſeveral diſcontented palatines ſubmitted, and took oath of allegiance to *Charles-Guſtavus*. At the ſame time king, at the head of the main army, penetrated into *at Poland*; and after reducing the province of *Mazovia*, almoſt all *Little Poland*, laid ſiege to *Cracow*, and carried it capital, after a feeble reſiſtance. The conqueror entered city in triumph, and obliged the unfortunate *Caſimir*, de-tute of money and troops, deſerted by the nobility and army, ſeek an aſylum in *Sileſia*. *Puffendorf* indeed affirms, that *phen Czarneski*, governor of *Cracow*, defended himſelf with at courage and ability; and did not ſurrender before his riſon was quite ſpent with fatigue, covered with wounds,

The king of Sweden *invades and conquers* Poland.

and greatly diminiſhed, after having made dreadful ſlaughter among the beſiegers.

THOUGH neceſſity, and the timidity or perfidy of the nobility, had occaſioned *Caſimir*'s flight; yet the provinces and militia conſidered his retreat as an abdication, took an oath to the conqueror, and acknowledged themſelves ſubject to the crown of *Sweden*. The governors of *Great* and *Little Poland*, of *Mazovia*, of *Red Ruſſia*, *Podolia*, and *Volhinia*, all ſent deputations to the *Swediſh* monarch, meanly complimenting him on his arrival in the dominions of the republic; and it was even deliberated whether an offer ſhould not be made of the crown. *Lithuania*, in particular, through the intrigues of the diſcontented *Radzivil*, appeared extremely forward in this propoſal; but the ſpirited conduct of the city of *Dantzick* ſoon altered the ſentiments of the *Poliſh* nation, and animated the people with freſh courage, as ſoon as their firſt terrors were effaced. *Charles-Guſtavus* having, as he thought, intirely ſubdued *Poland*, turned his arms to the conqueſt of *Pruſſia*, where all the cities and fortreſſes made ſcarce any reſiſtance, except *Dantzick*. Here the burghers at firſt appeared diſpoſed to copy the puſillanimous example of the reſt of the nation; but ſuddenly changed their reſolution by the addreſs and ſpirited harangues of the clergy, who animated them with their exhortations and example; and by dint of eloquence, of public ſpirit, and of valour, attached them more ſtrongly than ever to the crown of *Poland*. The king of *Sweden*'s own conduct likewiſe aſſiſted their deſigns. He had ordered a fleet to cruize before the harbour, and to levy exorbitant duties upon all merchandize: the clergy turned this circumſtance to their advantage, repreſenting it as a ſpecimen of what they were to expect under the government of the *Swediſh* tyrant. All now flew to arms; and the example of the *Dantzickers* operated powerfully on all the other cities, that were oppreſſed with heavy contributions and grievous exactions; notwithſtanding the people were in other reſpects treated with great lenity. The impoſition of fifteen *timphes* upon every hearth excited a general diſaffection in a free people, ever averſe to ſervitude and deſpotiſm. They could not conſent to become tributary to *Sweden*, a kingdom upon which their ſovereigns formed legal claims; and they took the noble reſolution of repairing their errors, and breaking the chains in which they ſaw themſelves held by the conquerors. To accompliſh their ſchemes with the greater facility, ſuch conditions were offered to the *Tartars* as not only eſtabliſhed a peace, but an alliance with that people, which proved of the utmoſt utility to *Poland*. *Caſimir* was privately invited to return to his dominions, and he

The ſpirit of the Dantzickers.

he immediately put himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army aſſembled by the nobility. In conjunction with the *Tartars*, *Czarneski* ſurpriſed a corps of *Swedes* in the neighbourhood of *Jariſlaw*, defeated them, and became maſter of their baggage. The effects of this victory were of ſtill more conſequence, as it raiſed an emulation through the whole *Poliſh* dominions, who ſhould beſt diſtinguiſh their loyalty, and by acts of gallantry efface the ſtains of perfidy to an excellent prince, and national puſillanimity. The *Lithuanians*, who had lately been the ſtrong advocates of the *Swediſh* monarch, now of a ſudden altered their ſentiments, attacked and maſſacred the *Swediſh* ſoldiers, diſperſed in quarters, before they could unite or form themſelves into a body. Beſides theſe advantages, the *Poles* had reduced *Warſaw*, where they made general *Wittemberg* and a numerous garriſon priſoners, contrary to the expreſs conditions of the capitulation [a].

The Swedes defeated.

THIS treacherous action ſoon met with the puniſhment it merited, and proved almoſt fatal to *Poland*. *Charles-Guſtavus* had about this time formed an alliance with the elector of *Brandenburg*, whereby it was ſtipulated, that the elector ſhould enjoy an abſolute dominion in *Ducal Pruſſia*, on condition that he would aſſiſt in retaking *Warſaw*, puniſhing the perfidy of the *Poles*, and conquering the republic. Reinforced by the electoral troops, the king advanced to *Warſaw*, and laid ſiege to the city. The *Poles* exerted their utmoſt endeavours to preſerve it: a battle was fought before the walls, and victory obſtinately diſputed for three days, when it at laſt declared in favour of the *Swedes* and *Brandenburghers*. The city was taken, and the ſlaughter was the more dreadful, as the conqueſt was ſo valiantly diſputed: ſcarce a ſoul eſcaped the ſword, the town was pillaged, and the republic now reduced to a more deplorable ſtate than ever, becauſe *Charles* conſidered the people as traitors.

A. D. 1656.

WHILE *Poland* was bleeding under the laſt ſevere blow, another enemy appeared. *Ragotski*, prince of *Tranſylvania*, ſeized this opportunity of reſenting his excluſion from the throne at the laſt general election. He now thought he might effect his purpoſes with the aſſiſtance of the king of *Sweden*, and, by acknowledging *Poland* tributary, obtain the crown from that monarch. Puffed up with the deluſive promiſes of an aſtrologer, who had flattered him with the hope of a diadem, his imagination even carried him not only to renounce the tribute to *Sweden*, but to conquer that kingdom; though policy required that he ſhould in the mean time make uſe of

[a] Vid. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii.

Charles-Guſtavus as the inſtrument of his great projects. He had an army of thirty thouſand men at his command; and it is probable that his ambitious ſchemes might have ſucceeded in part, had he not been too confident of ſucceſs, and aſſured that his forces were irreſiſtible. *Guſtavus* adviſed him to penetrate into *Poland* by the palatinate of *Breſſici*, and to wait there for the junction of the *Swediſh* army. Had he followed this counſel, he would have at leaſt avoided the diſgrace of a ſignal defeat; in conſequence of which he was forced to retire precipitately to *Tranſylvania* with the ſhattered remains of his forces (A).

State of Europe.

HAPPILY for the republic, the king of *Denmark* and ſeveral other potentates took umbrage at the unprovoked attack on *Poland*, and grew jealous of the rapid ſucceſs which attended the arms of *Charles-Guſtavus*. His *Daniſh* majeſty was buſied in warlike preparations; the *Ruſſians* made an irruption into *Livonia*, and were laying ſiege to *Riga*; the *Dutch* expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs at the conqueſts made in *Pruſſia*; and other powers gave *Guſtavus* to underſtand, that they would not ſit tranquil ſpectators of the ruin of *Poland*, and ſubverſion of the ballance of power in the North. The Sultan too ſeemed to favour *Poland*; for he was ſo enraged at *Ragotski*'s entering the republic's dominions againſt his expreſs orders, that he enjoined the *Tranſylvanians* to elect another vaivode, ſent forces againſt this unfortunate prince, who vainly implored the aſſiſtance of the emperor; and, after ſeveral bloody battles, eſtabliſhed the rival of *Ragotski*, who periſhed of wounds received in the laſt engagement. But what afforded immediate relief to *Poland* was the open rupture between the courts of *Stockholm* and *Copenhagen*, and the conſequent invaſion of the iſland of *Zeland*, which not only drew the *Swediſh* monarch, but the bulk of his army from the territories of the republic. A body of *German* auxiliaries had likewiſe joined the *Poliſh* army, by which means *Caſimir* was enabled to lay ſiege to *Cracow*. The *Swediſh* garriſon was commanded by *Wartz*, who behaved with great gallantry; but finding he could expect no relief, was forced to capitulate, after he had filled the trenches with carnage by repeated deſperate ſallies.

A. D. 1657.

[a] Vid. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii.

(A) *Radzivil* and his chief officers were taken priſoners in this action, which happened near *Licca*; but they were delivered by general *Steinbock*, who gained an advantage over the *Poles* in the neighbourhood of *Philippowa* (1).

(1) *Vid. Univ. Hiſt. vol.* xxxiii.

Gene-

eral *Czarneski* too was diſpatched with an army croſs the , to make an irruption into *Pomerania*, which, after ra- ig in a terrible manner, he evacuated, from an appre- on that the enemy would cut off his retreat, and ſhut up in a country which himſelf had deſolated. An at- t was made on *Riga*, and other places in *Livonia*; but proved equally unfortunate: however, the great inferio- f the *Swedes*, and the ſudden change of meaſures at the of *Berlin* (A), rendered it apparent that *Charles-Guſtavus* ſoon relinquiſh all his conqueſts in *Poland*. His troops driven out of *Courland*, and *Graudentz* in *Pruſſia* was re- ed by the *Poles*: in a word, every thing contributed to all the laurels which *Charles* had gathered in the purſuit ory, equal to that of the celebrated *Guſtavus-Adolphus*; , happily perhaps for his reputation, for his people, and e in general, death cut ſhort the deſigns of this enter- g ſpirited monarch. This event produced the congreſs *va*, where a peace was concluded between *John-Caſimir* *Charles* XI. or rather the regency of *Sweden*, upon con- that the king of *Poland* ſhould renounce all claim to the *iſh* crown; and that the *Swedes* ſhould reſtore all their ieſts in *Poland*, *Pruſſia*, and *Livonia*, *Riga* and a few places excepted. Thus, by parting with a vain ideal , *Caſimir* acquired the actual poſſeſſion of all his domi- , and thoſe vaſt territories, on the reduction of which te king of *Sweden* had laviſhed the blood and treaſure of bjects with the utmoſt prodigality [a] (B).

The Swedes driven out of Poland.

A. D. 1606.

Peace of Oliva.

THE

[a] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii.

The elector of *Branden-* finding that *Charles-Guſ-* was not in a condition to him in the ſovereignty of *Pruſſia*, as had been ſti- d, and that he had even ed to compound with the lic for eight hundred thou- lollars, reſolved to cloſe in he *Poles*, advance that ſum *imir*, and unite his forces ſe of the king, upon the terms he had agreed with *vediſh* monarch. The re- glad of gaining ſuch an t the expence of her ene- mies, conſented to the propoſal, on condition that *Ducal Pruſſia* ſhould revert to *Poland*, in caſe the elector died without male iſſue; and thus the two princes joined to drive out the *Swedes*(1).

(B) We muſt not omit a circumſtance mentioned by ſome of the *Poliſh* writers, on which all the *Swediſh* hiſtorians are ſilent. They attribute the war with *Charles-Guſtavus*, and the invaſion of the *Poliſh* dominions, to the reſentment of the grand chancellor *Radzeweſki*. The king had carried on an intrigue, it is

(1) *Puff. rer. Brandenb. lib.* viii. *ſect.* lv. *p.* 508.

Civil commotions, and a war with Ruſſia.

THE felicity conſequent on this aſtoniſhing change in the affairs of *Caſimir* was ſoon diſturbed, as ſome writers alledge, by the king's ambition; while others freely cenſure the conduct of *Lubomirski*, the crown-general, on whom they lay the blame of all the enſuing misfortunes. According to the former, the king had hired thirty thouſand *Germans*, under pretence of releaſing certain noblemen detained priſoners by the *Tartars*, in contempt of treaties; but, in fact, with deſign to render himſelf deſpotic; a meaſure very oppoſite to the principles which he profeſſed at his acceſſion. *Lubomirski* penetrated into his moſt ſecret ſentiments; and with great reſolution and public ſpirit oppoſed himſelf as the protector of liberty, and guardian of the conſtitution. At firſt he uſed perſuaſion; but finding that *Caſimir*, confident of his ſtrength, refuſed to liſten to his arguments, he levied forces, attacked the auxiliaries, defeated them, took their general priſoner, and obliged the king to diſmiſs the broken remains of the *Germans*; which ſo chagrined *Caſimir*, that he ſoon after abdicated the crown.

THE relation of this tranſaction, given by ſome other hiſtorians of perhaps greater credit, is the following. During the war with *Sweden*, the *Ruſſians* had made divers incurſions into the *Poliſh* dominions, which *Caſimir* now determined to revenge. With this view an army was ſent to the frontiers under general *Czarneski* and prince *Sapieha*, who were ſo fortunate as to cut off an army of twenty-ſix thouſand *Muſcovites* in the neighbourhood of *Polanski*. Another battle was ſoon after fought in the plains of *Glembokia*, in which the *Ruſſians* were again defeated, with the ſlaughter of ten thouſand of their beſt ſoldiers; upon which *Caſimir* laid ſiege to *Vilna*, the capital of *Lithuania*, taken by the enemy during the late war with *Sweden*. At the firſt onſet the *Poles* carried the city; but the garriſon defended the citadel, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, with great obſtinacy and valour. In vain was every ſtratagem of war put in practice: the *Ruſſians* withſtood all the efforts made by the *Poles*, until at laſt the enterprize proved almoſt fatal to the king and republic. Diviſions aroſe between the king and ſome of the nobility, who aſpired at more power, under the pretext of oppoſing the extenſion of the royal prerogative. The want of unanimity in the camp

ſaid, with the wife of this ſenator; who, to gratify the dictates of revenge, formed a ſtrong party againſt the court, and then invited the *Swedes* into *Livonia* and *Courland*, where they ſoon defeated the duke, and carried him off priſoner (1).

(1) *Hartnoch, lib.* i. *Connor, tom.* i. *lib.* iii.

deſtroyed

oyed the vigour of the beſiegers, expoſed them to the
s of the garriſon, and produced a total languor and in-
ity, that protracted the ſiege, and ſpun the war out to
: length. At laſt the animoſity of the king and nobles
ſo high, that the latter choſe prince *Lubomirski* for their
ral, and determined to decide the difference by the ſword.
as alledged, that the *German* levies were introduced to
oy the liberties of the republic, and not to recover her
ories. Forces were raiſed on both ſides, and the repub-
w her own members ready to deſtroy her exiſtence. A
: enſued, the royal party was defeated, and the con-
rs threw themſelves at the king's feet, to deſire he would A. D.
e peace to his ſubjects, upon ſuch conditions as ſhould 1668.
r their privileges ſecure. Their ſubmiſſion, however,
nly a veil drawn over their ambition, in order to render
cauſe ſtill more popular, and engage the king to diſmiſs
erman levies. *Caſimir* ſuſpected as much; but he could
void ſending home the levies, without incurring the ha-
f all his ſubjects, and the odious name of tyrant. No
r had he weakened himſelf by this compliance, than the
ıtented party threw off the maſk, loſt all reſpect for the
perſon of the king, and raiſed ſo many vexations in
y, that he reſigned the crown in diſguſt, and retired the Caſimir
ollowing to *France*, where he died about five years after. *reſigns the*
: his abdication he aſſembled a diet at *Leopold*, to deli- *crown.*
on meaſures for paying off the long arrears due to the
; and to effect this, it was thought neceſſary to call in
e gold and ſilver of the kingdom to be recoined. This
ient being found inſufficient, the ſtates reſolved upon an
rdinary coinage of copper, which was raiſed likewiſe to
: its intrinſic value. It is affirmed, that *Caſimir* had his
deſigns at the time in this augmentation of the valüe of
: coin, with which he paid the army, remitting the gold
ver privately to *France*, in order to ſecure him a com-
y in his retirement. Yet it is probable, that the diſ-
ıted were wholly the authors of theſe calumnies, in or-
vindicate their own conduct. Certain it is, that they *Defence of*
forgave the king's averſion to the *Coſſack* war, which Caſimir's
be deemed the remote cauſe of their rebellion, and of *conduct.*
e aſperſions thrown upon the character of a prince,
ıad ſhewn himſelf mild, affable, humane, and gene-
ı the beginning of his government, though almoſt al-
ınfortunate. The complaints made againſt the aug-
ion of the coin, aroſe rather from ſpleen and prejudice
om reaſon. Whatever inconveniences ſuch a meaſure
produce in a commercial kingdom, under the neceſſity

of ſupporting public credit with reſpect to the neighbouring ſtates, it could have none in *Poland*, where the whole induſtry of the nation was confined to itſelf, and all the trade only between one ſubject and another. Here raiſing the value was no more than eſtabliſhing a bank, to render money more plentiful, without at all diminiſhing the credit of the people with other powers, with whom they had no intercourſe or connection. So far were theſe prejudices carried, that the *Poles* accuſe *Caſimir* of having favoured the rebellion of the *Coſſacks*, merely to impoveriſh the nobility, and humble a ſet of men whom he regarded as ſpies upon the royal conduct[a]. They go ſo far as to affirm, that he even invited the *Coſſack* generals to invade *Poland*, as, they ſay, appears unqueſtionably from a letter of the king's to *Kzmielniski*, that was intercepted; but we have no authentic proofs that ſuch a letter ever exiſted, notwithſtanding Dr. *Connor* relates it as a point beyond all diſpute. Nor did his enemies fail to upbraid his abdication as either cowardly or treacherous, without reflecting that ſome of the greateſt princes had done the ſame upon trifling diſguſts, while *Caſimir* was almoſt driven to this extremity.

"WHY, ſays *Caſimir Zawardski*, in his Secret Hiſtory, "did *John-Caſimir* renounce the ſceptre which he had ſo earneſtly ſolicited? All *Poland* ſtood amazed at a meaſure "which ſeemed to point out the extinction of her liberties. "It looked as if the king had foreſeen the fall of the *Poliſh* "empire, and retired, leſt he ſhould be overwhelmed in its "ruins. This diſhonourable fear was thought to be the "cauſe of his retreat, at a time when he was not only in a "condition to ſupport the cares of the government, but to "enjoy his pleaſures. It ſeemed as if he regarded his ſubjects as his enemies, and that he fled like a conquered "prince driven out of his dominions[b]."

THE truth is, *Caſimir* had great reaſon to look upon his ſubjects as enemies. They were in open arms againſt him, while his prerogative was too limited to admit of his making any conſiderable reſiſtance. His abdication is a proof of his ſentiment, inſtead of being a reflection on his courage: it evinced, that he put no value on the dignity of ſovereign of a people whom he deſpiſed. This much we thought neceſſary, in defence of the character of a prince, who has been egregiouſly traduced and miſrepreſented by all the hiſtorians, who ſeem to have copied each other, without attending to facts, and the particulars of *Caſimir*'s con-

[a] CONNOR, lib. iii. vol. j. [b] P. 78, edit. quart.

duct;

duct; the only true method of catching the features of the mind (A).

CASIMIR's reſignation involved the nation in freſh ſcenes of diſcord and confuſion. The nobility took up arms, and came in numerous ſquadrons into the field of election. This they intended as a precaution againſt intrigue and caballing: it produced the contrary effect, and had almoſt proved fatal to themſelves and the republic. Borne away by the torrent of caprice and paſſion, they ſeparated into factions, drew their ſwords againſt each other, againſt the ſenate, and chief lords, and pointed thoſe arms at the vitals of the ſtate which they had taken up in defence of her privileges, and the freedom of their own ſuffrages. The day for opening the general diet was fixed for the ſecond of *May* by the primate archbiſhop of *Gneſna*; but the inter-regnum was not diſturbed, like the former, by religious parties, the late king having taken ſuch meaſures as effectually ſuppreſſed Socinianiſm, and inſpired the other ſects with terror [a]. Four candidates appeared for the crown of *Poland*. The firſt was the eldeſt ſon of the czar of *Muſcovy*, who had been educated in the *Poliſh* dominions, ſpoke the language, and imitated the manners of the country, which were ſtrong arguments in his favour; though the czar had ſtill more powerful in reſerve. An army of eighty thouſand men waited for the anſwer of the diet on the frontiers, ready to break in upon the territories of the republic, ſhould the prince be rejected. The grand duke beſides promiſed, that his ſon ſhould embrace the *Roman* Catholic religion; that he ſhould publicly renounce his claim to the diadem of *Muſcovy*; that *Kiow*, and all the places conquered from *Poland*, ſhould be reſtored; and that four millions ſhould be paid to the treaſury of the republic, to diſcharge the arrears of the army. Theſe were exceedingly advantageous propoſals; but they were accompanied with menaces that rendered them diſagreeable, and excited the reſentment of the whole *Poliſh* nation. Even the czar's offer of ſupporting the republic with an army of forty thouſand men was conſtrued

A. D. 1669.

Candidates for the crown of Poland.

[a] Vide Sect. I. of this volume.

(A) It is uſual to compliment the memories of bad princes with the moſt pompous and fulſom praiſes on their monuments: the fine *Latin* inſcription wrote by father *Deſault*, for the ſtately monument erected to *Caſimir* in the abbey of *St. Germain*'s, contains nothing more than a catalogue of the virtues which this prince actually poſſeſſed (1).

(1) *Vide Connor, tom. i. lib. iii.*

into

into a reflection on her weakneſs, as if ſhe was unable to defend her own frontiers, and repel the attacks of her enemies. However, as the *Poles* were not able to reſiſt the weight of ſo prodigious an army as the czar had aſſembled on the frontiers, they choſe to act with caution, and not give umbrage to the court of *Muſcovy* unneceſſarily. With this view they diſſembled their intentions; and *Pack*, high chancellor of *Lithuania*, was ordered to aſſure the czar of the good-will and eſteem of the *Poles* for his ſon, and their deſign of raiſing him to the throne, provided they could have ſecurity that he was ſincere in his renunciation of the *Greek* faith. It was the buſineſs of the czar immediately to remove this difficulty; to effect which he procured a declaration of the patriarch and clergy of *Muſcovy*, teſtifying, that as the intention of the young prince, in offering himſelf a candidate for the crown of *Poland*, was only to ſtrengthen Chriſtianity againſt the common enemy, the *Turk*, he might lawfully conform to the *Latin* church: ſo eaſily do the clergy ſuggeſt arguments to palliate ambition. The *Poles*, however, who wanted only to gain time, found excuſes for not immediately declaring in favour of the *Muſcovite*, and amuſed him with ſpecious counterfeit appearances.

THE other candidates were the prince of *Condé*, the duke of *Newburgh*, and prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*; each of whom was ſupported by his particular faction. Not only the primate-archbiſhop and general *Sobieski* were thought to favour the *Condé* intereſt, but *Oberski*, ſtaroſta of *Warſaw*, a nobleman of great power and influence, declared openly in his behalf, and ſet to work every engine of intrigue to carry his election. The party was extremely ſanguine; and indeed the general opinion determined the diſpute for the prince of *Condé*, whoſe friends were known to be powerful, and ſuppoſed to be the moſt numerous. However, the ſpirit of the oppoſite factions changed the face of affairs in a manner very unexpected. The ſtandard-bearer of the palatinate of *Sandomir*, obtaining leave to ſpeak in the aſſembly, roſe up, and pronounced a bitter invective againſt *Oberski*, whom he charged with corruption, and betraying the liberty of his country. He even produced letters in confirmation of his allegation, whereby it appeared that the archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and divers lords, who were now ſtiled the infamous tools of *French* policy, had held private meetings, and caballed in favour of the prince of *Condé*; and that the ſenate propoſed, in direct violation of the conſtitution, to determine the election, without regard to the inferior departments of the diet. Such proofs of corruption were no ſooner exhibited than the whole aſſembly was fired with indigna-

indignation. Every member drew his sword, and with loud menaces demanded the trial of *Oberski*, who, terrified at this sudden resolution, endeavoured to make his escape; but was forcibly detained, and obliged to swear that he would renounce the interest of the prince of *Conti*, and regard him as incapable of wearing the crown, because he had sought it by methods deemed unconstitutional. As the primate was likewise suspected of an attachment to the same party, he was required to pronounce, in a public manner, the exclusion of the prince of *Condé*. This, it was imagined, would be the most adequate punishment of a prelate, who, though the guardian of the republic during an inter-regnum, had, in the grossest manner, violated her fundamental laws. However, the ecclesiastic proved too cunning for his adversaries, and eluded the snare, by declaring, that if the nobility expected a decision of the whole senate, they must be assembled for that purpose; but if they asked only for his particular sentiment, he was ready to proclaim that person sovereign who should have the suffrages of the whole nation. This opinion he supported by the sentiments of some other spiritual lords, and the influence of the palatines of *Kiow*, *Culm*, and *Pomerania*, together with the interest of the grand marechal, who declared aloud, that he would quit his office, if the nobility assumed to themselves the right to proscribe so tumultuously a candidate of so high birth and merit as the prince of *Condé*. Upon this warm debates arose, and it was with difficulty the parties were restrained from coming to blows. The inferior order of gentry became extremely violent, and, notwithstanding the resolution of the great lords, compelled the archbishop, by their clamours and menaces, to exclude the prince in these words: "I exclude the prince of *Condé* then, since they will have it "so [a]." Some writers alledge, that in passing this judgment he omitted the prince's name; but it is probable that the lower department was not to be deceived by so pitiful a subterfuge, and that the archbishop was too well acquainted with their vehemence, and the consequences of his tergiversation, to have recourse to so flimsy a shift. Certain it is, that he was actually compelled to desert the prince, whose faction could never again raise its head.

WILLIAM duke of *Newburg* was supported by the court of *Vienna*, and publicly recommended by the imperial ambassador, though it was imagined he had instructions privately to espouse the duke of *Lorraine*. The *French* too, perceiving they could not carry their point for the prince of

[a] VOLT. Siec. tom. i. BARRE Hist. Emp. tom. ix. 106.

Condé, cloſed in with the *Newburg* party, and gave that prince a very probable chance for ſucceſs. The king of *England* recommended him by letter, and the *Brandenburg* ambaſſador ſpoke highly in his praiſe, and exerted all his intereſt in his favour. The duke himſelf promiſed every thing; but as the aſſembly knew that the performance exceeded his abilities, all his profeſſions paſſed for mere compliments. The diet indeed acknowledged his merit; but he was a *German*, and that alone was ſufficient to render him obnoxious to the nation; ſo that the emperor's recommendation, as it was not ſupported with money, was rather a prejudice to the candidate, eſpecially as the intrigues of the court of *Vienna* were well known to be exerted in favour of the duke of *Lorraine*, who emptied his treaſures with liberality promoting his ſon's claim. This weighed ſtrongly with the needy avaricious *Poles*; they filled the duke with hope, and repaid his bounty by the moſt generous promiſes. For a long time his party was conſidered as the moſt powerful; but as ſoon as the electors obſerved that he relaxed in his private donations, their ardor ſuddenly cooled, his party dwindled, and was ſoon ſupplanted by a faction of the *Piaſtes*, which ſpun out the ſeſſion of the diet to an intolerable length, exhauſted the patience of the nobility, and excited loud complaints of the conduct of the ſenate, as if their intrigues had been the occaſion [c].

Confuſion in the diet.

NOTHING but tumult and confuſion enſued. The rage of the multitude broke out againſt the chief lords, who narrowly eſcaped being torn in pieces, becauſe they were ſuppoſed deſirous of infringing the rights of the diet, and engroſſing the whole power. The guards at the doors diſcharged their muſquets into the place of election, and the ſhot fell among the members of the higher order, the biſhops and palatines. The ſoldiers were intirely under the influence of the mob, who are always ready to inſult their ſuperiors. Two lords were ſlain, ſome were wounded, and ſeveral hid themſelves under the benches, or made their eſcape, and were purſued by the ſeditious, who loaded them with reproaches and the groſſeſt abuſe. In a word, the ſenate was driven out of the *ſzopa* or aſſembly-houſe, and the conſtitution violated in a manner quite unprecedented. The ſtreets were filled with diſorder, and ſcarce a night paſſed without bloodſhed and murder. All the endeavours of the grand-marechal to appeaſe the multitude was vain. All was a ſcene of anarchy, and every thing threatened the diſſolution of the

[c] HARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii.

govern-

government; when *Opalinski*, palatine of *Kaliſh*, found means to aſſemble the gentry, whom he addreſſed with ſo much elocution and force of argument, as ſoon aſſwaged their paſſions, and removed their prejudices. "To what pur-" poſe, ſaid he, do we cut each others throats for princes " with whom we have no acquaintance or connection? " Why ſhed the blood of our countrymen to ſerve the am-" bition and promote the intrigues of foreigners? Will any " of theſe princes, after their election, acknowledge their " obligations to the ſuffragans, or at all diſtinguiſh thoſe who " have hazarded their lives, and ſpent their fortunes, in ele-" vating them to the throne? No, gratitude is not the vir-" tue of ſovereigns; policy might dictate that the other " faction ſhould be preferred merely for the ſake of eſtabliſh-" ing unanimity. Let us therefore conſider our true intereſt, " and without polluting our hands in the blood of our coun-" trymen, chuſe from among them a perſon worthy to com-" mand over the whole nation, who, by the ties of nature " and intereſt, will be careful of their rights and privileges. " Are there none of the members of the republic worthy " of being raiſed to the ſupreme dignity? Can we, with-" out acknowledging our own demerit, ſeek for kings among " foreigners, which is in other words telling the whole world " that *Poland* has not a ſubject who deſerves being raiſed to " a throne."

THIS oration, and particularly the mentioning a *Piaſto*, operated powerfully on the multitude; but there were ſome who adhered to the foreign princes, found their intereſt in keeping up the ball of contention, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the palatine, who, however, reſolutely maintained his point, and, attended by the palatine of *Poſnania*, ſet out for the reſidence of *Michael Coribut Wieſnowiski*, who had been nominated by about twenty palatines and great lords. To this choice the *Lithuanians* made the chief oppoſition; but one of their deputies being cut in pieces, they were terrified with the violence of the *Poles*, and obliged to conſent to the proclamation of the elected prince.

IT was matter of ſurprize to ſee a perſon raiſed to the throne, who claimed no pretenſions on account of merit, and was contemptible for his poverty. He was indeed collaterally deſcended from the houſe of *Jagello*, but had been reduced to great diſtreſs by the loſſes which his father ſuſtained in the war with the *Coſſacks*. The truth is, none of the palatines had any deſign of elevating him to the ſupreme dignity; they nominated him merely to try how the deputies were diſpoſed towards a native. Several palatines aſpired

at

at the crown; but the diet unexpectedly ſhewed ſuch an inclination for a *Piaſto*, that *Wieſnowiski* being once nominated, his election followed of courſe. It was found impoſſible to turn the tide of popular humour to another channel; and the nobility were obliged to reſt ſatisfied with the thoughts they had a ſimple eaſy perſon for their king, who would be wholly guided by their advice.

MICHAEL CORIBUT WIESNOWISKI.

A. D. 1670. 17 Sept. Michael Coribut Wieſnowiski *elected king of* Poland.

As to *Wieſnowiski*, he was in the utmoſt amazement at his good fortune, and his aſtoniſhment encreaſed when he was ſeated by force on a throne erected in the midſt of the aſſembly; at the offer made to him of the crown, tears burſt from his eyes, he declared his incapacity, and intreated that he ſhould not be made the ſport of the nation. At laſt, however, he was forced to acquieſce in the determination of the people; and thus the king and his ſubjects remained under equal aſtoniſhment at the election. The primate indeed refuſed to crown the new king, as had been cuſtomary, and retired to his caſtle at *Lowitz*; but the palatine of *Kaliſh* prevailed on the ſenate to uſe their influence with the prelate, and the minor nobility threatened him in ſuch high terms, that he found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of ſanctifying meaſures which he could not approve, and of placing the crown on the head of a prince whom he deſpiſed.

SOON after his coronation, *Wieſnowiski* was married to *Eleonora* of *Auſtria*, daughter to the emperor *Ferdinand*, and ſiſter to *Leopold*, notwithſtanding he had ſerved the latter in quality of gentleman of the bed-chamber. This alliance was attended with its inconveniences. The *Poles* apprehended that the king was deſirous of retrenching their privileges, and extending his own prerogatives, with the aſſiſtance of the houſe of *Auſtria*. A deſign likewiſe, it was reported, had been formed by the queen of rendering the crown hereditary; but theſe jealouſies were ſoon diſſipated by the king's conduct, and his ready compliance with all the demands of his ſubjects.

War with the Turks *and* Coſſacks.

Yet another ſtorm threatened *Poland*, which all *Wieſnowiski*'s good nature could not divert, nor his abilities reſiſt. The czar of *Muſcovy*, incenſed at his ſon's diſappointment, and the treacherous conduct of the *Poliſh* deputies, who had long flattered his hope, and ſoothed him with promiſes, determined upon revenge; and, not ſatisfied with reviving the diſcontent of the *Coſſacks*, entered into an alliance with the *Porte*, in which it was ſtipulated, that the *Ukraine* ſhould be the price of the ſultan's aſſiſtance. The czar indeed was

A. D. 1671.

to

by the ſovereignty; but *Turkiſh* garriſons were to be iced into all the fortreſſes. As to the *Coſſacks*, they extremely well diſpoſed to renew thoſe diſturbances, never failed of producing plunder. Beſides, *Dorozen-* eir new general, was ambitious of procuring an inde- it principality, of which himſelf ſhould be head. With ew he joined the *Tartars* ſent by the vizier *Cupruli*, ige the *Poliſh* frontiers. The united barbarians accord- dvanced into *Podolia*, and laid ſiege to the fortreſs of *iec*, and though it was defended by ſtrong walls, re- it in the ſpace of ten days, the garriſon not being pro- with the neceſſaries for ſuſtaining a ſiege. Nothing equal the conſternation of the whole kingdom when ws arrived that *Kaminiec* had ſurrendered, although oviſion had been made for its ſecurity. The people to blame the ſenate, and they removed the odium from lves by laying it upon the ſovereign, though the go- ent of the prince was too ſhort to be ſufficiently ac- ed with the ſtate of the garriſons, or indeed of any civil or military. Recrimination took place of ac- nd though the country was intirely open, and nothing ied to oppoſe the enemy, no ſteps were taken to raiſe an which obliged the king to purchaſe a ſhameful peace, expence of *Podolia*, a province ceded to the *Coſſacks*; tribute of twenty-two thouſand ducats yearly to the [a] (A).

L *Poland* cried out againſt this peace as ignominious; is probable that king *Michael* would have obſerved it uſly, had the enemy performed their obligations; but l of retiring, they advanced and laid ſiege to *Leopold*, ſome hiſtorians alledge happened in the preceding as the reader will obſerve in the margin. This city

[a] ARTNOCH, lib. i. cap. ii. FONT. pag. 305. PUFFEND. lib. iv. CONNOR, l. iii. lib. i.

Dr. *Connor* alledges, that / was beſieged, and *Ka-* taken, through the trea- of *John-Sobieski*, crown- l and grand-marechal, ther lords, who wanted ng the government into ipt. As ſoon as they had d the weak prince to the ity of making peace upon any terms, they then exclaimed againſt it as inglorious, and, by the diſturbance they made, got the conduct of affairs into their own hands, inſiſted upon a breach of the convention, and by this means renewed the war, which terminated ſo fortunately for the *Poles*, and glorioufly for *Sobieski*. (1).

(1) *Connor, lib.* iii. *vol.* i. *pag.* 146, 147.

was ſo obſtinately defended by *Lenski*, a colonel of dragoons, with no more than fifteen hundred men, that the *Turks* were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, upon intelligence of the approach of the *Poliſh* army. *Sobieski* was advancing to *Kaminiec*, to lay ſiege to that fortreſs; but it was neceſſary firſt to diſlodge the *Turkiſh* army at *Choczin*, to prevent the baſhaw's diſturbing his operations in cutting off his retreat. But this was an enterprize ſcarcely to be attempted with his ſlender forces, which did not amount to thirty thouſand fighting men. The *Turkiſh* army exceeded three hundred thouſand men, including the troops of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*; the baſhaw was ſo certain of victory, that he had already forged chains for the king and court, and ſent word to the ſultan, that before the end of the campaign he would fix the *Othoman* ſtandards on the walls of *Cracow*. It is poſſible he might have fulfilled his boaſting, had not the violence of his temper occaſioned the deſertion of the *Walachians* and *Moldavians*. The ſultan, incenſed to ſee that theſe auxiliaries were badly provided for taking the field, ſtruck the vaivode of *Moldavia* in a paſſion, and ſo enraged that chief, that he vowed revenge, and engaged his brother vaivode of *Walachia* in his quarrel. They intimated their deſign to *Sobieski*, invited him to attack the *Turkiſh* camp, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with all their forces. The *Pole* ſeized the opportunity, preſented himſelf before the *Turkiſh* intrenchments, was admitted and joined by the vaivods, who now begun an obſtinate engagement with the baſhaw. For three days the *Turk* maintained his ground, and renewed the engagement by intervals: at laſt the ſkill and fortune of *Sobieski*, as well as the ſuperior valour of the *Poles* prevailed; a complete victory was obtained, terrible ſlaughter made, a multitude of priſoners were taken, and of the whole *Turkiſh* army, not more than fifteen thouſand were ſuffered to make their eſcape. In a word, the defeat was complete, and had the *Poliſh* general profited by his ſucceſs, the ſultan would have been forced to give up the ſhameful tribute, and the *Coſſacks* to cede *Podolia*. The truth is, *Sobieski* would have purſued the blow, but the *noſpolite* refuſed to continue in the field longer than they were required by the laws of their country. They accordingly diſbanded themſelves, returned home, and ſuffered the king to make peace with the enemy on the beſt terms he could procure. Some aſcribe their conduct to the intrigues of the nobility; others to the policy of *Sobieski*; but circumſtances prove, that they were actuated by no other motive than an attachment to miſtaken liberty, which admitted that they ſhould not bear arms beyond a certain number of weeks, and that they

The Turks *defeated by* John Sobieski.

they ſhould not march beyond a certain number of leagues into an enemy's country (A). Happily for the memory of *Wieſnewiski* he died before advice of the conduct of the army was received at court, but little eſteemed or regretted by his ſubjects, who regarded him as a good-natured ſimple monarch. *King dies.*

Now opened a new ſcene of corruption, intrigue, and faction, when every deputy endeavoured to turn his vote to the beſt advantage, and if poſſible to diſpoſe of it to each of the candidates for the crown. Some of the princes who had ſtood at the laſt election renewed their claims, and were oppoſed by the elector of *Brandenburg*, prince *George* of *Denmark*, the prince of *Tranſylvania*, and at laſt by a prince of the houſe of *Bourbon*, whoſe name was kept ſecret. *Sobieski* eſpouſed the intereſt of this latter candidate, whence it was afterwards ſuppoſed that he was really the perſon himſelf. On the twentieth day of *April* the diet opened, and the czar of *Muſcovy*, not diſcouraged by his late diſappointment, offered his ſecond ſon, a youth not fourteen years of age, but with leſs haughtineſs than he expreſſed on the former occaſion. It was now a requeſt accompanied by preſents, and not a demand inſolently enforced by menaces, and ſupported by an army; however, little regard was paid to it, though the czar's ambaſſador was treated with the civility and reſpect due to the repreſentative of ſo powerful a monarch. As to the elector of *Brandenburg*, he promiſed every thing in the name of the electoral prince, who was immediately to embrace the *Romiſh* religion, in caſe his claim was admitted; but the religion in which he had been bred, and his country, were inſuperable obſtacles to his ſucceſs. The *Poles* apprehended, that a converſion, founded on ambition, would have but little ſincerity; they deteſted the thoughts of a *German* king, and ſoon gave the elector to underſtand that his endeavours would be fruitleſs; yet were there a few who flattered his hope, the better to drain his treaſures, though they found they had to do with a cautious frugal prince. The king of *Denmark* made *Diet of election.* A. D. 1674.

(A) It muſt be obſerved, that the vaivode of *Tranſylvania* now likewiſe offered himſelf a candidate for the *Poliſh* crown, and flattered the people with magnificent promiſes which he had not the power to execute. He propoſed to unite his principality to the republic, and to maintain an army of fifteen thouſand *Tranſilvanians* for the ſervice of the kingdom, whenever the ſtate ſhould happen to be at war with the *Turks*; but theſe were regarded as mere baits to catch the credulous, and promote his own deſigns.

vaſt offers for his brother: he offered to pay three millions into the treaſury, to maintain ſix thouſand horſe, and furniſh a fleet when required for the uſe of the republic; but he was traverſed by a powerful *Swediſh* faction, and his party was ſoon abſorbed in the ſuperior intereſts of the duke of *Newburg* and *Charles* prince of *Lorraine*, who had been competitors at the preceding election (B). The duke now made the ſame offers for his ſon which he had lately done for himſelf, and at the ſame time propoſed that the prince ſhould marry the queen-dowager. The queen however attached herſelf to the intereſt of the houſe of *Lorraine*; ſhe loved prince *Charles*, and ſupported his intereſt at the expence of her reputation and the crown jewels, which ſhe pawned to purchaſe votes. She had engaged the *Lithuanians* in her party, and they had determined that no prince ſhould be elected, who was not ſingle and at liberty to marry the queen-dowager. *Pacz*, the general and grand-marechal of the dutchy, was the author of this reſolution, in order to exclude *Sobieski*, who was ſuſpected of harbouring ambitious deſigns; but it had nearly ruined the cauſe of the prince of *Lorraine* likewiſe. A report was ſpread that he was privately married to the empreſs-dowager; jealouſy had almoſt robbed him of the queen's countenance; but he found means to refute the allegation, and convince the queen of his reſpect and affections. The *Lithuanians* too were confirmed in the intereſt which they had almoſt deſerted, as ſoon as the unfavourable rumours were diſſipated. Beſides the queen's influence, and the attachment of the whole dutchy of *Lithuania*, the prince of *Lorraine* had a party in *Poland*, a great ſhare of perſonal merit, and an army on the frontiers of *Sileſia*, to animate his faction, whence he might be conſidered as the moſt formidable of the candidates; and indeed the duke of *Newburg*'s party began to ſink in the *Piaſto* intereſt, which every day grew more conſiderable, though it was at firſt confounded intirely with the *French* intereſt, as *Sobieski* had propoſed a prince of that country, without giving any direct intimations of his own intentions. Covered with the laurels gathered in the expedition againſt the *Turks*, he joined popularity to power, and

(B) It is poſſible that *Sobieski* might have received intelligence of the king's illneſs; and his ſudden arrival at court gave birth to ſome ſuſpicions that king *Michael* was poiſoned, not without the general's privity. This however is no more than ſuſpicion, which, though vague and ſlight, time has not been able to efface (1).

(1) *La Vie de Sobieski, pag.* 5.

it his credit was ſufficient to make a king without conſult-
nether or not he might prove agreeable to the nation.
crown army, of which he was general, was at his de-
; he drew the character of a prince, concealed his
and thereby only left room to conjecture that himſelf
ie perſon he had delineated (C). The expectation of
g ſuch a hero upon the throne encreaſed the *Piaſto* fac-
who, joining with the army, became powerful enough
r down all oppoſition, though *Pacz*, the rival in glory
ieski, might be conſidered as a very formidable oppo-
No election could be legitimate without the conſent
Lithuanians, and their reſiſtance might produce a ci-
ır. *Pacz* and his party ſwore to remain true to the
-dowager and *Charles*, while the ſenate declared in fa-
f the duke of *Newburg*, and reſolved to compel the
to marry the prince his ſon, as ſoon as he had been
d to the ſupreme power, without conſulting her af-
ıs. They were incenſed at the obſtinacy of this princeſs
ıe *Lithuanians*; and, by carrying their animoſities ſo
proved of the utmoſt ſervice to the cauſe of *Sobieski*,
trengthened himſelf by the diviſions, heats, and jea-
of the other parties [a].

THERTO *Sobieski* had concealed his deſigns, and claimed
own in the name of a foreign prince. Now he ap-
at the diet with a ſplendid and numerous retinue,
was rivalled by that of the grand-marechal and gene-
Lithuania. The parties of both indeed were much too
ous to aſſiſt at a free election; but *Sobieski* was popu-
ıd his extraordinary ſervices pleaded an indulgence;
: other hand, common juſtice required that the ſame
ſhould be allowed the *Lithuanian*. The two chiefs
ong been rivals in fame, now they ſtrove for power;
ıat *Pacz* aſpired at the crown, but he wanted only to
his equality by diſappointing the views of *Sobieski*. It
ıought they muſt have come to blows, and that the
t would be decided by the ſword, but circumſtances fell
herways. *Sapieha*, grand-treaſurer of *Lithuania*, a no-

[a] CONNOR, lib. iv. tom. i. FONT. cap. v.

The features of the pic-
rawn by *Sobieski* ſtrongly
ıled thoſe of the famous
: of *Condé*, who is ſaid to
aſpired at the crown, tho' his pride would not ſuffer that his name ſhould be mentioned before there was a certainty of ſucceſs (1).

(1) *Vid. la Vie, pag.* 359.

bleman celebrated for his wiſdom and moderation, tempered the ardor of *Pacz*; and the friends of *Sobieski* exerted themſelves in the ſame friendly office, by which means the effuſion of blood was prevented, which muſt neceſſarily have followed the violent clamours of the *Lithuanians* againſt the *Piaſtes*, and their perſonal abuſe of *John Sobieski*. At laſt the day arrived when the foreign ambaſſadors were to appear in the aſſembly, to ſet forth their claims, and nominate the perſons they eſpouſed. The pope's nuncio was firſt called in, and he in the name of the holy ſee ſtrongly recommended it to the diet to chuſe a prince bred in the Catholic religion, and attached to the true faith and the head of the church. He avoided giving the preference to any of the Catholic candidates. The imperial ambaſſador recommended the prince of *Lorraine*; and the *French* miniſter, perceiving that a prince of his own nation ſtood no chance of ſucceeding, cloſed in with the views of the duke of *Newburg*, and nominated the young prince of that family. There was room to apprehend at leaſt a double, if not a triple election, had not ſome of the more prudent members of the republic interpoſed their influence, and by inſtancing the fatal conſequences of the double election of *Batori* and *Sigiſmund*, enforced by example the neceſſity of unanimity; at the leaſt, a ſuſpenſion of their reſolutions, until the heat of faction was ſomewhat abated. This occaſioned a prolongation of the ſeſſion to the nineteenth day of *May*; and in the mean time Don *Renquellos* arrived from *Spain*, without aſſuming the character of ambaſſador, to ſupport the prince of *Lorraine*. The duke of *Newburg*'s party, finding their own intereſt on the decline, had ſome thoughts of joining the prince of *Lorraine*, the queen, and the *Lithuanians*, in order to oppoſe the elevation of *Sobieski*; had they purſued this reſolution the conſequence might have been dreadful. A double return would have enſued, and of courſe a war muſt have enſued between the *Poles* and the *Lithuanians*, aſſiſted by the army kept hovering on the *Sileſian* frontiers by the duke of *Lorraine*. However, the good fortune of the republic and *Sobieski* prevailed after a violent ſtruggle, and the whole is attributed to the eloquence, influence, and good ſenſe of the palatine of *Ruſſia*, who roſe up in the aſſembly and addreſſed the deputies in the following manner. "Friends and countrymen, you are "all ſenſible of the dangers with which the republic is threat-"ned, in conſequence of your diſputes. You are upon the "eve of a civil war, the moſt dreadful of all calamities, "and yet what are the objects of your diſſenſions. Are you "to butcher and maſſacre each other on account of two ſo-"reign

" reign princes, and to gratify the caprice and irregular paſ-
" ſions of a dowager queen, who has diſgraced her dignity
" and the republic, by ſelling the crown jewels to corrupt
" the people, and gain the votes in favour of the duke of
" *Lorraine*; a prince of whom ſhe is paſſionately enamoured,
" without reflecting on what is due to her late royal huſband,
" to decency, and the commonwealth. On the other hand,
" we ſee a *German* prince, ſupported by a conſiderable party
" among you, though his country alone ought to be a ſuffi-
" cient reaſon for ſetting aſide his pretenſions. Thus we
" ſacrifice our happineſs, and endanger our lives and liber-
" ties for the ſake of princes of whom we know nothing
" but from their dependents and flatterers. Be it our care
" therefore to drop all factions, to heal the wounds of party,
" and to avoid diviſions for ſo frivolous cauſes, which may
" be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to the repub-
" lic. Let both competitors be rejected, as they are of im-
" portance only to us by the factions which they have had
" the addreſs to form, and henceforward let us be directed
" by the true intereſt of *Poland*, that has been ſo ſhamefully
" neglected in all our late elections. Let this be the guide
" to our ſuffrages, and you may depend that Providence will
" reward the piety of the intention, by directing us to a
" monarch, who may retrieve the antient glory of the re-
" public, and efface the ignominious ſtains contracted in
" the late reign, all in conſequence of our late diſcord.
" What ſort of character does reaſon dictate we ſhould ele-
" vate to the throne at this juncture? It is that of a hero,
" who has courage to retrieve the power, and conduct to
" reſtore the happineſs of *Poland*, who can render us for-
" midable in war and bleſſed in peace, whoſe magnanimity,
" equity, and valour, ſhall reflect honour on our choice, and
" render himſelf equally eſteemed and reſpected. Muſt we
" look for ſuch a monarch beyond the tracts of our repub-
" lic? We have among ourſelves a great man, who deſerves
" to be a ruler of the people. He is known to you all;
" you have repeatedly admired his courage and prudence,
" and you lately beheld him returning from the field of *Mars*
" covered with laurels, after having retrieved the honour of
" his country, and eſtabliſhed her intereſt. The conquered
" *Turks*, *Coſſacks*, and *Tartars*, confeſs his merit, and ſtrongly
" ſollicit your favour. The ſecurity of your frontiers againſt
" your enemies, the tranquillity enjoyed in the heart of the
" kingdom, and the reduction of the ſtrong fortreſs of
" *Choczin*, theſe are the claims which ſhould determine
" your voices, and not the recommendation of diſtant ſtates,

" who pay no regard to your felicity. From theſe circum-
" ſtances you perceive that I allude to *John Sobieski*, to
" whom you are equally bound by the ties of gratitude and
" intereſt, can you refuſe him the government of a kingdom
" which he has reſcued out of the jaws of deſtruction ?"

SOBIESKI was no ſooner nominated than all his party immediately gave him their ſuffrages. All the palatinates on the *Ruſſian* frontier, as well as that of *Cracow*, declared in his favour, and their example was followed by the reſt of *Poland*, and great part of *Lithuania*, influenced by the prince *Radzivil*, vice-chancellor of that dutchy. In a word, the whole diet, except the ſtaunch adherents of *Pacz*, yielded to the ſtream of popularity, through fear, inclination, or a deſire of promoting themſelves in the favour of a perſonage who it was obvious muſt ſoon wear the diadem. Still however the bulk of the *Lithuanians*, the queen-dowager, and *Pacz*, oppoſed the election, and entered proteſts; but finding reſiſtance equally vain and dangerous, they ſubmitted and joined in proclaiming *John Sobieski*.

JOHN SOBIESKI.

John Sobieski *elected king of* Poland.

THE good fortune of this prince was in a great meaſure aſcribed to the *French* ambaſſador, but without reaſon; he owed it to his valour, popularity, addreſs, and real merit. M. *Fourbin de Janſon* biſhop of *Marſeilles*, aſſiſted indeed in his promotion. His orders were at any rate to exclude the prince of *Lorraine*, at that time no favourite with the court of *France*; and, in obedience to his inſtructions, he attached himſelf to the duke of *Newburg*'s faction, until he found it upon the decline, when he very wiſely deſerted a prince whom fortune had forſaken, and privately paid his court to *John Sobieski*, for which he was afterwards rewarded with the purple[a]: but it is certain, that *Sobieski* muſt have ſucceeded whatever meaſures the prelate had taken, though *French* writers have wreſted this affair into a compliment to their Grand Monarque, with that little regard to truth which is obvious in almoſt all their writers of memoirs and ſecret hiſtory (A).

JOHN

[a] Vie de Sobieski, pag. 23. FON. cap. v. CONNOR, tom. iv. lib. i.

(A) *John Sobieski* was a native of the province of *Poliſh-Pruſſia*, and the ſon of *James Sobieski*, caſtellan of *Cracow*, by a daughter of *Staniſlaus Zolkiewiski*, grand-general and chancellor of the crown of *Poland*. His father had gained the higheſt reputation both in the ſenate and the field. In 1621 he was

)*HN* no ſooner aſcended the throne than he exhibited ſtance of his generoſity, by voluntarily providing a main- ce, adequate to her dignity, to the queen-dowager, who o violently oppoſed his elevation. His ſoul was ſuperior : meanneſs of retaining the memory of injuries from a an, who was ſwayed by her paſſion for his rival. He ed her a revenue greater than any former dowager had ed, or the laws required; with liberty to reſide in any ſhe thought proper of the *Poliſh* dominions, *Cracow* and r fortified places on the frontiers of *Sileſia* excepted. ig obtained the conſent of the diet to theſe grants, he ordered the arrears due to the army to be paid out of his revenue, the treaſures of the republic being quite ex- ed: acts of public ſpirit, which greatly augmented his ation, raiſed his popularity, and infuſed confidence and in the minds of the people. After a variety of promo- civil and military, all of which gave univerſal ſatisfac- he intimated his inclination to proſecute the war with *urks*, and took upon himſelf the expence of maintaining nouſand infantry as long as the war continued; thereby ıraging the ſenators, nobility, and great officers, to emu- is example, and provide for the ſecurity of the republic. rdor for reſuming hoſtilities obliged him to defer his co- ion; and for the preſent he contented himſelf with the of ſovereign, and his former office of great general, ı he deſired the diet would confirm.

\VING determined upon hoſtilities, he formed a kind of with the czar of *Muſcovy*, which ſome writers call an ce, though it was properly no more than a convention; *War wi the* Turl *and* Coſ- facks.

mployed in an ambaſſy to *ntinople*, where, by his ad- he concluded a treaty of extremely advantageous e republic. To *John* his ıe gave the moſt liberal tion, having ſent him to 'e further improvement *Poland* could afford at politeſt courts of *Europe*. travelling through *Eng- France*, *Italy*, and *Ger-* and ſtudying the man- intereſts, military diſci- laws, policy, views, and ıs of the ſeveral ſtates thro' which he paſſed, *John* was di- ſtinguiſhed by king *Caſimir*, who honoured him firſt with a colo- nel's commiſſion, and ſoon pro- moted him to the rank of cap- tain of his guards. From this ſtation he advanced himſelf thro' the ſeveral civil and mi- litary degrees, until he was made grand-marechal in the room of *Lubomirſki*, and grand- general in the ſtead of *Poloski*, which offices he enjoyed at the time he obtained the late cele- brated victory over the *Turks* (1).

(1) *Vie de Jean Sobieſk. p.* 29, *& ſequent.*

whereby they mutually agreed to deſiſt from all hoſtilities againſt each other, while both parties were at war with the *Othoman* empire. Whatever haſte he made to levy forces, the *Turks* took the field before his army could be aſſembled. The ſenate and nobility had promiſed the king to furniſh him with ſixty thouſand men; however, when the troops came to be muſtered, they did not exceed ſixteen thouſand effective ſoldiers; with which *Sobieski* ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of oppoſing a *Turkiſh* army ten times his number, and flushed with the reduction of divers towns, and the intire poſſeſſion of the *Ukraine*. The *poſpolite* was ſummoned in the month of *June*: however, as this body of militia is compoſed wholly of the gentry of *Poland*, they frequently pay little regard to the orders of the ſovereign, and ſeldom meet at the time appointed by the decree. This was the caſe at preſent: though the king was exceedingly earneſt to give a check to the progreſs of the *Turks*, it was the month of *November* before he could aſſemble an army of thirty thouſand men.

By this time the grand vizier *Cupruli* had reduced *Choczin*, after a ſiege of eight days, and obliged the garriſon of *Deſtan* to ſurrender at diſcretion. He had likewiſe obliged the governor of *Human*, after vigorouſly beſieging the place for fifteen days, to enter upon a treaty of capitulation. The place had been reduced to the laſt extremity by famine and peſtilence; and not finding there was any proſpect of ſuccour, the governor had reſolved to ſurrender upon honourable conditions; but before they were ſigned the *Turks* ſprung a mine, which, blowing up a baſtion, opened ſo wide a breach, that an aſſault was ordered, the place ſtormed, and the whole garriſon put to the ſword. After theſe exploits, the vizier withdrew his army, entered into winter-quarters, and charged the cham of *Tartary* with the difficult task of oppoſing *Sobieski*, who was in full march towards the *Ukraine*, in order to diſpoſſeſs the Infidels, and puniſh the revolt of the *Coſſacks*. *John* no ſooner entered the province than a great number of places yielded to his impetuoſity. The capital of the province ſurrendered in a few days, after having for upwards of twenty years enjoyed a ſtate of independence. *Reſcow*, and moſt of the places inhabited by the *Coſſacks*, ſhared the ſame fate; and of all the *Ukraine*, only two towns of any conſiderable ſtrength remained to afford ſhelter to *Dorozenski*, the *Coſſack* general, who had a little before been planning ſchemes of ſovereignty. Theſe rapid ſucceſſes produced ſome overtures of peace from the *Turkiſh* court; but as *John* imagined they were only intended to ſtop his operations, he refuſed to liſten to the commiſſaries, and purſued the courſe of victory; to which the de-

defection of the *Lithuanians*, amounting to twelve thouſand men, put a ſudden ſtop. They complained of the rigour of the ſeaſon, which became altogether intolerable. *John* endeavoured to animate them by his own example; but his endeavours were vain: they withdrew from the army, and marched home, drawing after them above ten thouſand *Poles*, who pleaded an equal right with the *Lithuanians* to a relaxation from their fatigues. Juſt as this event fell out, he was preparing to lay ſiege to *Czebryn*; the conqueſt of which would have enſured the poſſeſſion of all the *Ukraine:* but now he was forced to reſt ſatisfied with putting garriſons in the towns that had ſubmitted, and exerting the moſt vigorous means of aſſembling a ſufficient army by the enſuing ſpring [c].

He is deſerted by the Lithuanians.

THE *Turks* had perfect intelligence of all that had been tranſacted in the *Poliſh* camp, and determined to profit by the opportunity afforded by the defection of the *Lithuanians*, and the diſcontents in *Poland*. With a prodigious army they took the field in the month of *April*, and laid ſiege to *Zbarras*, long before the *poſpolite* could be reaſſembled. The reduction of this place would open a way to the very heart of the kingdom, there being ſcarce any thing to oppoſe their march to the gates of the capital of *Poland*. *Sobieski* had with him indeed about ſix thouſand men, which ſerved him rather for a retinue than an army to repulſe the numerous forces of the enemy; and with this handful he performed every thing that could be expected from the union of valour and conduct, by harraſſing the *Turks*, cutting off their convoys, and obſtructing their advances by a thouſand impediments. *Zbarras*, beſides a ſmall regular garriſon, was likewiſe defended by five thouſand peaſants; who might have foiled all the attempts of the Infidels, had their patience under the inconveniences of a ſiege been equal to their courage; but they grew tired of being cooped up within ſo narrow a compaſs as the walls of a town, and revolted againſt their governor, M. *Deſauteuls*, a *French* gentleman in the *Poliſh* ſervice. He uſed all his endeavours to pacify them; promiſed they ſhould be rewarded in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner by the king; and finding that lenetives produced no effect, he had recourſe to violent means, and delivered over ſome of the mutineers to exemplary puniſhment. This ſerved only to render them quite outrageous: they aſſembled in a tumultuous manner round the governor's houſe, forced open his gates, ſeized upon his perſon, and threw him over the walls: an action which the *Turkiſh* baſhaw

A. D. 1675.

The Turks *take* Zbarras.

[c] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xiii.

gene-

generouſly reſented, though it proved ſerviceable to him, having cut off the heads of the ringleaders of the mutiny, and condemned the reſt to the gallies, as ſoon as the place ſurrendered. "Your treachery, ſaid *Ibrahim*, has deprived me "of the honour of conquering a hero; but it has afforded "me the ſatisfaction of puniſhing poltroons [a]."

They are defeated by Sobieski.

He next made an attempt on *Zlotskow*; but meeting with unexpected reſiſtance, he bent his courſe towards *Leopold*, whither he detached ſtrong parties to inſult *Sobieski*, who was entrenched before the walls. Theſe parties were defeated as often as they appeared; which ſo incenſed the baſhaw, that he reſolved to diſlodge the king, and for this purpoſe advanced with his whole army, amounting to threeſcore thouſand combatants, beſides the *Tartars*, who exceeded forty thouſand. To approach *Sobieski*'s camp, the *Turks* were obliged to aſcend an eminence, and then paſs through a defile lined with wood, which opened to a plain. Here the king had poſted *Radzivil* with a ſmall corps, while an eminence on the left was ſecured by a battery of cannon, that took the enemy in flank as they advanced. The wood on each ſide the defile was lined with muſketeers, who kept up a perpetual fire, and made terrible havock. However, the *Turks* broke through, and by four in the afternoon appeared in ſuch numbers, that the whole plain was covered, and *Radzivil* under the neceſſity of abandoning the poſt he had occupied. Upon this the king planted his troops and cannon in the woods and eminences, which ſkirted the plain, in ſo advantageous a manner, that, with no more than ſix thouſand men, he in a manner ſurrounded and beſieged the whole *Turkiſh* army, aſſembled in a confuſed manner, where there was no room to extend the wings, or form lines. In this ſituation the *Poliſh* artillery poured in grape-ſhot, and, ſeconded by the ſmall arms, dealt dreadful ſlaughter; at the ſame time that *Sobieski*, with a ſmall party, deſcended to the plain, and made ſo furious an attack as put the enemy in ſtill greater diſorder, and obliged them to retreat precipitately through the ſame defile by which they advanced, being galled all the way by the batteries and muſketeers that lined the woods on both ſides. Nothing could be more complete or glorious than this victory; but the interpoſition of night prevented the king from purſuing the fugitives; and, indeed, his troops were too much fatigued with the labour of the day to perform farther ſervices. Above twelve thouſand *Turks* were left dead on the field, and three thouſand taken priſoners; but the enemy, reinforced by the *Tartars*, were

[a] Anecdotes de Pologne, tom. ii. p. 213.

ſtill

ſtill too powerful for the ſlender forces of *Poland*, and in a condition to act offenſively in any quarter they thought proper. However, as their ardor was ſomewhat cooled by this repulſe, they made overtures of peace; but with ſuch an air of inſolent ſuperiority, as obliged *Sobieski* to reject them with diſdain. They demanded, that all *Podolia* ſhould be ceded to the Grand Seignior; that the Porte ſhould be reimburſed in the expences of the war; and that the *Ukraine* ſhould intirely be given up to *Dorozenski*, who ſhould hold it as a fief of the *Turkiſh* diadem. On the contrary, *Sobieski* demanded the terms which a conqueror had a right to expect, though he was ſenſible of his own weakneſs. He inſiſted, that the *Turks* ſhould evacuate all the places they had taken in this and the preceding war, and relinquiſh the ſhameful tribute to which the late puſillanimous *Wieſnowiski* had conſented. Claims ſo extremely contradictory could only be determined by the ſword, to which both parties had immediate recourſe [b].

Negotiations.

SOBIESKI laboured with the utmoſt diligence to unite the *Poles*, and aſſemble the *poſpolite*; but he was encountered by a thouſand difficulties and mortifications. A ſtrong party oppoſed the *Turkiſh* war, and not only refuſed their own aſſiſtance, but diſſuaded others from giving countenance to pernicious meaſures, entered upon merely to gratify the king's paſſion for martial glory. The treaſury too was quite drained, and no method appeared for ſubſiſting an army, had it been raiſed. Yet, in deſpite of all difficulties, *Sobieski* drew together a body of forces ſufficient to keep the field. He was ſupported by the faction that had raiſed him to the throne; and, though oppoſed by the chief nobility, he was extremely beloved by the people in general. His army now amounted to fifteen thouſand men, with which force he thought himſelf in a condition to withſtand all the efforts of the *Turks* and *Tartars*; and he ſoon evinced what valour and conduct can effect againſt undiſciplined numbers. Already the *Turks* had been repulſed and defeated in a variety of attempts. Two thouſand janiſſaries had been detached to ſtorm the caſtle *Breziani*, defended only by ſeventy *Poles*; but they were driven from the walls, and defeated with great ſlaughter. The ſame fate awaited ten thouſand *Tartars*, detached by the *Turkiſh* general to harraſs the king's camp in the neighbourhood of *Leopold:* after a ſharp encounter they were repulſed with loſs by a ſmall detachment of *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, ſent out under the command of *Harkowniski*. Next the *Turks* laid ſiege to *Podhais*, and forced the place to capitulate upon

War renewed. A. D. 1676.

[b] Theat. Europ. tom. xii. HOPPEL. Hiſt. apud init. p. 13.

honour-

honourable terms. *Sobieski* was on his march to the relief of the garriſon, when he received advice that the town was ſurrendered, plundered, and burnt, and the whole garriſon and inhabitants carried into captivity, in direct violation of the treaty which the baſhaw had ſigned with the governor. Incenſed at this perfidy, he reſolved to come to an engagement, without regard to the great diſproportion of numbers. The baſhaw had inveſted *Buezalz*, and thither the king directed his march; but the firſt intimation of his approach terrified the enemy, obliged them to relinquiſh the enterprize, and retire to *Trembowla*; to which place they laid ſiege. *Sobieski* was preparing to purſue them; and in the mean time the garriſon made ſo good a defence, that the *Turks*, finding they could not execute their deſigns before the arrival of the *Poliſh* army, broke up camp, and retreated to *Kaminiec*, of which they ſtill retained poſſeſſion. Having here received a conſiderable reinforcement, they ventured once more into the field, and inveſted *Waignaff*, carrying on their approaches in a very irregular unskilful manner, but with great ſpirit and diligence. *Sobieski* marched towards that place, and encamped on the banks of the *Nieſter*, in a ſituation from whence he greatly incommoded the beſiegers, and ſo irritated the baſhaw, that he propoſed ſtorming the *Poliſh* entrenchments. With this view he drew out his whole army, and was aſtoniſhed to find that the king of *Poland*, with an army ſo unequal, had quitted his defences, with a full reſolution of giving battle in the open plain. Such an inſtance of intrepidity diſconcerted the *Turkiſh* general; but it was impoſſible to retreat, without betraying his fears to the whole army, which might be attended with fatal conſequences. Accordingly he maintained his ground, and was ſoon attacked with the utmoſt fury by the *Poles*. The conflict was obſtinate: the *Tartars* had been ſlain in heaps; but ſhame and reſentment inſtigated them to continue the action, until night interpoſed to prevent their total defeat. The advantage, however, was on the ſide of the *Poles*, which encouraged them to renew the battle next day, and even to attack the baſhaw's trenches. For four ſucceſſive days the *Poles* and *Turks* continued to ſtorm each other's entrenchments, practiſing every ſtratagem of war, and effort of valour; when at laſt the baſhaw and cham of *Tartary*, aſtoniſhed at the great diminution of their army, and ſenſible that *Sobieski* was immovable, made overtures of peace ſo equitable and moderate, that the king could not well avoid conſenting to a negotiation. For this purpoſe an armiſtice was ſigned, and *Turkiſh* commiſſaries arrived in the king's camp. Without almoſt any difficulty, the *Turks* agreed to aboliſh

The Turks *are foiled in every enterprize.*

aboliſh the tribute, and diſannul the diſhonourable treaty made by the late king: they likewiſe conſented that the republic ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of all the *Ukraine* on the hither ſide the *Nieſter*; that reſtitution ſhould be made of all their conqueſts, except *Kaminiec*; and that they ſhould defend *Poland* againſt all her enemies. On his ſide, the king ceded all the territories claimed by the general of the *Coſſacks* on the oppoſite ſide the *Nieſter*; on condition, however, that the *Roman* Catholic religion ſhould be maintained, and liberty of conſcience, with reſpect to the *Turkiſh* faith, allowed to the inhabitants[c]. Such was the ſubſtance of a treaty of peace, which *Sobieski* ſigned, after he had ſupported a war againſt the whole ſtrength of the *Othoman* empire, almoſt without the aſſiſtance of the republic. Some of his enemies, however, exclaimed againſt it; inſiſting, that more advantageous terms might have been obtained, after ſo extraordinary a flow of victory; whereas the Grand Seignior could hardly be prevailed on to ratify conditions which he thought very extraordinary, conſidering the great ſuperiority of his army. *Peace concluded.*

SOBIESKI having by his valour wiped off the diſgraces of *Poland*, and reſtored peace to the republic, returned to his own dominions to have the ſolemnities of his coronation performed in the uſual manner, which had hitherto been deferred on account of the war, that had continually kept him in the field. Dr. *Connor*, however, with great probability, places this event in the month of *February* preceding the laſt campaign, when the laſt obſequies of the late monarch, and of his immediate predeceſſor *Caſimir*, whoſe remains were now brought from *France*, were performed with the utmoſt magnificence. This relation is confirmed by the vacancies filled up on this occaſion. It is uſual to oblige the king to redreſs all grievances, and fill up vacant offices at his coronation; and accordingly we ſee prince *Lubomirſki* acting in the capacity of grand marſhal this year; a poſt to which he was probably appointed at *Sobieski*'s coronation, as he is no where mentioned in this light before. Sobieski *crowned.*

ABOUT the ſame time it was that the earl of *Rocheſter* arrived at court to compliment the king on his acceſſion, in the name of his *Britannick* majeſty, and to repreſent that prince as godfather to a young princeſs, afterwards dutcheſs of *Bavaria*. His lordſhip arrived at *Dantzick* while the king was in the field, but having met the queen, he preſented the princeſs with a diamond-croſs of very great value, and then proceeded to the camp. It was at the concluſion of the war, that he

[c] FONT. cap. v. CONNOR, tom i. lib iv.

had

had his firſt audience in form, a circumſtance which we mention, as a proof that *Sobieski* raiſed the crown of *Poland* to ſuch dignity as engaged the reſpect of the weſtern ſtates of *Europe*, and made the republic be conſidered as of more weight than uſual in the political ſcale of *Chriſtendom* [a].

The emperor endeavours to draw him into a league againſt the Turks.

For ſome years *Poland* enjoyed profound tranquillity, and cultivated the pacific arts with all the diligence that could be expected from a nation, where pride and indolence almoſt entirely exclude commerce. *Sobieski* applied his attention to the re-eſtabliſhment of her finances, and repletion of the treaſury, which had for years been in a ſtate of abſolute poverty. As if he had been ſenſible that his genius was adapted only to war, he was making continual preparations, by which he excited ſuſpicion that he intended to extend his prerogatives, and render the government in ſome meaſure military. However, a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive contracted with the emperor, by which the parties ſtipulated to aſſiſt each other againſt the *Turks*, together with the diſturbances in *Hungary*, diſſipated the collecting ſtorm, and evinced the *Poles* of the neceſſity of keeping the revenues and army in a reſpectable poſture. The pride and arrogance of the court of *Vienna*, together with the ambition of ſome of the natives, had given birth to a revolt in *Hungary*, which it was generally imagined would be followed by a war with the *Othoman* empire. The malecontents had made their firſt application to the *Porte*; but they had met with little encouragement, becauſe the grand ſeignior was then full of the *Venetian* war and the conqueſt of *Candia*. Soon after the conſpiracy was diſcovered, ſeveral of the conſpirators were ſeized, beheaded, their eſtates confiſcated, and *Hungary* treated as an hereditary, or rather a conquered kingdom. This conduct increaſed the number of malecontents, who drew over the *Tranſilvanians* and the famous *Tekeli* to their party. An open rupture commenced; the malecontents claimed the protection of the *Porte*; and the grand ſeignior gave them countenance, becauſe he imagined that now the opportunity offered of humbling the houſe of *Auſtria*, and paving the way to univerſal empire. He was excited likewiſe by the intrigues of the court of *Verſailles*, and of *Lewis* XIV. who found his intereſt in procuring full employment for the emperor and the princes of the *Germanic* body. *Tekeli* became head of the malecontents, who now called themſelves the Proteſtant Intereſt, and inſiſted on toleration of conſcience; and the emperor ſeeing the ſtorm grow more conſiderable, endeavoured to break it, by promiſing all that

[a] Connor. tom. i. lib. iv.

was

equired. But the *Hungarians* ſeeing the *Turks*, *Tar-* and *Tranſilvanians* arming in their cauſe, raiſed their de- s, and obliged the court of *Vienna* to implore the aid of e Chriſtian princes to reſiſt ſuch a multitude of enemies. king of *Poland* was addreſſed in particular, as the moſt al and powerful ally againſt the Infidels, to whom his was already terrible. *Sobieski* however kept for ſome aloof, out of reſentment to the court of *Vienna*, which lately refuſed him any countenance when he was preſſed e ſame enemies; and it is probable he would have conti- longer in this reſolution, notwithſtanding his inclination rtial exploits, had not the court of *Rome*, and the ambi- of his queen, powerfully ſeconded the applications from mperor. *Leopold* had flattered her majeſty with hopes, f ſhe could engage her huſband in a war with the *Turks*, o ſign a treaty with the court of *Vienna*, he would con- o a marriage between the arch-dutcheſs and her ſon the e, whereby ſhe might ſecure the crown of *Poland* in her family, by the aſſiſtance of the empire. The ſame pro- were made by the pontiff, who offered to aſſiſt the im- miniſtry in procuring the nomination of prince *James land*, at a general diet, to ſucceed to his father. Upon expectations ſhe ſolicited *Sobieski*, and found him more to oblige her than could well be imagined, conſidering obſtinately he had refuſed all the invitations of the court *enna*; but it is poſſible that he might have been deluded the ſame bait which had catched the queen, or influenced ie pontiff, for whom he always expreſſed the higheſt ve- ion. Be this as it may, certain it is, that he now ex- A. D. ed his readineſs to join in alliance with the emperor, to 1683. lete which he only wanted the concurrence of the ſenate nobility. To obtain this was a matter of ſome difficulty. greateſt lords in the diet oppoſed a rupture with the e, though they had lately exclaimed againſt the condi- of peace which *Sobieski* had granted; however, the court aged with ſuch addreſs and dexterity, and repreſented ſo etically the danger to which all *Europe* was expoſed, ld the emperor ſink under the weight of his enemies, that *Treaty be-* najority declared for a war with the *Turks*, and an alliance *tween the* the court of *Vienna*. Religion too conſiderably ſwayed *emperor* minds of the *Poles*, who conſidered the *Hungarian* war *and the re-* ly in that point of view, and the malecontents as heretics *public of* had revolted not only from the holy ſee, but againſt their Poland. ral ſovereign. The baron *Jounski*, reſident from the em- r at the court of *Poland*, drew out preliminaries of a trea- and *Sobieski* ſent his brother-in-law, the grand chancellor

of

of *Poland*, to *Sileſia*, under pretence of attending the baths of *Hierberg* for his health, from whence he went to *Breſlaw* to meet the imperial miniſters. Here was laid the foundation of an alliance offenſive and defenſive againſt the infidels, which was afterwards finiſhed by the count *Waleſtein*, who was ſent for that purpoſe to the diet at *Warſaw*, with the neceſſary powers. The conditions of this treaty were, that the emperor ſhould maintain forty thouſand men in the field, and twenty thouſand in garriſon; that the king of *Poland* ſhould aſſiſt with the *poſpolite* and crown army; that he ſhould take the field in perſon againſt the Infidels, and in caſe of the junction of the Imperialiſts and *Poles*, command in perſon the combined army; that a part of the united forces ſhould fall upon *Tekeli*, while the reſt endeavoured to regain poſſeſſion of all the *Ukraine*, *Kaminiec*, and whatever other places the *Turks* held on the frontiers of *Poland*, or of the imperial dominions. By a ſecond treaty, *Sobieski* engaged to march to the relief of *Vienna*, ſhould that capital happen to be beſieged, as the great preparations of the enemy gave cauſe to apprehend[a].

Sobieſki's preparations for war.

IMMEDIATELY upon ſigning theſe treaties, *Sobieski* opened his treaſures, and exerted himſelf vigorouſly to maintain his engagements. His great oeconomy during the late repoſe, and the frugality ſo apparent in his houſhold, had afforded room for ſuſpicion, that he was hoarding up money merely from a principle of avarice. Others gave his conduct a more envidious turn, and alledged that he was induſtrious to fill his coffers only to corrupt the diet, and ſecure the ſucceſſion to his ſon. His meaſures now, however, evinced that he had ſaved only for the glory of *Poland*, and retrenched his own expences, that he might be profuſe when the occaſions of the ſtate demanded liberality. He ſpared no expence in levying troops, and drawing officers of merit from foreign ſervice. Several thouſand horſe and foot were raiſed and maintained at his own coſt; in particular, he raiſed a regiment of *Coſſacs*, who began to tire of the *Turkiſh* government, and kept ſpies in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, whom he maintained out of his private purſe. In a word, by dint of intrigue and corruption, he gradually drew *Tekeli* from the *Turkiſh* intereſt; and tho' he could not prevail upon him openly to deſert the Infidels, that prince nevertheleſs kept a conſtant correſpondence with *Sobieski*, and betrayed all the ſecrets of the divan[b]. It was by this means the king received intelligence of the ſtrength and deſtination of the *Turkiſh* army, almoſt as ſoon as the viſier's ſtan-

[a] BARRE hiſt. de Allemagne l. x. p. 186 et ſequent. [b] FONTAINES C. V.

dard

dard was erected. This is uſually aſſerted by the *Poliſh* writers, but not confirmed by the beſt hiſtorians of the empire, or indeed by circumſtances; for at this very time *Tekeli* publiſhed a very bitter declaration, and ſeized upon the fortreſſes of *Pap*, *Tot*, and *Veſprin*, committing ſeveral other actions which diſcovered that he was equally ſincere in his enmity to the court of *Vienna*, and friendſhip to the grand ſeignior; and indeed the cruel manner in which he deſolated *Moravia*, is ſufficient refutation of this aſſertion, which elevates the character of *Sobieski*, at the expence of the integrity of a prince who certainly poſſeſſed great qualities, however he may have been ſtigmatized by the advocates of religious and civil tyranny.

WE have already recited the operations of this war, and the ſteps by which the Infidels approached *Vienna*; it is ſufficient we now obſerve, that the capital was cloſely inveſted, and on the brink of falling into the hands of the infidels, when *Sobieſki*, in conſequence of the moſt preſſing letters from the emperor, took the field with twenty thouſand men, and began his march to join the Imperialiſts, commanded by prince *Charles* of *Lorain*, his competitor for the crown of *Poland*, encamped at *Tullebrun*. Here the two princes concerted the neceſſary meaſures for relieving the city, and attacking the viſier's intrenchments, notwithſtanding the combined forces did not exceed fifty thouſand men. In conſequence of their deliberations, the united army croſſed the *Danube* on the 10th day of *September*, and by narrow defiles, which the *Turks* might have eaſily rendered impaſſable, gained the eminency of *Schallemberg* without oppoſition, although the viſier had in his camp a great number of light troops who might have been uſefully employed in that ſervice. There they encamped with intention to refreſh the troops before the attack on the *Turkiſh* intrenchments, which was appointed on the following day. Early in the morning the army was drawn out, and the right wing aſſigned to the *Poles*, who were ordered to form themſelves in a creſcent round the eminence, to prevent the *Tartars* from breaking in upon the flank, while the king took poſt in the center of the whole army. On the left was the duke of *Lorrain*, and on his right were the electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*.

Sobieſki joins the Imperialiſts, defeats the Turks, *and raiſes the ſiege of* Vienna.

ALL this while the vizier puſhed the ſiege with the utmoſt diligence, in expectation that the city muſt ſurrender before the Chriſtian army could take poſſeſſion of all the neceſſary poſts; contenting himſelf with detaching ten thouſand *Tartars* round the heights of *Schallemberg*, to obſerve the motions of the enemy. As ſoon as he perceived they were ready to deſcend to the plain, he advanced a part of his army to the foot of the eminence, and, when too late, ſeized upon all the marſhes,

defiles, and paſſes, which could poſſibly obſtruct the Chriſtians in their march; but he was inſtantly driven back to the main body of his army, and at laſt convinced that the Chriſtians, though inferior in number, were no contemptible enemy. *Sobieſki* in perſon, at the head of a body of horſe and huſſars, attacked his camp, drove all before him, and put the *Turkiſh* army in the utmoſt conſternation on the left wing, while prince *Charles*, with the Imperialiſts, broke the *Turkiſh* right, and entered the camp nearly at the ſame time. Notice was immediately given to count *Staremberg*, the brave governor of *Vienna*, of the ſituation of affairs, and he was ordered to ſally out upon the rear of the enemy, which he performed with great alacrity and terrible execution. The victory was complete, and it was entirely aſcribed to the gallantry of *Sobieſki*, and the impetuous valour of the *Poles*, whom nothing could reſiſt[a]. The great *Othoman* ſtandard was taken, all the vizier's immenſe treaſure and baggage, the ammunition, proviſion, and train of artillery, amounting to one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, were the rewards of the conquerors, together with the glory of having defeated an army of two hundred thouſand men, with the loſs of no more than ſix hundred private men and three officers, among whom was the young *Potoſki*, who was deeply regretted by the king.

NOR was *Sobieſki*'s piety leſs conſpicuous than his valour. His firſt regard was to preſent himſelf before the altar, and return thanks to the ſupreme Being, who had choſen him as the inſtrument of ſo ſignal a victory over the enemies of Chriſtianity, and the people admired the devotion of a hero, whom they could not but regard as their tutelary angel, while the king attributed his whole ſucceſs to heaven. On the emperor's return from *Lintz* to his capital, a difficulty aroſe about the ceremonials to be obſerved at the interview of the monarchs, as the king inſiſted upon an equality, and the emperor was too proud to grant this even to his deliverer. Unmindful of his obligations, he gave the king of *Poland* to underſtand, that he was not to expect the ſame honours that are uſually paid to crowned heads at other courts, and *Sobieſki* refuſed to admit of the leaſt diminution of the reſpect which he thought due to the ſovereign of *Poland* and the dignity of the republic. *Leopold*, it is true, had precedent on his ſide; but he was now unſeaſonable in punctilio, as *Sobieski*'s very extraordinary ſervices demanded a particular conſideration. At length, to remove all difficulties, it was propoſed that the emperor ſhould go to the *Poliſh* camp, through the troops drawn up on each

He is treated haughtily by the emperor.

[a] BARRE, tom x. ſub. An.

ſide,

ſide, and that the two princes ſhould advance within two paces of each other; a moſt ridiculous expedient to gratify the pride of a monarch who had the day before been a fugitive from his capital, and owed his return to the perſon he was now treating with ſo haughty a carriage, and inſulting by the rigorous obſervance of an idle ceremonial. When they approached within a certain diſtance, the king of *Poland* gave ſpur to his horſe, advanced upon a gallop, and both princes applied their hands at the ſame time to their hats, ſaluted each other, were again covered, and then entered upon converſation. According to the *German* hiſtorians, the emperor began the diſcourſe by thanking the king of *Poland* for his extraordinary ſervices and generoſity, in quiting his own dominions to ſecure the empire; adding a compliment on the ſignal victory he had obtained by his own valour and conduct: to which *Sobieski* anſwered, that he had done nothing more than one Chriſtian prince owed to another, and that for the victory glory was due only to the Almighty, who was pleaſed to fix upon him for the inſtrument of his vengeance. The author of the *Poliſh* anecdotes, who is followed by the abbe *Fontaines*, alledges that *Sobieski* rode up to the emperor, and told him in *Latin*, how rejoiced he was that heaven had proſpered his endeavours and his friendſhip for his imperial majeſty; a compliment which *Leopold* received with ſullen ſilence; and this the writer ſtrains into a proof of his arrogance, though in our opinion it only bears teſtimony to his ignorance of the *Latin* tongue, in which language it is very poſſible he could not readily expreſs himſelf. He adds, however, that *Leopold* recollecting himſelf, ſent a preſent two days after to prince *James* of a ſword richly adorned with jewels, and three thouſand ducats to each of the *Poliſh* generals, writing at the ſame time a letter of apology to the young prince for not having taken notice of him before, which he aſcribed to the impreſſion he ſight of the king his father, to whom he owed the preſervation of his diadem, made on his ſpirits; a pitiful ſhift to palliate ingratitude, ſhowing an arrogance of mind incapable of acknowledging favours (A). The *Poliſh* officers highly re-

(A) The ſame author alſo relates, that *Sobieſki* was ſo offended at the emperor's inſenſibility, when he preſented his ſon and principal officers to him, that he broke off the interview abruptly, ſaying,—— "Brother, you will probably want to ſee my army; theſe are my generals, to whom I have given orders to gratify your curioſity."——Upon which he retired without ceremony to his tent. P. 176.

ſented the emperor's conduct, and endeavoured to perſuade the king to break off all connections with a prince inſenſible to the ſtrongeſt obligations; but a ſenſe of honour, a deſire of reducing the *Othoman* court ſtill lower, and of putting it out of the power of the *Turks*, for ſome time at leaſt, to diſturb the repoſe of *Europe*, determined *Sobieski* to finiſh the campaign [a].

Sobieſki *defeated.*

WITH this view he formed a project of diſlodging a ſtrong body of Janiſſaries that had eſcaped over the bridge at *Barcan*, and taken poſt round a fort of that name; and that the *Pole* might have the whole honour of this action, he concealed his deſign from the duke of *Lorrain*. Marching up with a few troops of horſe and huſſars, he was ſurrounded by the enemy, planted in the orchards and gardens on both ſides. An obſtinate engagement enſued, *Sobieski* was overpowered with numbers, and in the utmoſt danger of being taken priſoner. The huſſars deſerted him, and he was under the neceſſity of fighting his way back through fourteen thouſand Janiſſaries, ſupported only by about two hundred ſoldiers and officers, who had determined to ſhare the fortune of their ſovereign. After all, though the king diſtinguiſhed his ſtrength and valour, the exploit was upon the whole unworthy of the great *Sobieski*, as it ſavoured of raſhneſs and that ſpirit of chivalry, which hath often led princes unneceſſarily into the midſt of danger, only to flatter their vanity [b]. This great monarch was ſenſible of his error, and ſtrove to repair it; his courage was not damped, but prudence was now joined to valour. The facility with which he had always defeated the *Turks* had given him a contemptible opinion of the courage and military genius of that people; but he was now convinced that they only wanted diſcipline, to become a very warlike and formidable nation. Their own eagerneſs to purſue the advantage they had lately gained over a monarch whom they believed invincible, afforded him the opportunity of ſignal revenge. The grand vizier had ſent orders to *Tekeli* to join the corps at *Barcan*; but the Janiſſaries were ſo elated with their late victory, that they brought on frequent ſkirmiſhes with the *Poliſh* advanced guards, and ſuffered themſelves to be drawn into a general engagement. Two days after his defeat the king drew out his army, commanding the right in perſon, aſſigning the center to the duke of *Lorraine*, and placing the crown general on the left wing, in which order he began his march by dawn to attack the Infidels, who ſtill maintained their poſt at *Barcan*.

He has his revenge.

The *Turks* having intimation of the king's intention, ranged

[a] FONT. cap. v. CONNOR. l. iv. tom i. [b] BARRE, ibid.

them-

ıſelves in order of battle, extending their right wing to-
ls the mountains, and their left to certain marſhes, which
ted them from an attack in flank. Only one line of front
oppoſed to the Chriſtians, but in the rear they had placed
columns of horſe, as a corps de reſerve, which ſhould act
rcumſtances required. The right wing was led by *Kara*
omet, baſhaw of *Buda*, and the left by *Ali*, baſhaw of
mania. The Chriſtians amounted to forty-nine thouſand
, and never did troops exhibit a finer appearance, or ex-
more ardour. The *Poles* in particular thirſted to re-
e the late diſgrace of their monarch, and *Sobieski* found it
ſary to check their impetuoſity, to prevent their falling in
der. The engagement began, and each ſide fought with
ır proportioned to the reſiſtance. *Sobieski* had diſpoſed
rtillery in the intervals of the left, becauſe it was ima-
l the *Turks* would make their chief efforts on that ſide,
ne gradually ſtretched the right wing towards the *Danube*,
der to cut off the retreat of an enemy he was ſure of con-
ng, from the ſuperiority of his diſpoſition and numbers.
Turkiſh generals oppoſed themſelves with the utmoſt fury
e deſigns of the king of *Poland*, and, animated with deſ-
made aſtoniſhing attempts to keep open the communi-
n with the bridge; but all their endeavours were baffled
ıe *Poles*, who ſtood impenetrable, and were not to be re-
:d from the ground they had once gained. Perceiving
the Chriſtians were not to be forced on that ſide, the ba-
of *Buda* made an effort to break the ranks of the Impe-
ls in the center; but was repulſed, after receiving three
erous wounds. The baſhaw of *Siliſtria* fought with in-
ble boldneſs, after he had been ſurrounded by the Chriſ-
:avalry; but was at length forced to ſurrender to one of
oliſh generals; and the ſame fate awaited the baſhaw of
mania, after his whole body was covered with wounds
)lood.

The Turks are overthrown.

ILL however the *Turks* were not diſcouraged by the loſs
:ſe two officers; they repeated their charges, but with
ıme ill fortune, and were at laſt totally defeated, after
had performed prodigies of valour; all were put to the
: they endeavoured to make the river through a narrow
, where they were ſlaughtered in a confuſed multitude.
t numbers threw themſelves into the *Danube*, and were
ned, others periſhed under the ſword of the conquerors;
the fort of *Barcan* was forced by the *Poliſh* foot, and the
e garriſon ſlaughtered without diſtinction. It was in vain
nfidels begged quarter, and threw down their arms; the
of the ſoldiers was equally deaf to the entreaties of the

ſupplicant and the menaces of their own officers; they could not be prevailed upon to ſheath the ſword as long as the face of a *Turk* appeared in the field. The defeat was complete, twelve thouſand of the enemy were left dead on the field, and of the whole detachment ſcarce a thouſand eſcaped to *Tekeli*'s army, which now began to appear on the ſurrounding mountains. It was imagined that he would have immediately attacked the combined Chriſtians, before they had recovered from the fatigue of the preceding action; but *Tekeli* was too prudent to attempt wreſting victory from a ſuperior well-diſciplined army, with troops newly raiſed, and that ſcarce ever beheld the face of a regular enemy[a]. He accordingly retreated, and this has been ſtrained into a preſumption that he held a clandeſtine correſpondence with *Sobieski*.

THE next ſtep was to aſſemble a council of war, where it was debated, whether *Buda*, *Peſth*, or *Gran* ſhould be beſieged. The duke of *Lorraine* was for inveſting the former, and his opinion was eſpouſed by *Sobieski*, and violently oppoſed by all the *Poliſh* officers, who deſired that the army might be quartered in the dominions of the republick; but the king cut them ſhort by acquainting them, "that he ſhould not "viſit *Warſaw* before he had driven the *Turks* out of *Hun-*"*gary*." He informed his officers, that *Gran* could not make any conſiderable defence, and that there was no probability of its being ſuccoured, as he had certain advice, that the grand vizier was retired with the broken remains of his army to *Belgrade*. Accordingly this place was inveſted, and the *Turkiſh* garriſon forced to capitulate, after a ſiege of five days only; upon which the *Poliſh* army was led back to their own country, and the king arrived at *Cracow* in the beginning of the winter, after having driven the *Turks* out of the bowels of the imperial dominions. In his way he reduced *Zutkin*, in which the enemy had placed a ſtrong garriſon, to harraſs the *Poles* in their retreat. A detachment under prince *James* and the palatine of *Lublin*, inveſted this town, and ſoon forced the garriſon to retire to the citadel, which was ſtormed and taken, and the *Turks* permitted to march without the honours of war to *Buda*.

Gran taken.

Dec. 21.

Renewal of the treaty with the emperor.

SCARCE was *Sobieski* arrived in his own dominions, when he was ſaluted with the joyful news of a complete victory obtained over forty thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*, by the *Coſſack* general of the hither ſide the *Neiſter*, who then croſſed the river, and laid deſolate the territories of his countrymen

[a] BARRE Hiſt. tom x. ſub. An.

in

in the *Turkiſh* intereſt (A). Not long after the republic of *Venice* was invited to accede to the treaty of alliance between the emperor and *Sobieski* againſt the *Turks*; and the king took this occaſion to ſtipulate ſome advantages to himſelf in the renewal of the treaty. By a ſecret article he obtained a ceſſion from the emperor of *Walachia* and *Moldavia*, to himſelf and iſſue male, provided the *Turks* could be driven out of thoſe provinces; and it was further agreed, that the *Poliſh* forces were to be employed on this ſide, while the Imperialiſts acted upon the *Danube*, and the *Venetians* in the *Morea*. *Sobieski* had beſides the addreſs to draw the czar of *Muſcovy* into this alliance, by which means he not only powerfully augmented the league, but ſecured the republic during his abſence, from the dread of a formidable reſtleſs neighbour. The hoſpodar of *Moldavia* too had engaged to declare againſt the Infidels the moment he found himſelf protected by the *Poles*, little knowing that his country was become the property of the *Poliſh* monarch. The ſpace of two years was conſumed in theſe negotiations, all which time *Sobieski* employed in levying forces, recruiting his treaſures, and in other military preparations; but a variety of circumſtances occurred to cool the friendſhip between him and the court of *Vienna*. Beſides the ſtiff punctilios and inſolent behaviour of the emperor at the interview between the princes, the king of *Poland* had other cauſes of complaint. *Leopold* no ſooner beheld his affairs re-eſtabliſhed by the progreſs of his arms in *Hungary*, than he thought he could ſpare *Sobieski*, fight his own battles without multiplying obligations, which he had either inclination nor power to repay. The wretched quarters provided for the *Lithuanians*, whom the king left in the imperial dominions, fully evinced the emperor's little regard for an ally, who had left his own dominions to reſtore its uſual ſplendor to the houſe of *Auſtria*; a family diſtinguiſhed from the earlieſt riſe for pride and ingratitude. Nor was *Leopold* ſatisfied with mere coldneſs of behaviour; he endeavoured to traverſe *Sobieski* in points highly important to the intereſt of his family, and now not only refuſed the execution of his

(A) It has been obſerved, that at the laſt peace the *Ukraine*, and country of the *Coſſacks*, was divided, the *Neiſter* forming the barrier. *Sobieski*'s addreſs had drawn back the *Coſſacks* of the hither ſide to his intereſt, while their countrymen on the oppoſite ſide took part with the *Tartars*, by whom and the czar of *Muſcovy* they were protected (1).

(1) *Vid. ſupra.*

promiſe of marrying the archdutcheſs to prince *James*[b], but took meaſures to prevent the king's ſon from eſpouſing the princeſs of *Radzivil*, and actually married that lady, whoſe fortune was immenſe, to *Charles* prince of *Newburg*, brother to the empreſs, notwithſtanding ſhe had been engaged to the prince of *Poland*, and had by a formal deed forfeited her eſtate to that young prince, in caſe ſhe failed in the performance of her engagements. *Sobieski* however ſuppreſſed his ſenſe of theſe injuries, and ſtifled his reſentment in order to purſue his intereſt. A league had been formed, by which he ſtood a chance for ſecuring the property of two valuable provinces to his family. To gain this important object, he took the field with the fineſt army *Poland* had raiſed for ſeveral reigns, though the nobility reſented his commanding in perſon, by which they were deprived of their ſhare of the glory, and an honourable employment that had long been regarded as their undoubted right. This jealouſy had already fomented ſome diviſions; but the murmurs of the nobility were ſunk in the ardor which the nation in general expreſſed to follow a monarch, who had always returned home laden with ſpoils and covered with laurels. The army paſſed the *Pruth*, entered *Moldavia*, and conquered the whole country by the terror they ſpread, without having once beheld the face of an enemy, though the perfidious hoſpodar had broke his engagements and deſerted to the Infidels; yet it was not poſſible to keep poſſeſſion of a country where all the inhabitants might be deemed enemies. *Sobieski* tried the effects of bribes and promiſes on the hoſpodar and principal inhabitants; but he ſoon found that they received his money only to employ it againſt himſelf. This determined him not wholly to loſe the fruits of his expedition, for which purpoſe he bent his march towards the coaſt of the *Black Sea*, with intention of laying ſiege to *Bailograd*, a ſtrong town of *Beſſarabia*, on the ſouth bank of the *Neiſter*. To execute this enterprize he traverſed vaſt countries reduced to a deſert by the enemy, and at laſt found the project attended with ſuch difficulties, that he relinquiſhed it for another no leſs perilous and fatiguing. His deſign was to gain the borders of the *Danube*, but ſo many rocks, mountains, woods, and defiles intervened, as rendered the march altogether impracticable. Baffled in all his ſchemes, and reduced to great extremity, he at laſt reſolved to return towards the *Pruth*[c]. He began his march, and ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by armies of *Tartars* and

A. D. 1686.

Sobieski's *expedition into* Moldavia.

[b] Anecdotes de Pologne, pag. 207.

[c] Abbé de Fort. cap. v.

Molda-

Moldavians, who, without venturing to attack him, deſolated the country through which he was to paſs, broke down the roads, placed lurking parties in the woods, blocked up all the paſſes, ſet fire to the corn-fields ready to be cut down, almoſt ſuffocated the *Poliſh* army in clouds of ſmoke and aſhes, and raiſed every other obſtruction which the imagination of barbarians could invent. All theſe difficulties the king ſurmounted, and by the end of the campaign returned to his own dominions, having thus finiſhed the laſt enterprize of his life; which, though fruitleſs with reſpect to advantage, ſerved to augment his glory, and was celebrated over all *Europe* as one of the moſt memorable retreats recorded in hiſtory [a].

Troubles of Sobieski.

THIS was not ſufficient to quiet the mind of *Sobieski*. His days of youthful gallantry were paſſed, when danger was ſought merely for the exploit. He propoſed to lay the foundation of grandeur in his own family, and was greatly chagrined at his diſappointment, while the world rung in his praiſes. Nor was this the only ſource of diſcontent and uneaſineſs. Factions and cabals were formed to diſturb his peace; and in his own family ſprung up two enemies, extremely formidable from their ability and employments, which gave them great authority: theſe were *Wielopolski*, grand-chancellor of the crown; and *Radziewiſki*, archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and primate of all *Poland*. The firſt was brother-in-law to the queen, and the ſecond the king's own relation, whom he had raiſed to his preſent dignity. What the particular deſigns of the chancellor were could never be diſcovered, as he was ſeized with a diſtemper that carried him off in the midſt of his projects to unhinge the conſtitution: it is certain only that he burnt all his papers, and that the names of ſome of the conſpirators tranſpired, though they are not recorded in hiſtory. With reſpect to the archbiſhop, *Sobieski*'s kindneſs in raiſing him to a dignity, ſecond only to ſovereignty itſelf, and his ties of relation to the monarch, made a fainter impreſſion on his mind than the king's refuſal to gratify his ambition with the firſt cardinal's hat in his diſpoſal, though he had been under the ſtrongeſt engagements to the biſhop of *Marſeilles*, who had diligently exerted himſelf in promoting his elevation to the throne. The primate indeed had afterwards the purple beſtowed on him by the pontiff; but as he knew the king was not the ſource of this additional honour, he conſtantly employed the influence it gave him in oppoſition to the meaſures of his royal benefac-

[a] PUFFEND. Hiſt. Germ. tom. iv. lib. iv.

tor.

tor. Every ſcheme formed by *Sobieski* for the aggrandizement of his own family was traverſed by the ingrateful *Radzieiwiski*, in which he was powerfully aſſiſted by the *Sapieha* family, as if fatality directed that all the king's favours and obligations conferred on individuals, ſhould be repaid by injuries and the utmoſt bitterneſs of malignity [b].

THE advantages deduced by the houſe of *Sapieha* from the king's bounty were more than ſufficient to bind them to perpetual gratitude, had not ambition and pride ſtifled every other emotion of the heart. This family was removed from *Lithuania*, where they lived in a kind of ſplendid barbarity, to baſk in *Poland* in all the radiance of a court, and the warmeſt ſmiles of a friendly monarch. *Sobieski* indeed ſhewed them particular favour from views of policy, in order to counterbalance the influence of *Pacz*, his conſtant rival and perpetual opponent; but ſtill the *Sapiehas* reaped the benefit, though they thought the obligation diſcharged by the king's beſtowing it for his own purpoſes. It was the great object of *Sobieski*'s policy to place his ſon in the ſucceſſion; with this view chiefly a diet was aſſembled at *Grodno*. Prince *James* was preſent, and expected to attend his father under the ſame canopy, and to be placed on his right hand; an honour that was violently oppoſed by the *Sapiehas*, under the maſk of patriotiſm. They oppoſed the prince's deſires as unconſtitutional, and thereby blaſted all his hopes of being nominated to the ſucceſſion by the diet, as the *Sapiehas* entirely directed the aſſembly. The king's adherents gave out, that this ambitious family had formed deſigns of ſeizing upon the crown for themſelves, or at leaſt of diſmembering the dutchy of *Lithuania* from *Poland*. For ſome years indeed they might be regarded as the ſovereigns of the dutchy; but no direct proofs ever appeared of their intention to carry matters farther [c].

Diviſions in the ſtate.

To theſe cauſes of diſquiet the king had others ſuperadded, owing to the contentions of ambition, avarice, and pride, among his ſubjects. Upon ſome difference between *Sapieha* and the biſhop of *Wilna*, the former, as general of the troops of *Lithuania*, had quartered a body of forces within the juriſdiction of the prelate. Of this the biſhop complained as a groſs violation of the immunities of the church, which immediately drew to his party the whole body of eccleſiaſtics, except the primate, who abſolved *Sapieha* after he had been excommunicated by the biſhop. The whole king-

[b] PARTHEN. Hiſt. lib. i. [c] FONT. cap. v. CONNOR, tom. i. lett. iv.

dom

dom was divided by this diſpute, and all the functions of government ſuſpended; diets were called, and diſſolved before they had entered upon the buſineſs of their meeting. So much was the kingdom addicted to faction and diſpute, that even the choice of a marechal raiſed ſuch violent contentions, as obliged the deputies to return without receiving a hint of the buſineſs for which they were aſſembled. Perſonal clamours too and reflections diſturbed the reign of *Sobieski*, who had once been the darling of his people, and the admiration of neighbouring powers. It was aſſerted, that all his views concentrated in amaſſing wealth; and certainly his character in this particular was ſtrangely altered. When a private ſubject, he was liberal to prodigality; now when a prince, and loaded with years, he fell into the contrary extreme, and grew as penurious as he had ever been prodigal; offended perhaps at the coldneſs and ingratitude of a nation, whoſe glory had long been his only aim, and conſcious that wealth and power would always acquire influence and dependence. With no other intention than to ſave the expence of maintaining a regular court, he removed his reſidence from one province to another, under pretence of viſiting the crown-lands. This was the invidious turn given by his enemies to a conduct which his health ſeemed abſolutely to require. Age, together with the addition of bodily infirmities, contracted by the fatigues of war and the chagrin of domeſtic oppoſition, demanded recreation, air, and ſuch exerciſe as his conſtitution could bear; and this indeed would ſeem to be the regimen preſcribed to him by Dr. *Connor*, an *Engliſh* phyſician of conſiderable ability, in whom the king repoſed great confidence. There, however, was no poſſibility of drowning the voice of faction, which univerſally declared, that a narrow ſpirit and dangerous views alone animated all *Sobieski*'s meaſures, which ſome aſcribed wholly to himſelf, and others, to the intriguing genius of his queen. This princeſs had indeed taken conſiderable ſhare in public buſineſs during the laſt years of the king her huſband's reign, and had gained the entire aſcendant over his inclinations. She had been at great expences in promoting alliances, and connecting her children with powerful and wealthy families, who might be a ſupport to them when *Sobieski*'s power ſhould be extinct with his life. Immenſe ſums had been ſacrificed to the alliances with the houſe of *Newburg* and the electoral houſe of *Bavaria*, by the marriage of her ſon and daughter with a prince and princeſs of thoſe families. She had, beſides, experienced the force of money in determining the fate of elections; and it was but highly probable and equitable that ſhe endeavoured

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to ſecure a throne to her children, by a retrenchment in articles of luxury and ſuperfluity. At all events ſhe might think that a handſome patrimony would be ſome conſolation for the loſs of a crown, ſhould her ſon be diſappointed in her views of procuring him the crown of his father[d]. All theſe, and a variety of other circumſtances, might be the motives for a parſimony, which was treated by the members in the oppoſition as not only unbecoming, but criminal in a monarch who held his crown of the people; yet this malignity, which ſavoured little of the moderate ſpirit of true patriotiſm, infected almoſt all degrees of men; and *Sobieski* was taken off by a fit of the apoplexy on the ſeventeenth day of *June*, little lamented by thoſe ſubjects who had beheld him with adoration.

Death and character of Sobieski. A. D. 1696.

THUS ended with diſpute and faction, a glorious reign of one of the greateſt heroes the republic had ever ſeen placed on her throne; of a prince who had, by dint of merit, raiſed himſelf through all the inferior offices to the dignity of a crown, to which he gave luſtre by his virtues; who had ſignalized himſelf before his acceſſion, in a glorious victory over the enemies of Chriſtianity, and particularly of *Poland*; who had aboliſhed a tribute ſhameful to the republic; who had recovered the greater part of the *Ukraine* out of the hands of the *Tartars*, and brought back to their duty the turbulent warlike *Coſſacks*; who delivered the houſe of *Auſtria* out of the jaws of deſtruction, and Chriſtendom from that torrent which threatened to overwhelm it, by the memorable battle which raiſed the ſiege of *Vienna*; who deferred his own coronation, that he might promote the intereſt of his country, and merit by his ſervices the honour deſigned; and who was parſimonious in his private œconomy, only that he might be profuſe when public occaſions required liberality. Such was the conſtant tenour of *Sobieski*'s government during a reign of twenty-two years, in which he encountered ſuch manifold difficulties from the oppoſition of faction, as were ſufficient to have given him a diſtaſte of royalty and of his country. In fact, he was to *Poland* what *Veſpaſian* was to *Italy*; both roſe by the ſame gradations and the ſame virtues, from the command of armies to the ſovereignty of their ſeveral countries; and both were reproached with the ſame failings, probably with the ſame injuſtice. To conclude the character, *Sobieski* was deeply tinctured with ſcience, conſidering the low eſtate of learning in *Poland*; and his eloquence was no leſs admired in the ſenate than his valour in the field.

[d] PARTHEN. ibid.

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The art of war was his principal ſtudy; but he was not unacquainted with thoſe accompliſhments which form the gentleman and adorn the ſovereign. Beſides his vernacular tongue, he underſtood the *Latin*, *French*, *Italian*, *German*, and *Turkiſh* languages, and could even hold diſcourſe in moſt of theſe. He delighted in natural knowledge, and ſtrongly patronized this uſeful branch of philoſophy, frequently reprimanding the clergy for not introducing modern ſyſtems founded upon experiment, into the ſchools and univerſities[a]. In one word, he was the moſt learned, politic, valiant, and univerſally accompliſhed monarch that ever wielded the *Poliſh* ſceptre[b].

[a] Connor. ibid. [b] Auct. citat. ibid.

SECT. VII.

Containing the Tranſactions of the Inter-regnum, and the violent Contentions which divided Poland, *until the Acceſſion of* Frederick-Auguſtus, *Elector of* Saxony.

WE have repeatedly ſeen that, by the conſtitution of the *Poliſh* government, the regency of the kingdom, during an inter-regnum, is veſted in the primate-archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, who was now in the country, when advice was ſent to him of the death of king *Sobieski*; upon which he immediately prepared to make his public entry into *Warſaw*, effected it with great magnificence, and was met by the ſenate and great officers of the crown. His firſt care was to view the royal corpſe, laying it out in ſtate, and then iſſuing writs for aſſembling the provincial diets. The diet of election was fixed for the twenty-ninth of *Auguſt*; couriers were diſpatched to all the courts of *Europe*, to notify the king's deceaſe; orders were iſſued for reinforcing the frontier garriſons; aſſigning their pay out of the revenues of the crown; providing for the ſecurity of the ſmall remains of the late conqueſts in *Moldavia*; and taking every other meaſure that prudence dictated, for the preſervation of domeſtic tranquillity, and external ſecurity.

No ſooner were the dietines aſſembled than diſcord and confuſion interrupted all buſineſs, and involved the whole country in ſcenes of riot and tumult. The only article of conſequence agreed upon was, that the election ſhould be made by the *poſpolite*, or aſſembly of the nobility of the kingdom. *The leſſer diets aſſembled.*

dom. At *Marienburg* the electors came to blows, and blood was ſhed without appeaſing the heat of contention: in the iſſue, however, it was determined that compliments of condolance ſhould be made to the queen and the princes *James*, *Conſtantine*, and *Alexander*; that proper regard ſhould be had to the conventions made with *Sobieski*, and the pretenſions of his family; that thanks ſhould be returned to the primate-archbiſhop, and great generals, for their aſſiduous attention to the affairs of the republic, and the prudent meaſures taken to preſerve the public tranquillity; that the demands of the ſtate in general, as well as of individuals, ſhould be conſidered, drawn out into the form of a remonſtrance, and preſented to the prince elect before his coronation; and that foreign miniſters ſhould, according to antient uſage, be obliged to withdraw from the diet of election. Strict injunctions were likewiſe laid upon the deputies to exert their utmoſt endeavours, that the buſineſs of the general diet might be concluded in fifteen days, to ſave expence to the ſtate, and cut off all cauſe of diſpute and diſcord, as well as of bribery and corruption. Theſe inſtructions were given to very little purpoſe, as it was the buſineſs of the repreſentatives to convert the opportunity to the beſt advantage, and increaſe their fortunes by the liberality of the candidates. At the ſame time the nobility entered into engagements of union for the ſecurity of the Catholic religion, the repoſe of the kingdom, and the freedom of election; engagements that were found vain and fruitleſs, after the paſſions had been warmed with debate, and avarice and ambition were excited by opportunity [b].

Meeting of the general diet.

ON the twenty-ninth of *Auguſt* the preliminary diet was opened with the accuſtomed ceremonies; after which the aſſembly proceeded to the nomination of a marechal, or ſpeaker, which gave riſe to warm debates. The contention lay between *Great* and *Little Poland*, each of theſe provinces inſiſting it was her turn to give a ſpeaker to the diet. At length, the deputies of *Great Poland* acquieſced, by way of reſerving their right to the future diet, that their ſtrength might not be exhauſted upon an object merely titular. It was foreſeen that the altercation with which this diet commenced would prevent its being deciſive, and that another muſt neceſſarily be ſummoned to complete the election. The *Lithuanians* too were of the ſame opinion, and ſeemed to join iſſue with the deputies of *Great Poland*. This inflamed both parties to ſuch a degree of animoſity, that the commonwealth was in danger of being torn in pieces by a civil war, when the biſhop of

[b] Abbé FONT. cap. v. PUFF. Hiſt. Gen. tom. iv. lib. iv.

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Poſnania fell upon the extraordinary method of calming the ſpirit of faction, by coming in his epiſcopal robes to the *ſzopa*, and haranguing the aſſembly. Some were awed by his venerable appearance, and others by his eloquence; but the majority thought it ſavoured of extravagance, continued to foment the tumult, and at length occaſioned the diſſolution of the diet. On the thirtieth and thirty-firſt, two other diets were held with ſimilar conſequences: rage took place of candour and patriotiſm, and the deputies parted juſt as they had met. Upon which it was propoſed, that the diet ſhould proceed to buſineſs without a marechal; but this project was fraught with ſuch a variety of glaring inconveniences, that it was immediately rejected. Several other propoſals ſhared the ſame fate; when at length the *Lithuanian* deputies removed all difficulties, by conſenting that *Little Poland* ſhould have the nomination of a marechal; in conſequence of which, *Komieniski*, nephew to the palatine of *Kiow*, lieutenant-colonel of artillery, and ſtaroſta of *Podolia*, received the ſtaff of office, and was formally inſtalled: an honour for which he thanked the diet in an eloquent oration, promiſing to conduct himſelf in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould have no cauſe to be diſſatisfied at his election. Indeed, the new marechal ſtrongly recommended himſelf to the nobility, by the ardor of his zeal in ſupporting the honour and intereſt of that principal body of the nation.

Diſputes about a marechal.

EVERY new propoſition gave birth to freſh altercation: the queſtion was put, whether the body of deputies ſhould deliberate jointly with the ſenate, or ſeparately? This, after violent contention, was determined in the affirmative. It was next propoſed, that a ſcrutiny ſhould be made into the legality of elections of the deputies; but as it was apprehended that ſuch an inquiry would protract the diet to great length, the motion was over-ruled; and it was reſolved, that the deputies ſhould join the ſenate, and proceed to buſineſs; but that all doubtful elections ſhould be deprived of active voices, until they had ſatisfactorily anſwered all the objections which might ariſe touching that point. A ſpeech, pathetically deſcribing the ſituation of the republic, and warmly applauding the conduct of the nobility, was pronounced by the marechal, and anſwered by the primate, who propoſed, that a general confederacy of all the members of the diet ſhould be formed, for ſecuring its repoſe, liberty, and ſecurity; for providing the means of extinguiſhing the animoſities which diſtracted the republic, during the reign of *Sobieski*; for drawing up the laws and conditions to which the prince ſhould be required to ſubſcribe; for conſulting a method of putting the army on a bet-

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ter footing, clearing off arrears, and ſuppreſſing the ſeditious humour which began to infect the whole military body; for regulating the current coin, and thereby preventing the manifold diſorders conſequent on the diverſity of ſpecie; and laſtly, he moved, that the diet of election ſhould be poſtponed to the ſpring of the ſucceeding year: thus artfully ſecuring to himſelf the continuance of ſupreme authority, under pretence of affording leiſure to the people for a judicious ſelection among the candidates. It ſoon appeared, that the prelate intended bringing the diadem to market, and ſelling it at the higheſt price to the moſt liberal bidder among the competitors; but he had the addreſs for ſome time to diſguiſe his ſentiments, and paſs them for truly patriotic and public ſpirited. "Remember, ſays he, that the crown is given, and not ſold: "the late elections have been diſgraced by corruption; the "profuſion of the candidates excited the avarice of the "electors, and brought reproach on the nation. It is our "buſineſs to avoid the conſequent inconveniences; and ſince "we are now to give a ſovereign to the republic, who may "reſtore its priſtine ſplendour, let merit, and not money, de"termine our choice [c]."

PREVIOUS to the meeting of the diet, prince *James*, out of regard to the conſtitution, retired to a caſtle in the vicinity of *Dantzick*, there to wait the ſucceſs of a party which was forming to raiſe him to the throne of his father. He knew that he was excluded by the inferior diets; but both he and the queen-mother believed, that the general diets would pay more reſpect to the children of their late glorious monarch. Imagining likewiſe that her preſence would greatly aſſiſt the deſigns of the royal party, her majeſty repaired to *Javerow*, with intention of proceeding to the capital. She was given to underſtand, that this meaſure would give offence to the nobility; and that ſuch a contempt for the eſtabliſhed laws of the conſtitution would prove highly detrimental to the intereſt ſhe was deſirous of promoting. The primate, who was ſuppoſed to be attached to the royal intereſt, joined in the remonſtrance; and the palatine of *Caliſh* was diſpatched to wait on her majeſty, with the ſentiments of the principal perſonages in the republic; but nothing could alter her reſolution: ſhe heard his repreſentations, and purſued her journey, arriving at *Cracow* about the time appointed for the meeting of the diet, and taking up her reſidence in her uſual apartments. The nobility took fire, and were preparing to

The queen-mother's conduct.

[c] PARTHEN. Hiſt. tom. i. lib. i.

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reſent this breach of the laws, when the motions of the *Tartars*, and the ſeditions in the army, diverted their intention.

ADVICE had juſt arrived that the *Tartars* had made an irruption into *Podolia*, whence they had carried off a great number of priſoners of every ſex, age, and condition; drove away the cattle, and intirely deſtroyed the corn-fields, juſt as they were ripe for the ſickle, and ready to reward the toil of the huſbandman. The army was ordered to advance to ſtop theſe ravages, and puniſh the enemy; but inteſtine diviſion had deſtroyed all diſcipline, and, inſtead of obeying the government, the ſoldiers united in a confederacy to claim independency, and live at free quarters, until the arrears of the army were advanced. *Bogiſlaus Baronowski* was choſen the leader of this union, not for the qualities of his mind, or the elevation of his birth, but from the popularity he acquired among the ſoldiers, on account of a ſeditious, inflammatory, bold eloquence. His family had been ennobled, by giving birth to a primate-archbiſhop of *Gneſna*; but he was as deſtitute of fortune as of principle. By his father he poſſeſſed a ſmall eſtate, which for a ſhort time only adminiſtered to his diſſipation. He had married a woman, whom he could not love, for the ſake of handling her fortune, which was immediately ſquandered, and ſhe turned adrift, to lament her folly. At this juncture *Bogiſlaus* was no more than a huſſar in the regiment of *Lubomirski*; but a ſpeech which he made to his fellow-ſoldiers occaſioned his elevation. "Is this, ſaid he, the reward of our "fatigues and bloodſhed in defence of our unnatural coun- "try? Muſt we be left to periſh for want in the midſt of "that plenty and felicity which we have ſecured for the "haughty nobility? Shall *Turks* and *Tartars* ravage thoſe "treaſures, which would render us compleatly happy? Ra- "ther let us anticipate their deſigns, and deprive them of the "inducement to plunder the frontiers, by laying hands upon "whatever is valuable, and reaping for ourſelves the fruits of "our toils. This cannot be conſtrued into a violence on "the conſtitution; juſtice and policy demand it, ſince there- "by the republic will not only be diſcharged of her debts, "but the enemy diſappointed of their prey, and deterred "from making freſh inroads." The boldneſs of his manner, and the ſpecioufneſs of his arguments, met with univerſal applauſe: the reſolution was taken, *Bogiſlaus* appointed general, and the invidiouſneſs of a revolt was cloaked under the milder appellation of a confederacy. Immediately he entered upon the execution of the deſign formed, and accordingly laid all the country round under heavy contribution: after which he ſent deputies to the ſenate, formally to demand the arrears

Irruption of the Tartars, and revolt of the army.

due to an army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, for the ſpace of ten years; a demand which the ſtate of the treaſury would not admit of being anſwered. Nothing indeed could be more juſt than the complaints of the ſoldiers, had they been preſented in a manner more agreeable to the laws of ſociety. The oppoſition of ſeveral of the nobility had deprived the late king of the means of advancing their pay to the ſoldiers, many of whom had conſumed their little fortunes, and were now forced to live upon the public. He had formed ſchemes for redreſſing this grievance, when death put an end to thoſe projects ſo ſalutary to the republic. Ever ſince, the enormity was increaſing, without a poſſibility of applying remedies, which rendered the army quite deſperate, and the preſent rebellion almoſt unavoidable. However, all men pretended aſtoniſhment to ſee the government thus braved by its ſubjects, and laws preſcribed by thoſe perſons who were hired for preſiding over the execution of the laws, and the defence of the frontiers. The ſenate was terrified with the menaces of the military deputies, and it was propoſed to apply the treaſures hoarded up by *Sobieski*, towards the diſcharge of the army-arrears. This was a meaſure dictated by the enemies of that monarch's family, which they defended by alledging, that as thoſe ſums had been collected from the ſtate, it was highly reaſonable they ſhould be applied to the occaſions of the republic. In vain did the royal party oppoſe this motion, as highly injurious and unjuſt to the queen and the princes. It was on the point of paſſing the aſſembly, when *Horodenski*, deputy from the palatinate of *Czernikow*, entered a proteſt againſt theſe proceedings, and immediately quitted the houſe, which alone was ſufficient to break up the diet[a].

An act of the diet.

WHEN the means of paying the army were vaniſhed, it was neceſſary to have recourſe to other meaſures: accordingly the ſenate came to a reſolution, to which the deputies acceded, that an act ſhould immediately be prepared to confederate the whole body of nobility, for the conſervation of religion, liberty, and property, and eſpecially of the freedom of election: and at the ſame time it was determined, that the diet of election ſhould be held in the open field on the twenty-ſixth of *May* enſuing, the *poſpolite* to aſſemble in the ſame manner as at the election of king *Michael*; a point which had been agreed upon before, tho' with leſs formality. To this act the primate and the biſhop of *Poſnania* ſet their names on the firſt day of *October*; and their example was followed next day by a majority of the deputies. What appears extraordi-

[a] PARTHEN. lib. i. PUFFEND. tom. iv. lib. iv.

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y is, that one of the articles of this confederacy ex-
d all natives; and yet the primate, who firſt ſigned it,
ſuppoſed a ſtickler for prince *Alexander*, the third ſon of
late monarch, whom many perſons preferred to prince
s, who was born before *Sobieski*'s acceſſion. Certain it
iat he did ſubſcribe to the act, and that the diet broke up
ediately after.

ITH reſpect to *Horodenski*, whoſe proteſt had warded off low levelled at the royal family, he retreated to the con- ated army, where he hoped for protection againſt the tment of the diet; and offered, with the aſſiſtance of ſix ſand men only, to join all the *Lithuanian* nobility and ers in the ſame intereſt: a ſcheme which had been fruit- attempted a little before by *Baronowski*. This chief was, ver, too fond of his new-acquired authority to accept of ſociate. He therefore rejected the palatine's propoſal, ved him coldly, and afforded him protection only becauſe ought he might be ſerviceable in promoting his deſigns, that a nobleman of his rank and dignity gave counte- e to the confederacy, conſiſting almoſt intirely of obſcure ns. *Baronowski* was ſenſible, that if the palatine was oyed in bringing over the *Lithuanians*, he would ſoon ire the chief command; for the refuſal of the nobility to their troops to his, proceeded from the contempt in which held his birth and fortune: they deſired a leader more rious, more able, and experienced; not an upſtart, who only diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his crimes, and a certain f confidence that gained the affections of the ſoldiers. fect, the bulk of the nobility of that dutchy had entered a confederacy in defence of their privileges, and the ec- iſtical immunities. This was the pretext; though, in they were prevailed on by the queen's money, and the aſion of the celebrated abbé *Polignac*, the *French* miniſter, arow off all allegiance to *Sapieha*, the grand general. diſputes between that nobleman and the biſhop of *Wilna*, hoſe juriſdiction he had quartered his troops, furniſhed ambitious and deſigning with a fair opportunity, which firſt embraced by *Oginski*, grand ſtandard-bearer of the ay, who, by means of corruption and addreſs, obtained upreme command of the confederated ſoldiers. Already corps amounted to four thouſand men; and they were joined by the nobility of *Samogitia*, *Novogrod*, *Brezcia*, *Witeſpi*; a letter from the palatine of which province to ueen was intercepted, whence it appeared, that her ma- was at the bottom of the revolution in *Lithuania*, as ſhe ſuſpected to have been the promoter of the ſedition in the

Confederacy of the Lithuanians.

that great numbers of the enemy were made priſoners, all of whom declared, that they penetrated into *Poland* at the inſtigation of ſome of the principal nobility, who thereby intended to accelerate the meaſures for an election. The *Turks* too made incurſions with the ſame fortune into the *Poliſh* dominions, and the priſoners made a ſimilar declaration. In this ſituation the abbé *de Polignac* interpoſed, and determined to convert circumſtances to the advantage of the court of *Verſailles*. He offered to pay a ſum of money to the *Ottoman* court, to remove all apprehenſions of future incurſions from that quarter during the inter-regnum; and the propoſal was regarded by a majority of the ſenate as an extraordinary proof of generoſity, conſidering the inability of the ſtate to repay the obligation; though others conſtrued it into a ſelfiſh deſign, intended only to extend the influence of his court at the future election. This conjecture was not without foundation. *Polignac* had acted with the utmoſt capacity and addreſs. Perceiving the unſteady conduct of the queen-mother, who fluctuated from one opinion to another, and ſometimes eſpouſed the intereſt of prince *James*, and at other times determined to ſet prince *Alexander* on the throne, he concluded, that her fickleneſs would occaſion the excluſion of both, and thence derived hopes for a prince of the blood of *Bourbon*. King *Lewis* and the *French* miniſtry yielded intirely to the ſchemes of *Polignac*, from a thorough confidence in his capacity; and now the abbé talked publickly of nominating a candidate: but, before he mentioned names, he reſolved to remove all obſtructions to his election. With this view he declared againſt all the children of *Sobieski*, and thereby ingratiated himſelf with all the *Poles*, who either diſliked the queen's conduct, the royal family, or the elevation of a native to the ſovereign dignity. He likewiſe checked the deſires of the *Poliſh* lords whoſe ambition aſpired at the crown, by repreſenting that ſuch pretenſions muſt terminate in their own deſtruction, not only from the number of the candidates, but from the jealouſy of their competitors, who would not eaſily acquieſce in the preference given to a perſon no way their ſuperior in birth, fortune, or merit. Having by theſe artful inſinuations extinguiſhed their hopes, he put the queſtion, Where they thought a prince equal to the neceſſities of the ſtate could be found, whoſe valour might reſtore the luſtre, and prudence re-eſtabliſh the tranquillity of the republic; in a word, a prince whoſe dignity and illuſtrious qualities would be able to cruſh the head of faction, and render all men unanimous in admiring his virtues? The Proteſtant ſtates, he alledged, could not furniſh a monarch to *Poland*, as religion and the laws effectually excluded

Abbé de Polignac's *artful conduct.*

cluded the natives of *England*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, however acknowledged their merit. A prince of the houſe of *Auſtria* would endanger the liberties of the republic, as the inſtances of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and *Sileſia* were ſufficient to evince. The long tranquillity of *Italy* rendered the princes of that country inactive, indolent, averſe, and ignorant of the art of war; yet *Poland* required a warlike ſovereign. *Holland* afforded only merchants, and perſons ſprung from low mechanics. *Spain* would be obliged to borrow a monarch from *France*; and as to *Portugal*, it was little better than a fief of the holy ſee, in ſo ſlaviſh a dependence was that kingdom held by the church. In ſhort, the eloquent abbé diſcovered objections to the natives of every kingdom and ſtate in *Europe* except *France*, which he ſeemed to prefer with the moſt ſpecious impartiality, and without any other view than to promote the true intereſt of *Poland*. Having thus paved the way, he mentioned the prince of *Conti* as the perſon whoſe birth and virtues rendered him worthy of the crown, and whom the peculiar circumſtances of the republic, at this juncture, loudly demanded for a ſovereign. He was the laſt of the blood royal of *France*; ten princes claimed the crown before him, and there was no reaſon to apprehend he ſhould ever be tempted to quit *Poland*, in order to take poſſeſſion of the throne of his native country.

POLIGNAC had, previous to this declaration, formed a very powerful party; yet he met with ſtrenuous oppoſition. The imperial miniſter uſed his utmoſt endeavours to embroil matters. He repreſented in the ſtrongeſt manner the aſpiring views of *Lewis* king of *France*, who laboured deſtroying that balance which all *Europe* had been ſtriving to keep equal for near a century. He ſaid, that one of the moſt brilliant diadems in Chriſtendom was inſufficient for that monarch: he muſt kindle the flames of war, and overwhelm *Europe* with blood and horror, to unite the crowns of *Spain* and *Poland* in the houſe of *Bourbon*. He expatiated upon the intereſt the republick had in diſappointing ſuch vaſt deſigns, which could not fail of proving ruinous to her liberties. The emperor, *Great Britain*, the republick of *Holland*, and almoſt the combined ſtrength of Chriſtendom, hath not, ſaid he, been able to ſtop the rapidity of his conqueſts. Should *Poland* join herſelf to that prince by any alliance direct or indirect, will ſhe not be acceſſory in eſtabliſhing the univerſal empire of *Lewis*, in ſhackling the liberties of neighbouring powers, and ſharing their bondage. *Polignac*, on the other hand, obviated all the inconveniencies repreſented by the imperialiſt, with that irreſiſtible ſtream of perſuaſion and inſinuating manner which he eminently

He is oppoſed by the imperial miniſter.

nently poſſeſſed; but, though his arguments and eloquence deeply impreſſed the minds of great numbers, they were not univerſally evincive, and ſeveral great perſonages oppoſed the pretenſions of the prince of *Conti*, among whom was the biſhop of *Cujaiva*. *Polignac* had written to this prelate to ſecure his intereſt, and was ſurprized to receive for anſwer, that the deſigns of the prince would be fruitleſs; that the *Poliſh* nation was not well affected to *France*; that many inſuperable objections lay againſt chuſing a prince of the houſe of *Bourbon*; that the queen dowager's conduct inſpired a general diſlike to that union, and that for his own part, though he highly eſteemed the prince of *Conti*, the court of *France*, and in particular the abbé *Polignac*, he muſt nevertheleſs conſult the real intereſt of his country and the republick.

And incurs the diſpleaſure of the queen of Poland.

IT would be endleſs to repeat all the arguments produced by *Polignac* to diſſipate thoſe and ſimilar ſcruples: he omitted nothing in this way; but he fell upon a ſtill more effectual method of accompliſhing his purpoſe. His meaſures were ſo effectually taken with the petty diets, that they entered upon a new reſolution, of excluding prince *James*, by which the queen's indignation againſt the court of *Verſailles* was more inflamed, tho' it anſwered no other end than ſtrengthening the prince of *Conti*'s party. Her reſentment was carried to ſuch a pitch, that ſhe ordered her picture, hung up in the abbé *Polignac*'s apartments, to be taken down, from which it became evident, that her intereſt and the abbé's were not united, as had been long ſuppoſed; and this circumſtance drew the *Poles* more readily into the deſigns of the latter, becauſe they ſaw he acted with ſincerity.

NOR was this the only advantage which the cool, ſly addreſs of the miniſter obtained over this paſſionate princeſs. While he was upon terms of friendſhip with her, he perſuaded the queen to apply all the treaſures of her late huſband to purchaſe annuities in the *French* loans, exciting her avarice by the extraordinary intereſt they would yield. She fell into the ſnare, and thereby deprived herſelf of the means of promoting the election of her children, while at the ſame time ſhe ſtrengthened the hands of the miniſter and the court of *Verſailles*. As ſoon as ſhe had diſcovered her error, ſhe flew into a rage, and loaded *Polignac* with all the abuſe which the imagination of an incenſed woman could ſuggeſt. He wrote to her in vindication of his conduct; ſhe anſwered with bitterneſs; and the correſpondence is curious, as it explains a variety of circumſtances in the conduct of both parties, otherwiſe unintelligible. Hence it was evident that the intereſts of the queen and of prince *James* her ſon had been widely different;

rent; that ſhe had laboured to raiſe her younger ſon to the throne; that a reconciliation having been effected between the elder prince and queen-mother, ſhe had directed all her batteries to remove the obſtructions to his aſcending the throne; and that, to prevent the jealouſy which might ariſe from the preſence of his brothers, ſhe had ſent the two young princes to *France*, under pretence of compleating their education, in a kingdom then in the higheſt eſtimation for its progreſs in every art, ſcience, and accompliſhment. It was upon this union, and the meaſures taken by the *French* miniſter to procure his excluſion in the petty diets, that prince *James* determined to ſound in perſon the affections of the *Poliſh* nobility, gain them over by his promiſes, or at leaſt know the real cauſe of their coldneſs; for hitherto he had no ſuſpicion of the intrigues of *Polignac*. With this view he went in diſguiſe to *Cerzko*, the firſt diſtrict in the province of *Mazovia*, where a petty diet was aſſembled; but his project had almoſt coſt him his life; he was diſcovered and purſued cloſely by ſeveral gentlemen, ſword in hand, and eſcaped only thro' the fleetneſs of his horſe. Nor was this the only conſequence of a meaſure taken ſo precipitately; the *Poles* were ſo incenſed at a practice which they regarded as the moſt flagrant violation of their rights, that they combined more firmly than ever to exclude all the children of *Sobieski*, by which they fell directly into the views of the *French* miniſter. Yet ſtill the imperial miniſter found means to keep up a ſtrong faction againſt *France*, and to render the integrity of *Polignac* ſuſpected by his own court; upon which the abbé *Chateauneuf* was ſent to *Poland* with the powers of envoy extraordinary. On his firſt arrival he found that *Polignac* was unjuſtly impeached; that his party was in the exact ſituation he had repreſented; that all the chief nobility were in the intereſt of the prince of *Conti*, and that the miniſter had acquitted himſelf with equal honour, addreſs, and ability; upon which the powers of *Polignac* were confirmed, and his inſtructions extended[a]. What confirmed the court of *Verſailles* in the opinion entertained of *Polignac*'s integrity, was the order iſſued ſoon after by the palatinates, for her majeſty to quit *Warſaw*, in conſequence of which ſhe retired, with her father-in-law the cardinal *Arguien*, to *Dantzick*. This was a certain proof of her declining intereſt, and of the little chance any of the children of *Sobieski* ſtood of ſucceeding to their paternal throne. A. D. 1697.

To effect the excluſion of the young princes appeared to be the ſettled purpoſe of the factions formed by the imperial and *French* miniſters, who differed in every thing beſides. For

[a] Lettres de Reine de Pologn. au Polign. l. 4. [b] Lett. ibid.

thi

Candidates for the crown.

this purpoſe the duke of *Newburgh* was propoſed a candidate by a ſmall party, which had hitherto declared for no intereſt; but as this prince wanted money, the eſſential virtue of a candidate, he was only mentioned, to pave the way for ſome perſon more able and willing to diffuſe his wealth among the electors.

THE next candidate was uſhered in by the palatines of *Cracow*, *Siradia*, and *Leopold*. This was no other than *Livio Odeſchalchi*, nephew to the pope, a prince whoſe wealth, munificence, and generoſity, were highly extolled in the diet. He beſides promiſed, that all his riches ſhould be given to the republick as a pledge of the performance of his engagements; but all the return that *Odeſchalchi*'s offers met with, conſiſted in bitter paſquinades on himſelf and the conſiſtorial advocate, *Monté Catini*, who was ridiculed as the ſolicitor of a hopeleſs cauſe. In theſe pieces it was alledged, that the *Italian* prince intended to pay the arrears due to the army in paintings, ſculpture, and ancient coins; and that for this purpoſe he had ſent into *Poland* the head of an *Otho* in braſs, as a ſpecimen of what might be expected from his liberality.

A fourth candidate nominated in the diet was the duke of *Lorrain*, a prince ſtill leſs able than the duke of *Newburgh* to gratify the rapacity of the electors. He had been lately ſtript of his dominions, relied wholly on the aſſiſtance of the imperial court and her allies, and was but nineteen years of age; circumſtances no way favourable to his pretenſions, tho' poſſeſſed of extraordinary merit. He was the ſon indeed of a queen of *Poland*, conſort to king *Michael*, but he had little reaſon to depend on the affections of a people who refuſed to pay his mother's dowry; accordingly his party was inconſiderable. Fame reported that the crown was offered by a very numerous faction to the duke of *Bavaria*; but that he was ſeduced by the inſinuations of the imperial court to decline the propoſal. It is probable however, that rather the fear of being diſappointed, after launching out into extraordinary expences, than reſpect for the emperor, actuated his conduct.

PRINCE *Lewis* of *Baden* might be reckoned among the moſt powerful of the prince of *Conti*'s competitors. His repeated victories in *Hungary* and *Tranſylvania* had ſpread his fame all over *Europe*, and fixed the imperial throne on the head of the emperor, at a time when it tottered through the rebellion of his own ſubjects, and the formidable irruption of the *Turks* into his dominions. A prince accuſtomed to conquer the *Turks*, and capable of completing the great work begun by *Sobieski*, muſt appear a welcome candidate to the *Poles*, had his merit been ſupported with ſufficient wealth, or could they be certain

n that the elector of *Brandenburgh* would perform the iſes he made in behalf of the prince of *Baden*, without ting ſome equivalent at the expence of the republick. alone was ſufficient to render his influence greatly in- to that of the prince of *Conti*, who ſeemed to triumph all his rivals, until *Frederick-Auguſtus*, elector of y, declared his pretenſions, and ſuddenly chilled all the of *Polignac* and the *French* party (A). *John Prezbon-ki*, caſtellan of *Culm*, finding that his own ambitious ts met with little ſucceſs, firſt joined himſelf to the *h* intereſt, imagining he ſhould become the head of that n; ſoon however perceiving that his influence was little ded, he caſt his eyes on the elector of *Saxony*, a young, hy, ambitious prince, who would probably reward his es liberally, ſhould they prove effectual in placing the diadem on his temples. He ſent a meſſage ſecretly to *The elector* *ſtus*, and received ſuch an anſwer as encouraged him to *of* Saxony ut privately to the electoral court at *Dreſden*, where the *oppoſes the* tion was ſuch as firmly ſecured his zeal and fidelity. He *prince of* efore the elector a ſtate of the parties as they appeared in Conti. *d*, and informed him of the means which muſt infallibly re ſucceſs. Theſe conſiſted chiefly in the promiſe of millions, of which the republick was in great want, for ayment of the army. This ſum it was neceſſary ſhould ewn to the commiſſaries before the election. The pre- of the elector would, he obſerved, contribute greatly to ccceſs of his application, and this was an advantage which ould probably have over the prince of *Conti*, whom the *h* court found it difficult to tranſport to *Poland*, during a with the maritime powers and the emperor; but he men- d as a neceſſary condition, that he would abjure the *Lu-n* religion, a point which it was imagined would occaſion greateſt difficulty, though it proved otherwiſe: in fact, rince had, two years before, renounced his principles in

) Beſides theſe candidates, *nius*, ſtaroſta of *Nowenmi-* one of the richeſt noble- in *Poland*, and the grand- al, count *Jablownoſki*, ſhew- emſelves on the liſt of com- ors for the crown. It was ht the queen, deſpairing of ccceſs of her children, in- l to favour the grand-ge- neral, upon condition that he married her, and ſhared his au- thority with a princeſs to whom he owed his good fortune. To theſe we may add the caſtellan of *Culm*, who at firſt formed de- ſigns for himſelf, but ſoon re- nounced them in favour of the elector of *Saxony* (1).

(1) *Perthen. Hiſt. l.* 2. *p.* 55.

a tour

a tour he made to *Rome*, and his converſion was regiſtered in the dioceſe of *Javarin*, and regiſtered by the prelate prince of *Sax-Zaits*, his kinſman. The caſtellan beſides repreſented the difficulties under which the prince of *Conti*'s party laboured, though inconteſtably the moſt powerful; namely, the ſcarcity of money, the miniſter of *France* having taken up ſix hundred thouſand livres from the bankers, which had already been diſtributed among the *Poles*, and his credit being now at a ſtand, on account of the difficulty the *French* monarch found in remitting ſpecie, while the ſeas were covered with the ſhips of his enemies. He told the elector that the *Poliſh* nobility were always more powerfully influenced by preſent than by paſt favours. Smaller ſums duly applied at the time of election, proved of more efficacy than much larger given before, or promiſed eventually. In a word, he repreſented every circumſtance in ſo favourble a light, that *Frederick-Auguſtus* was eaſily prevailed on to appear a candidate for a crown, which became the ſource of manifold calamities to himſelf and to *Saxony*[a]. Having taken his meaſures with the court of *Rome* to remove all obſtructions on the ſcore of religion, he began laying up the ſums which he imagined would be neceſſary in the proſecution of his great project.

Count Fleming *ſent to* Poland.

On the return of the caſtellan to *Warſaw*, he found himſelf greatly embarraſſed; his credit was not conſiderable enough to gain approbation to a treaty projected and formed wholly by himſelf. He was equally apprehenſive of diſappointing the elector, and incurring the reſentment of the *Poles*; but prudently imagining that money would effect every thing with a people ſo corrupt, he wrote to the elector, candidly confeſſed the difficulties he had to encounter, and was ſoon relieved from his perplexity by the arrival of colonel *Fleming*, the elector's growing favourite, whom he ſent to ſupport the caſtellan's credit. This miniſter immediately delivered a letter from his maſter to the abbé *Polignac*, and aſked the *French* envoy whether he had not received inſtructions from his court relative to the late negociation between the king and the elector. *Polignac* was aſtoniſhed to hear of a negociation, of which he had not the leaſt intimation; he anſwered, that he could not conceive the cauſe of the inquiry, ſince the affairs of the prince of *Conti* were in a flouriſhing ſituation, and behaved with a caution and reſerve which gave *Fleming* to underſtand, that he doubted the truth of any treaty between the courts of *Verſailles* and *Dresden*. The ſcheme indeed was well

[a] PARTHEN. lib. 1. Vit. Siecl. tom. 1. Mem. de Fred. Auguſt. page 59.

laid to ſeduce the abbé into a belief that he was now to co-operate with the elector's deſigns; but *Polignac* was too ſagacious and penetrating to be over-reached. He determined to wait for direct inſtructions from his court, before he began the ſmalleſt alteration in his meaſures[c]. Notwithſtanding this report, it was rumoured that the *French* miniſter had deſerted the intereſt of the prince of *Conti*, and it required all the addreſs of *Polignac* to prevent the bad conſequences of ſuch a report.

It was not long before the abbé received an anſwer from the *French* court, requiring him to perſiſt in his deſigns, and to proſecute with the utmoſt vigour the pretenſions of the prince of *Conti*. This he made public; and now the kingdom was divided into two great parties, all the leſſer ones being wholly abſorbed in the ſuperior weight and influence of the factions formed by the courts of *Verſailles* and *Dreſden*. The former was the moſt numerous and popular; the latter acquired gradual ſtrength, was ſupported by money, the talents of *Fleming*, the influence of the court of *Vienna*, and the clamours of the caſtellan of *Culm*, that *France* did not execute her engagements, that the prince of *Conti* was abſent, and that money was wanting for the payment of the army, without which the ſtate was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. There was indeed ſome truth in this laſt allegation. *Baronowski* was ſtill at the head of the mutineers, plundering the provinces, and ravaging with peculiar animoſity the eſtate belonging to the late king's family, which created ſuſpicion that he was countenanced by the *French* miniſter, who thereby intended to put the queen-mother and the princes out of all condition of ſupporting an oppoſition. It was beſides reported, poſſibly by the imperial and *Saxon* miniſters, that he had promiſed the troops all their arrears, beſides large gratuities, provided they would countenance and eſpouſe his deſigns. However, the miſconduct of the proud *Baronowski*, and ſome fortunate accidents, overturned the project formed by *Polignac*, and entirely cruſhed the rebellion. The ſenate, unable to ſtop their ravages, had ſet on foot a new conference at *Leopold*, at which *Baronowski* conſented as before, that commiſſaries ſhould attend. Here the commiſſioners of the republic conducted themſelves with ſuch dexterity, that the military commiſſaries were drawn in to ſign a treaty, notwithſtanding the endeavours of their general to traverſe the negotiation. Incenſed at their conduct he condemned them to death, and by this inſolent tyrannical act of power alienated the affections of the ſoldiers, and paved the way for the ſpirited meaſures upon which the ſenate was entering.

The conſederate army reduced to ſubmiſſion.

[c] Auct. citat. ibid.

entering. The commiſſaries of the republic interceded for the delinquents, and procured a reſpite of the ſentence by renewing the conferences at the caſtle of *Samber*, where the mutineer-chief eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. By dint of ſubornation *Baronowski* directed the new negotiation at his pleaſure, and obtained a reſolution of the whole army againſt any renewal of the conferences. Immediately after he publiſhed a defence of his conduct, or rather a libel upon the ſenate; but this proved the ruin of all his projects. All men were ſenſible that he puſhed his ambition to an extreme dangerous to the conſtitution. The ſenators aſſembled at *Leopold* had the courage to declare him a traitor, and the whole body of the confederates rebels and enemies to their country. Rigour effected what had long foiled all lenient applications. More than half the troops deſerted the confederacy, and *Baronowski* had ſo little confidence in the ſteadineſs of the remainder, that he endeavoured to make a merit of the neceſſity of his affairs, and procure pardon before he was abandoned by all his forces. Accordingly he offered his ſubmiſſion, threw himſelf upon the clemency of the ſenate, and would have met with his juſt reward, had not *Jablownoski*, who had diſcretionary powers, interpoſed. Many were for putting him immediately to death, as an example of the authority and juſtice of the ſenate, neceſſary to the tranquillity of the ſtate, and eſſential to the ſupport of good government. The crown-general however over-ruled all violent reſolutions, declared the pardon granted to the confederates, and pledged his honour that they might repair in perfect ſecurity to *Leopold*. They embraced the offer, appeared with *Baronowski* before the tribunal eſtabliſhed by *Jablownoski*, and waſhed out the ſtains of rebellion by tears and a hearty contrition: The proud *Baronowski* now diſplayed the utmoſt meanneſs, kiſſed the hands and feet of his judge, and ſhewed by his ſervility how little he merited the compaſſion that extended to the preſervation of his life and fortune.

The final diet of election aſſembles.

No ſooner was the republic reſtored to peace by the ſubmiſſion of the confederated army, than freſh cauſes of diſſention aroſe. The day now was arrived for the meeting of the final diet of election, when all parties agreed on the neceſſity of giving the kingdom a ſovereign, and terminating the authority of the archbiſhop, who was accuſed of ſhifting and temporizing in a manner unworthy of his ſacred function, and the dignity of his employment. On the fifteenth of *May* the diet met, and the firſt day was conſumed in formalities, the election of a marechal having been deferred to the day following, on account of the difficulties that muſt ariſe from the multiplicity of candidates for that office. *Humieniski*

mieniski urged his pretenſions, ariſing from his having been appointed marechal to the preliminary diet; but this argument was over-ruled. The preſent aſſembly was compoſed of different deputies from the former; and by the ſame rule the ſpeaker muſt be changed, or at leaſt placed upon a footing with the other candidates: however, the palatines joined in requeſting that he might continue in that office until another marechal was elected, which was accordingly granted, in order that the aſſembly might proceed to buſineſs with more regularity. Some debates, which aroſe on a motion that inquiry ſhould be made into the cauſes of the late confederacy of the army, occaſioned an adjournment to the nineteenth, when the ſubject of electing a marechal was reſumed, and diſputed with great warmth and animoſity. It was now the turn of *Great Poland* to give the aſſembly a ſpeaker, and accordingly this province ſupported the intereſt of *Odolanowski*, ſtaroſt-general of *Great Poland*. He was oppoſed by the *French* party, in which appeared eight candidates, who had more trouble to reconcile their ſeveral intereſts than would have been ſufficient to have excluded their adverſaries. Beſides, a party propoſed continuing *Humieniski*, though this was generally ſuppoſed to be a violation of the conſtitution. Count *Bielinski* was favoured above all the competitors by the abbé *Polignac*, becauſe he was known to be entirely devoted to the intereſt of *France*, on account of his poſſeſſing a great eſtate in that country, and marrying the daughter of count *Morſteyn*, who had great influence over his conduct. The abbé managed the affair with ſo much addreſs, that he at laſt united the ſtrength of the whole *French* faction to ſupport this gentleman, and then the diſpute lay chiefly between the count and *Odolanowski*. It became violent in proportion as it was contracted to a point: *Great Poland* inſiſted upon its right, and the *French* party were equally attached to their intereſt; both ſides were ſo tenacious of their opinions, that it was found neceſſary to defer the election. At laſt the ſuffrages were given by the *poſpolite*, every gentleman in turn putting the name of the candidate he eſpouſed into the hands of *Humieniski*, by which it appeared, on a ſcrutiny, that *Bielinski* had a majority, and upon this he was immediately proclaimed marechal, after a whole month had been ſpent in fruitleſs altercations. *France* triumphed in gaining this point, as the marechal has always been regarded of the greateſt importance in determining controverſies before this aſſembly.

Corruption of the

IT was now that the crown was openly put up to ſale, and the acts of corruption were practiſed in the moſt glaring and ſhameful manner by the candidates for the ſovereign dig-

nity. The pretenders bid to a degree of extravagance; but the electors were too numerous and too avaritious to be fully gratified. The two great parties had calculated their ſtrength, the one endeavouring to improve the late advantage, and the other ſtriving to ſtrengthen themſelves and deprive the enemy of the fruits of their victory. Both were ſo powerful, that all men dreaded a double election; and it was propoſed in the aſſembly that the marechal ſhould not deliver the diploma to either party, without the conſent of the republic. What likewiſe contributed to render the diſpute more equal was the talents of the agents employed. *Fleming*, the miniſter of *Saxony*, was artful, cunning, plauſible, and liberally ſupported with money, by which he daily augmented his faction; *Polignac* was eloquent, elegant, liberal in his manners, irreſiſtible in his addreſs, and foremoſt in his application. He was not ſo well ſupplied with money; but he had formed his party before the arrival of his adverſary. The caſtellan of *Culm* laboured to break this intereſt; and, perceiving that the palatine of *Wilna* fluctuated, he endeavoured to fix him on the ſide of *Auguſtus*, by repreſenting that the elector of *Saxony* performed all his engagements, while the court of *Verſailles* gave only fair words, which were forgot as ſoon as a point was gained. This led to an inquiry into facts, from whence it appeared that *Polignac* was totally deſtitute of money, and that attachment to his perſon alone had hitherto kept his party ſteady and unanimous. Such a diſcovery could not but be productive of advantage to the *Saxon* miniſter, whoſe coffers were as full as his hand was liberal. Complaints were publiſhed againſt the failure of *Polignac*'s promiſes; but he anſwered them ſo well, and gave ſuch aſſurances that ſupplies of money would arrive at *Dantzick* before the day of election, as broke the ſchemes of his adverſaries. The palatine of *Wilna* was again brought back to the prince of *Conti*'s party, juſt as he was on the brink of deſerting it, and he joined in an oath, taken by the primate and ſeveral noblemen, of admitting no other nomination. In conſequence of this aſſociation, expreſſes were diſpatched to *France* to haſten the prince's arrival, as his abſence proved the greateſt detriment to his affairs.

Intrigues of the parties.

FLEMING oppoſed his utmoſt ability to fruſtrate the deſigns of the *French* miniſter, whoſe talents he reſpected and dreaded. He judiciouſly diſtributed large ſums among the nobility, by which he daily made converts. Such proofs of the rectitude and juſtice of his cauſe were too powerful to be reſiſted by the candid *Poles*, who made no ſcruple of relinquiſhing that party which they regarded as conquered by

thoſe

thoſe beneficial ſolid arguments. This miniſter's ſteadineſs, ſupported by actual performances of all his engagements, laid the foundation of his maſter's ſucceſs. He ſaw that the arrival of the prince of *Conti* would be able ſtill to maintain a powerful party, which would oblige the republic to caſt her eyes on a third candidate; and he levelled all his batteries to make an advantage of ſuch a ſituation. Once the prince of *Conti* was abandoned, it would, he conceived, be no difficult matter to gain over many of his partiſans, who might think themſelves at liberty to join him, as they were abſolved from their promiſes to the court of *Verſailles*.

Foreign ambaſſadors have audience.

It was on the twentieth of *June* that audience was given to the foreign ambaſſadors, and firſt to the pope's nuncio, as had always been cuſtomary. This prelate took not the leaſt notice of the pretenſions of the *Italian* candidate; but confined himſelf wholly to recommend a Catholic king, and harmony among the deputies. Next day the emperor's ambaſſador was admitted to an audience, after having ſuſtained a variety of indignities from the *French* faction, owing to the ignorance of his retinue, in points of ceremonial, which obliged the marechal to declare, that unleſs they paid more regard to form, he would give orders they ſhould be cut in pieces (A). Another mortification was ſuſtained the moment he entered the aſſembly. On delivering his inſtructions to the grand ſecretary of the crown, it was obſerved that the title of *Serene*, which the republic always aſſumed, was omitted; but the conſequent difficulties were removed by the prelate's offering to make his apology in full diet. Theſe were but preludes to the farther vexations he was about to encounter. His train ſurrounded him ſo cloſely that he could not be ſeen, which gave offence: they were deſired to remove to a greater diſtance; but they choſe to lie down on the ground, for which the ambaſſador was reprimanded by the marechal. In his ſpeech he omitted certain phraſes of honour and compliment which the republic thought due to her, and this furniſhed the emiſſaries of *France* with frequent opportunities of rudely interrupting the biſhop, who went on

(A) The biſhop of *Paſſau* came into *Poland*, attended only by a few gentlemen; but finding it neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the imperial court, he took into his ſervice a great number of *Germans* who reſided at *Warſaw*. They met with ſome inſults from the populace, which occaſioned their ſurrounding their maſter with their naked ſwords. This was the indecorum of which the marechal complained.

in his own way, without altering an expreſſion, though he was ſo incenſed at their behaviour that he glowed with indignation, the blood ruſhing from his noſtrils. On the twenty-ſecond, audience was given to the abbé *Polignac*; and the oppoſite party determined to revenge themſelves for the inſults paſſed on the imperial miniſter. The ſtaroſt of *Olzten* plainly told him, "You have affronted an ambaſſador: expect re-"tribution," which determined the abbé to print the ſpeech he intended to pronounce, and diſtribute it, ſigned with his hand, to the palatines and other electors.

It was ſoon after this tranſaction that the council ſent a detachment to the abbé, to requeſt he would uſe his endeavours to prevent a double election, which to them appeared unavoidable, except by the prince of *Conti*'s reſigning the crown to the elector of *Saxony*, on that prince's undertaking to reimburſe the court of *Verſailles* in all the expences, an acknowledgment that he owed the crown to the *French* monarch. This expedient was not reliſhed by *Polignac*: he attended the deputies to the ſenate, and there demonſtrated with all the force of his elocution the danger that would enſue to their liberties from placing a *German* prince on the throne. He repreſented the aſſurances he had of being ſupported at the election by a powerful body of nobility; he repeated all that he had before advanced, relative to the character and ſuperior merit of the prince of *Conti*; and he concluded, that ſhould that prince be diſappointed, his party had determined to join the intereſt of prince *James*, and both might probably be able to carry the crown againſt all oppoſition. "'Tis "he, ſaid the abbé, ſhall aſcend the throne which religion, "the ſecurity of your liberty, and the honour of *France* will "not ſuffer to be enjoyed by the elector of *Saxony*, a diſ-"guiſed Proteſtant, and an acknowledged *German*." His diſcourſe made an impreſſion, and the whole ſenate determined to adhere to his intereſt, except the palatine of *Viteſp* and the caſtellan of *Czerkow*, who had been gained over by the liberality of *Auguſtus* and his agent *Fleming*. The example of theſe noblemen was followed by *Potoski*, palatine of *Cracow*, who firſt offered his ſervices to *Polignac* for a certain ſum of money; but finding the *French* ambaſſador was in no condition to accept his terms, he went over with all his adherents to the elector of *Saxony*, and received the ſum he ſtipulated. The want of money, indeed, proved the greateſt detriment to the *French* party, who loſt a great number of nobility becauſe they could not advance the ſums required. *Jablownoski*, the grand-general of the crown, declared in favour of the elector, for no other reaſon than be-

The party of Saxony *encreaſes.*

cauſe his coffers were better filled than thoſe of the prince of *Conti*. *Polignac* ſaw the continual deſertion; he knew his danger, and exerted all his ability to break the ſchemes of the adverſe party; but the elector's money proved too powerful for his addreſs and eloquence: however, he ſtill maintained his ground, and even appeared formidable at the period when the time limited for the ſitting of the diet was almoſt expired.

The poſ-ſemble in the field.

ON the twenty-fifth day of *June* all the nobility, exceeding an hundred thouſand perſons, aſſembled on the plains of *Warſaw*, each palatinate being divided into companies under their proper ſtandards, and all the electors mounted on horſes, and armed with lances and ſcythes, that you would have taken them for a vaſt aſſembly of reapers. In their countenance however was an air of ferocious dignity and importance, that denoted their conſequence, and the power they poſſeſſed of beſtowing the regal dignity. It is cuſtomary on this occaſion for the ſenators to harangue their ſeveral palatinates, and to recommend a due regard to the laws of the conſtitution. The biſhop of *Plosko* begun his harangue; but had not finiſhed it, when the nobility of his palatinate cried out, "Long live *Conti*," which was ecchoed back by the palatinates of *Siradia*, *Rava*, and the three diſtinct governments of *Pruſſia*. The election was on the point of being anticipated; and unleſs the caſtellan of *Culm* had exerted himſelf in an extraordinary manner, at the hazard of his life, the prince of *Conti* muſt have been elected king of *Poland*: but that nobleman proteſted againſt all that had been done, inveighed bitterly againſt the proceedings of the biſhop of *Plosko*, and the heads of the oppoſite party, as a violation of the conſtitution, and procured that the nomination ſhould be deferred to the next day, by which time he muſtered up his ſtrength, and infuſed ſpirit into his party. Mean time both parties played every engine of intrigue and calumny; the *French* party vilified the elector as a pretended apoſtate; and *Fleming* and the caſtellan of *Culm* uſed their utmoſt influence with the pope's nuncio to confirm the certificate of his converſion; and though the enemy ſeemed to prevail that night, yet they carried their point next morning. It has been ſuppoſed, with great probability, that the nuncio was gained over by *Saxon* gold, though he was under the utmoſt dread of diſobliging the court of *Verſailles*.

THE twenty-ſixth the aſſembly met early in the church of *St. John*'s, when, after maſs had been celebrated, the cardinal primate made a ſpeech, in which he drew the picture of ſuch a prince as the circumſtances of *Poland* required, and

evidently deſcribed the prince of *Conti*; after which he nominated the ſeveral candidates, artfully placing the elector of *Saxony* laſt, as if he had been forgot. "We ought not, "ſaid he, to neglect the *German* prince, though he be a *Lu*- "*theran*; the laws require we ſhould mention him, and I "ſwear that I will not proclaim any candidate who has not "the unanimous ſuffrages of the nobility, unleſs he be de- "ſerving of the throne; but I conjure you not to caſt your "eyes upon any ſubjects of the republic, unleſs their virtues "be very conſpicuous." He was proceeding in his harangue, when the eccleſiaſtical and ſecular ſenators quitted their ſeats to put themſelves at the head of their palatinates, and there only remained in the *ſczopa* the primate and marechal, who received diſpatches, and tranſmitted the neceſſary orders to the field of election. As ſoon as they were mounted, all were aſtoniſhed to hear three companies of the palatinate of *Cracow* cry out, "Long live prince *James*." The royal intereſt had been entirely given up, and it was matter of aſtoniſhment to ſee it now revive without any apparent cauſe. Theſe were ſupported by a company of *Poſnania*, who likewiſe declared in a faint voice for the prince; upon which the three remaining companies of *Cracow*, and the five remaining of *Peſuania*, proclaimed the prince of *Conti* with loud acclamations.

THIS party had found means to ſpread a report, that the pope's nuncio had refuſed to atteſt the elector of *Saxony*'s converſion, which raiſed ſuch doubts, that at firſt he was nominated only by one company of *Samogitia*; but the caſtellan of *Culm*, producing the atteſtation in the field, ſoon encreaſed the number of voters, and approached almoſt to an equality with the *Conti* party. The princes of *Newburg* and *Lorraine* had their eſpouſers, and Don *Livio Odeſchalchi*, who was lately ſeverely lampooned, had his advocates in the aſſembly; but the great ſtruggle was maintained by the *French* and *Saxon* diviſions. Confuſion ſucceeded to the heat of faction; and as it was found impoſſible to take the votes, the primate propoſed that the voters for *Conti* ſhould range themſelves in a line upon one ſide, and thoſe for the elector on the oppoſite part of the field. Immediately the propoſal was embraced, and ſo great a number of companies drew up on the *French* ſide as greatly alarmed the *Saxons*, who redoubled their diligence, but could not equal their adverſaries in number. The *French* intereſt, perceiving their ſuperiority, inſiſted upon the primate's proclaiming the prince of *Conti*; but the ſtiffneſs of the oppoſite party, and the fear of bloodſhed, made him defer it, and ſlip this opportunity as he had done a former. Beſides, he had juſt received a letter from the

The election deferred.

biſhop of *Cujaiva*, in which that prelate declared, that ſhould the prince of *Conti* be nominated, he would join the intereſt of *Saxony* with forty companies. This menace ſtill more perplexed the primate, and determined him at length to poſtpone the proclamation till next day; an overſight, of which the oppoſite party did not fail to make an advantage. By dint of money and intrigue *Fleming*, the imperial miniſter, and the caſtellan of *Culm*, united all the ſmall parties, who had declared in behalf of other competitors, in the elector's intereſt, which, with the biſhop of *Cujaiva*'s party, ſet him again pretty near an equality with *Conti*'s party; but *Polignac* balanced this advantage by prevailing upon the primate to proclaim the prince of *Conti*, which he did in the uſual form, after much heſitation, declaring *Lewis de Bourbon* king of *Poland*, and grand duke of *Lithuania*. He then repaired to the great church of *St. John*'s to ſing *Te Deum*; and the biſhop of *Cujaiva* took that opportunity of proclaiming *Frederick-Auguſtus* with the ſame formalities, ſinging likewiſe *Te Deum* in the field of election, and next morning celebrating it with more pomp in the church of *St. John*'s, and adminiſtring the oath for obſerving the *pacta conventa* to count *Fleming*, in the name of his maſter the elector. June 27. *A double election.*

It is remarkable that neither party obſerved the forms preſcribed by the conſtitution; the primate forgot to adminiſter the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the biſhop ſeemed to forget that it was neceſſary the archbiſhop ſhould ratify his nomination. In conſequence there paſſed conferences between the two parties, in which it was propoſed to obſerve the laws of the kingdom, which require that none of the competitors ſhould ſet foot in the kingdom till after the confirmation; but this was refuſed by the friends of *Saxony*, who depended much on the elector's proximity. It was then objected by the *French* party, that, beſides other violations of the conſtitution in the elector's election, the proclamation was not made properly in the field, therefore the whole ceremony was void; but this the biſhop of *Cujaiva* endeavoured to remedy by repeating the proclamation, and making a freſh offer of the *pacta conventa* to the *Saxon* miniſter, which the reader may peruſe, in the manner it was accepted, in the margin (A). The biſhop's conduct gave great

(A) The articles ſigned by count *Fleming* are ſo frequently mentioned in the courſe of this reign, and are ſo different from what had been promiſed by *Auguſtus* before his election, that we thought it would be neceſſary to tranſcribe the whole, for

great offence to delicate conſciences; and men, who had no ſcruple about ſelling their country, and the moſt flagrant corruption

the ſatisfaction of the curious, who are deſirous of tracing the cauſes of the clamours which afterwards aroſe againſt the king's government, and *Fleming*'s adminiſtration.

Art. I. The republic of *Poland* ſhall preſerve the privilege of electing her ſovereign, and the crown ſhall never become hereditary.

II. No king ſhall be elected, who is not a member of the *Roman* Catholic church, and does not ſwear to continue in that communion.

III. There ſhall be a toleration of conſcience to all the ſubjects of the republic; and the ſtate of the *Greek* church ſhall be taken into conſideration at the coronation-diet.

IV. No money ſhall be demanded, or preſents accepted from them who ſhall ſollicit great offices in the diſpoſal of the crown.

V. The queen ſhall not intermeddle with public affairs.

VI. The examples of *Uladiſlaus* IV. and *John-Caſimir*, ſhall be followed in the conduct of military affairs.

VII. The alliances with foreign powers ſhall he renewed.

VIII. The king ſhall exert his utmoſt endeavours to recover the *Ukraine*, and to conclude a perpetual peace with *Muſcovy*.

IX The revenues of the mint ſhall not be applied to the king's particular advantage; nor ſhall money be coined without the conſent of the republic.

X. No foreign troops ſhall be introduced into the kingdom without the conſent of the republic.

XI. Only gentlemen of conſiderable property ſhall be employed in ambaſſies.

XII. No perſon ſhall be admitted to the privileges of a denizen, who hath not performed extraordinary ſervices to the republic.

XIII. No perſon ſhall be qualified to adminiſter in the king's houſhold, who hath not been highly ſerviceable to the crown.

XIV. No perſon, even with the approbation of the ſenate, ſhall enjoy the ſmaller revenues of the crown, without the conſent of the republic, by which is underſtood the deputies of the palatinates aſſembled in diet.

XV. Holding two conſiderable offices at the ſame time ſhall be deemed illegal *in future*; but thoſe who are in preſent poſſeſſion of two ſuch employments ſhall be continued, and enjoy their revenues without any diminution.

XVI. The uſual method of adminiſtering juſtice ſhall be continued entire, and without alteration.

XVII. When *Kaminieck* ſhall be retaken, the king ſhall fortify it at his own expence; but the republic ſhall ever after keep it in repair.

XVIII. The king's court and guard ſhall be compoſed of natives of *Poland* and *Lithuania*.

XIX. The ſenate ſhall be conſulted in the choice of a conſort for the king: if the queen be a foreigner ſhe ſhall not

n, took fire at ſeeing the oath adminiſtered to a *Calviniſt* ſador, while the holy ſacrament was expoſed. They reflected on the violation of their oath committed while eceived preſents, and ſeemed to pay a veneration only exteriors of religion, and certain forms independent on juſtice, and virtue. Sabres were drawn upon this oc- the pope's nuncio blamed the biſhop; but as he had gained over by the elector's money, he did not puſh his ation to extremities, or carry his reſpect for religion be- he bounds of prudence and his own intereſt. Certain it it the election on both ſides was illegal; but it was not decided by equity, but by intrigue, money, or the and, if we refer to the accounts publiſhed at that time, be difficult to diſcover which party acted with the leaſt ir; ſo hard have the writers on both ſides laboured to e the truth, and wreſt circumſtances to their own pur- Neither party took any concern about the legality of

Diſputes about the confirmation of the election.

ve above ſix foreigners ier court.

Only the *Latin* and *Po-* guages ſhall be uſed in g's letters.

. In the trials called *poſt* the laws called *pacta a*, ſhall be obſerved, and ies ſhall be ſolved by the of the counſellors-af-

I. The differences which ſhall be concluded with ſible expedition. — *Here l a ſecret article.*

II. No alteration ſhall be n the œconomy of the table.

V. The vacant offices, he diet is not aſſembled, filled in ſix weeks.

I. The militia ſhall be ed in ſuch a manner at pproaching coronation, reign troops will be un- ry; and care ſhall be that military diſcipline ially obſerved.

II. Salt ſhall be taxed, ſtributed according to cuſtom in all the palatinates.

XXVII. Every gentleman ſhall be exempted from paying the duty upon ſalt, and have free poſſeſſion of the mines upon his eſtate.

XXVIII. *Regales*, or certain fiefs held of the crown, ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in thoſe places where they have been aboliſhed.

XXIX. All the privileges of the univerſity of *Cracow*, and other cities, as well eccleſiaſtical as ſecular; and all articles agreed upon oath at the coronation of the kings *Henry*, *Stephen*, *Sigiſmund*, *Uladiſlaus*, *John-Caſimir*, and others, ſhall be renewed in this election; and in caſe of violation, the inhabitants of *Poland* and *Lithuania* ſhall be abſolved from all obedience. — We ſhall ſee in courſe of our narration the complaints made by the *Poles* of the little regard paid by the elector to theſe articles, which became the ſource of manifold misfortunes to himſelf and to the republic.

from the prince of *Conti*, giving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his intention to put himſelf at the head of his friends, and venture his life in defence of their privileges.

ON the other hand, the elector of *Saxony*, finding himſelf ſupported by an army of *Saxons*, doubted not but his preſence, his money, his forces, and his party, would be able to triumph over all obſtructions. He had juſt received a deputation of ſixty gentlemen, attended by a train of ſeveral thouſand horſe, ſent by the biſhop of *Cujaiva* to compliment him on his acceſſion. The elector was at *Tornowitz*, when the deputies were all admitted to the honour of kiſſing his hand, and dining in his preſence at the table of the imperial ambaſſador. Nothing could be more fulſome than the adulation poured forth in the ſpeeches of the deputies, three of whom harangued the prince in the name of the republic of *Poland*, the dutchy of *Lithuania*, and the body of the nobility. Had he been made grand ſeignior, or ſophi of *Perſia*, the incenſe offered by the palatine of *Volhinia* would have been too ſtrong a perfume for his noſtrils. "Your majeſty, ſaid he, hath triumphed "over the enemies of Chriſtianity; reign now in the hearts "of the *Poliſh* nation. Let thoſe hands, accuſtomed to vic"tory, receive our crown, and render it brilliant, by decking it "with the laurels which adorn your temples. The people "who gave you their ſuffrages, gave them to a prince re"garded by *Rome* as her defender, and by *Europe* as her bul"wark; to a prince whoſe conſummate abilities, and diſtin"guiſhed virtues, render him equally eſteemed and beloved "by all mankind. We read this day the indulgence of "heaven in the general joy, and a peculiar providence which "deſcends among us, to render *Poland* the ſeat of perfect "felicity. For this reaſon our republic, now yours, reveres "you, cheriſhes you with intire affection, and deſires you, as "the perſon choſen by heaven for her king. We receive "you with gladneſs, and regard you as the elect of the Al"mighty. Come then, added he, bleſſed prince, ſince God "hath ſo decreed it, ſince *Poland* ſo ardently deſires it, ſince "*Germany* approves it, ſince *Europe* applauds it, ſince all the "world, except the barbarians, ſhare in the general joy, and "join in our acclamations. For you Chriſtendom prepares im"mortal fame, *Aſia* its ſpoils, and *Poland*——We bleſs what "we have ſeen, concluded this ſycophant; we publiſh what "you are, and we declare to the whole world the hopes we "entertain of ſo great a prince: in a word, we proclaim your "glory to the nations around, and the univerſe ſhall be filled "with your renown and majeſty."—No wonder that *Auguſtus* came afterwards to regard himſelf as a deſpotic monarch,

Deputation to the elector.

when

when he was thus loaded with adulation before he had a certainty of the crown, or had touched the reins of authority. The palatine reaped the reward of his compliment: he was conducted to the camp, and made general of the army.

On the twenty-fifth the elector advanced to *Pukari*; and on the twenty-ſeventh he repeated the abjuration of his errors before *Criſpin*, biſhop of *Samogitia*, ſwearing alſo to the obſervance of the *pacta conventa* accepted by his miniſter *Fleming*. By the twenty-ninth he approached to the gates of *Cracow*; but deferred his public entry, becauſe count *Wiclopolski*, governor of the citadel, had refuſed to ſurrender his charge, until the election was unanimouſly confirmed. Threats did not terrify this nobleman: however, he yielded to the irreſiſtible perſuaſion of five thouſand crowns, and a rich diamond necklace preſented to his lady; in exchange for which he made over his honour and government. Having now gained intire poſſeſſion of the capital, *Auguſtus* made his public entry, and immediately ſummoned a grand council, to deliberate upon the neceſſary meaſures for reducing the reſt of the kingdom to obedience. A few of the nobility recommended his compelling the primate, exerting the power which God had put into his hands, coming immediately to blows, and advancing to *Warſaw*, to prevent the meeting of the diet ſummoned to aſſemble on the twenty-ſixth of *Auguſt*. This meaſure was deemed too violent by a majority of the council, who were of opinion, that he ought to wait the reſult of the diet, remain at the capital, repair and improve its fortifications, ſecure himſelf, and gain the affection of the people by his lenity and moderation. After violent debates this opinion was followed as the ſafeſt, and moſt likely to impreſs the minds of the people with a favourable ſenſe of the new government. The elector, however, could not help declaring his aſtoniſhment at their timidity and want of vigour, after they had expreſſed ſo much ſatisfaction at his acceſſion.

He gains poſſeſſion of Cracow.

Mean time, the *French* faction was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, at ſeeing the elector with a body of troops in poſſeſſion of the capital; and they determined not to irritate too much a prince who bid ſo fair for the ſovereignty. It was their fear which ſuggeſted the reſolution of not ſurrendering the inſtrument of the prince of *Conti*'s election into the hands of the *French* miniſter, until he had paid off the arrears due to the army, and performed a variety of other engagements. A reſolution ſo ſudden and unexpected greatly embarraſſed *Polignac*, who immediately informed his court of the determination of the party. He exhorted the prince of *Conti* to embark without delay, and furniſh himſelf with all the money poſſible,

poſſible, without which his expedition would be fruitleſs, and the immenſe ſums already expended intirely thrown away. In conſequence of *Polignac*'s remonſtrances, the prince went on board the little ſquadron of the chevalier *du Bart*, lying at *Dunkirk*, attended by ſeveral of the nobility and gentry of *France*, and arrived on the twenty-eighth of *September* in the road of *Dantzick*. He had brought with him an hundred thouſand pounds in ſpecie, beſides an equal ſum in bills of exchange, payable on ſight, and a great number of jewels; but the city of *Dantzick* had attached herſelf to the elector, and refuſed paying the prince any other honours than a ſingle diſcharge of the artillery at fort *Weychelmunde*. The citizens even inſulted the officers of the *French* ſquadron; to revenge which the admiral ſeized upon five merchantmen belonging to the city; and the magiſtrates, by way of repriſal, laid hands upon all the effects of the *French*, carrying their reſentment ſo far as to ſell the *French* ambaſſador's horſes to the higheſt bidder. *Polignac* was uſing his utmoſt endeavours to pave the way for his entrance into *Poland*; but he encountered manifold difficulties. The electoral troops diſperſed through the kingdom rendered it neceſſary that the prince of *Conti* ſhould be attended by a ſtrong guard; to procure which the ambaſſador entered into treaty with the powerful family of *Sapieha*, who engaged, for the ſum of four hundred thouſand livres, to ſend twelve companies to *Dantzick*, under the conduct of the ſon of the grand-treaſurer: after which the grand general of *Lithuania*, and all the officers, were to ſwear fidelity to the prince, and march at the head of their troops to the general rendezvous that ſhould be appointed: firſt, however, the prince was under the neceſſity of advancing near five hundred thouſand livres, beſides the ſum promiſed to *Sapieha*. Fear prevented the *Lithuanians* from executing their engagements. The *French* ambaſſador went on board the fleet, in full confidence that the prince would immediately be furniſhed with a ſufficient eſcort. Couriers were continually arriving with advice that the troops were in motion, and the prince was adviſed by his *Poliſh* friends to advance to *Marienburg*; but he ſeemed to diſtruſt the *Lithuanians*, and choſe to wait on board until their arrival, which never happened: for, notwithſtanding daily intelligence that the army was near, and attended with ſeveral *Lithuanian* ſenators, who, in conjunction with the *Poliſh* ambaſſy, came to preſent him with the crown; yet the prince of *Sapieha* had not moved out of his camp, and the arrival of a body of the elector's troops in *Pruſſia* made him drop all thoughts of advancing.

Arrival of the prince of Conti.

WHAT-

WHATEVER diſappointments the prince of *Conti* encountered at *Dantzick*, his arrival threw the *Saxon* party into ſome confuſion. Before this news was publiſhed at *Cracow*, the elector was carrying all before him, by means of two millions which he had diſtributed among the army, and other extraordinary liberalities, that extremely augmented his party, ſtrengthened his intereſt, and raiſed his popularity. A great number of companies, with *Potoski*, great huntſman of the crown, at their head, joined his party, though they were before conſidered as the partizans of *France*. To the honour of the military gentlemen it muſt however be obſerved, that a majority firmly rejected the pecuniary bribe, and remained attached to that ſide which gave them nothing beſides promiſes. When the diet of confirmation, or *poparcia*, ſummoned by the primate, aſſembled, it was opened by a ſpeech from *Bielinski*, marechal of the diet, and attended by great numbers of the *Saxon* intereſt, who came on purpoſe to excite diſcord, and diſturb buſineſs, by the tumults they propoſed fomenting. *Donowski*, deputy of *Wilſki*, had the boldneſs to aſk the marechal, for what purpoſe the diet of confirmation was called, when the nation had already proclaimed the elector of *Saxony*. But this temerity had almoſt coſt him his life: ſix thouſand gentlemen drew their ſabres, ſtruck him ſeveral blows, and left him to be carried for dead out of the field; which ſo terrified the other partiſans of *Saxony*, that they ſtole away privately from the aſſembly. The reſult was, that the primate and marechal carried every thing in favour of the prince of *Conti*, whoſe election they confirmed, promiſing to ſupport it at the hazard of their lives. This was followed by a general confederacy to ſuſtain the meaſures they had taken, to which all the principal nobility preſent ſubſcribed. It was called an aſſociation in defence of religion, honour, property, liberty, and the conſtitution; each member declaring, that he would ſacrifice his life in its defence. The next ſtep was to deliberate on a deputation to the elector of *Saxony*, to repreſent the violation of the rights and liberties of the republic he was daily committing, by his reſidence with an armed force in the kingdom; but the difficulty was to find perſons of ſufficient courage to undertake the dangerous ambaſſy. To remove their perplexity, the biſhop of *Kiow* offered his ſervices: they were accepted, and he had began his journey to *Cracow* when he was given to underſtand, that he ſhould be treated in the ſame manner as *Donowski* was at the diet, which cooled his ardor, and determined him to return. It was then propoſed to appoint a generaliſſimo to the confederacy; but every one to whom it was offered refuſed the honour. The caſtle

A diet of confirmation held previous to his arrival.

Confederacy to ſupport his intereſt.

out a corpſe. 3. A coronation without a primate. 4. A diet without deputies. 5. Proteſtations without effect. Such is the genius and temper of the *Poles*, that they contented themſelves with diſplaying their wit, when they ought to be exerting their courage; nor was it diſagreeable to the elector to ſee their reſentment exhale in a manner ſo little detrimental to his intereſt.

Triple diets ſummoned by the primate.

In this ſituation were matters at *Cracow*, when the news of the prince of *Conti*'s arrival at *Dantzick* obliged the electoral party to unite more cloſely, drop their private animoſities, and point their whole ſtrength againſt the enemy. On the other hand the primate iſſued proclamations for three particular aſſemblies to be held on the 20th of *October*, in which he juſtified his own conduct, and threw all poſſible odium on the elector and his party. On this occaſion, *Auguſtus* deviated from his uſual maxims. He thought proper to anſwer theſe manifeſtoes by circular letters, tho' hitherto he had oppoſed the writings of his adverſaries by action. Here he advanced every argument capable of demonſtrating the legality of his election and coronation, concluding with an exhortation to all the friends of their country to join with him in defence of their honour aud liberty, and in re-eſtabliſhing the peace and tranquility of the republick. Nevertheleſs, both ſides were ſenſible that the diſpute muſt be determined by power and not by argument. It was with this view the primate aſſembled the triple diets, and it was with the ſame deſign that the elector ordered ſix regiments of *Saxony* to ſurround the petty diet of *Cracow*, and threaten to cut the whole in pieces, if they did not ſubſcribe to his decree againſt the primate and the confederacy. Three propoſals were now made by his adherents, either of which it was imagined would wholly deſtroy the hopes of the prince of *Conti*. Firſt, he was adviſed to march directly with the *Saxon* army to the camp occupied by the crown forces, to prevent, by his preſence and liberality, their joining the adverſe party. Great ſums of money had already been diſtributed among them, but a majority remained ſtill uncorrupted. The next propoſal was, to prevent the meeting of the aſſemblies ſummoned by the primate, and to ſurprize that prelate at *Lowitz*; and the third was to march at the head of all his forces into *Pruſſia*, to oppoſe the prince of *Conti*'s debarkation; or, if he ſhould already be landed, to obſtruct his march to *Poland*. The laſt propoſal was embraced, as the leaſt unconſtitutional; but the elector contented himſelf with detaching a ſtrong reinforcement, under the generals *Fleming* and *Brandt*, to join the forces already in *Pruſſia*, inſtead of taking the field in perſon. In conſequence of

this

this reſolution, the triple diets met without oppoſition from the elector. At *Grodno* nothing was effected, as the aſſembly was wholly directed by the *Sapiehas*, who promiſed every thing, without having yet executed their engagements to the prince of *Conti*, of ſending him an eſcort, notwithſtanding they had received the ſum ſtipulated. At *Zawieho* ſcarce any deputies appeared, even the preſident of the diet was abſent; but near two thouſand gentlemen met at *Lencicia*, where no other buſineſs was tranſacted than the uſeleſs ceremony of again proclaiming the prince of *Conti*, and appointing a deputation of three hundred gentlemen and nobility to wait upon him with the *pacta conventa* and *diploma*. To this ſucceeded a circular letter, publiſhed by the prince, in which he ſtiled himſelf duke of *Conti*, and, by the grace of God and affection of the *Poliſh* nation, king of *Poland*, and great duke of *Lithuania*. He apologized for his delay, and attributed it wholly to his regard for the liberties of the conſtitution. He urged the ſame reaſons for his not debarking, or coming to the *Poliſh* coaſt attended by a military force. He inſiſted upon the illegality of the elector's election, and touched particularly on the hereſy of the electreſs, which alone was ſufficient to render void all that had been tranſacted in his favour; and he concluded with expreſſing his affection for the *Poliſh* nation, his deſire to avoid the effuſion of blood, and his willingneſs to expoſe his life in defence of the religion and liberty of the republic. This letter, though penned with great addreſs, wrought no effect. Every man in *Poland* was directed by private intereſt, prejudice, or paſſion. Moſt people had taken their meaſures, and having drawn money from both parties, reſolved to adhere to that which was ſtill in a condition to gratify their inſatiable avarice. Hence freſh ſuccours every day joined the electoral party, for this reaſon only, that his coffers were not exhauſted. Many made promiſes to the prince, which they had neither the power nor inclination to perform; others took his money and betrayed his ſecrets, and ſome openly declared themſelves his enemies from a pacific intention and ſtrong deſire of terminating the ruinous confuſion of the republic. But of all his adherents, the prince of *Conti* had the greateſt cauſe to complain of the *Sapiehas*, and the great general of the crown, who propagated falſe reports injurious to his intereſt, only to palliate their own fears and miſconduct, in not ſending the promiſed eſcort. The behaviour of theſe lords gave him ſo much diſguſt, that he offered to retire to *France*, but was prevented by the abbé *Polignac* and ſome *Poliſh* lords about him, who ſtill fed his expectations. Their hope proceeded from the arrival of young *Sapieha*, ſon of the grand marſhal, with his

Prince of Conti's circular letter.

company of guards, in the neighbourhood of *Dantzick*; but when that nobleman acquainted the prince, that the main body of the *Lithuanian* forces could not begin their march in leſs than ſix weeks, he abandoned all hopes, relinquiſhed his whole project, and determined to return to *France*, after all the expence and trouble which the purſuit of a crown had coſt the court of *Verſailles*. The coaſts of *Pruſſia* were lined with troops, and he could not, without the utmoſt danger to his perſon, wait longer for the execution of promiſes in which he placed no confidence, after ſuch repeated diſappointments.

He loſſes all hopes of ſucceſs.

ALREADY the magiſtrates of *Dantzick* had put ſeveral affronts on the ſea-officers and the *French* ambaſſador, which obliged *Polignac* to give orders for ſhipping the moſt valuable effects brought to the city for the accommodation of the prince of *Conti*. The order came too late, the magiſtrates ſeizing upon the effects, and impriſoning the ambaſſador's domeſtics, and ſeveral merchants who aſſiſted in the removal. The ſame day on which this affair happened, news arrived that the electoral forces had advanced to *Stum*, where they made priſoners three hundred and ſixty of *Sapiehas* cavalry; which determined the ambaſſador to lodge the remainder of his effects in the abbey of *Oliva*, the only place of refuge on the whole coaſt, and where the *Poliſh* nobility attached to the prince of *Conti* had taken ſanctuary. They were not long in this place of ſuppoſed ſecurity, before general *Brandt* and the *Saxons* arrived, broke into the abbey, and ſeized all the effects, took ſeveral *Poliſh* lords priſoners, and were near laying hold of the perſon of the *French* ambaſſador, who eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty on board the ſquadron in the road.

BRANDT having finiſhed this exploit with great ſucceſs, reſolved to profit by the general conſternation which had ſeized the *French* party, and accordingly inveſted the citadel of *Marienburgh*. He puſhed his operations with vigour, and obliged the grand carver of the crown, who acted as governor, to capitulate; in conſequence of which the palatine of *Siradia*, and the great chamberlain *Bielinſki*, repaired to *Cracow* to make their peace with the elector, and take the oaths of fidelity to that prince. The defection of theſe lords, and the loſs of *Marienburgh*, the only place where he could effect a debarkation with any degree of ſafety, confirmed the prince of *Conti* in his reſolution of ſetting ſail back for *France*, and abandoning all hopes of acquiring the crown of *Poland*. Yet he ſtill entertained ſome appearances of expectation, and landed the abbé *Polignac* in the iſle of *Rugen*, from whence he was directed to paſs into *Poland*, ſhould the conjuncture of affairs render it neceſſary; and he wrote two letters, one to the primate,

He returns to France.

and

and another to the republic, reproaching the nobility with timidity, and attributing to their miſconduct the affront he had received in the face of all *Europe*; after which he weighed anchor, and ſteered for *France*, by the way of *Denmark*.

THE departure of his rival brought a freſh acceſſion of power to *Auguſtus*. Not only ſeveral diſtricts acknowledged his ſovereignty, but took the uſual oaths of fidelity. A great number of the nobility who had before kept aloof, now made no ſcruple about acknowledging the legitimacy of his election. Part of the army that had rejected his pecuniary offers with diſdain, ſent deputies to ſwear obedience to the new ſovereign; and propoſals were made both by the king of *Sweden* and the czar of *Muſcovy* to aſſiſt him with powerful armies;——how ſoon the face of affairs, with reſpect to the former of theſe princes, altered, will appear in the ſequel. This was a turn of fortune which it was imagined would bear down all oppoſition; yet did the primate, aſſiſted by ſeveral powerful noblemen, maintain an oppoſition with their whole influence and authority. They publiſhed manifeſtoes in vindication of their adherence to the prince of *Conti*, and exerted themſelves ſo effectually, that the elector began to meet with oppoſition from thoſe very perſons who had raiſed him to the regal dignity. He had introduced a body of *Saxons* into *Poland* with their conſent, and he retained them from the neceſſity of circumſtances, and for the ſecurity of his perſon. Of this the *Poles*, ever jealous of their liberty, complained, as a violation of the conſtitution. They chiefly objected to the *Saxons* being put in the garriſons of *Cracow* and *Marienburgh*, and ſaid that it was unprecedented to ſee the *Poliſh* fortreſſes in the hands of foreigners. Whenever the troops of both nations happened to be quartered together, ſkirmiſhes and duels continually enſued, and the elector was under the neceſſity of deviſing ſome expedient for ſatisfying the *Poles*, without diſmiſſing the *Saxons*, upon whom he chiefly relied in the preſent unſettled ſtate of the kingdom, and while a ſtrong party oppoſed his government. It was difficult to hit the medium between meaſures ſo extremely contrary; the council was ſeveral days employed on this ſubject; and it was at length reſolved, that the *Saxons* ſhould be removed to the ſea-coaſts, to guard againſt all attemps from *France*, while the *Poliſh* troops ſhould be quartered on the frontiers, as a barrier againſt the irruptions of the *Turks* and *Tartars*. The great diſtance between both would cut of all opportunity of broils and diviſions, at the ſame time that the ſituation of the *Saxon* camp, and the removal of the troops of that nation out of garriſon, would, it was hoped, extinguiſh all jealouſy of any deſigns againſt the

The elector's ſucceſſes.

Freſh diſturbances, occaſioned by the foreign troops.

liberties of the republic. This reſolution in ſome meaſure produced the deſired effect; it quieted the minds of his own adherents, and ſilenced the clamours raiſed on that account by the primate and oppoſite faction.

HAVING healed theſe diviſions, the elector determined to gain poſſeſſion of *Warſaw*, for which purpoſe he began his march in the month of *December*, in order to aſſemble a diet of pacification in that city, and reconcile ſuch of the nobility as continued averſe to his government. He was met on the road by the grand marſhal of the crown, the great treaſurer of *Lithuania*, and divers other noblemen, who took this opportunity of detaching themſelves from the primate's declining intereſt, and on his arrival near *Warſaw*, the keys were preſented to him by the magiſtrates, he was ſaluted by a diſcharge of the artillery mounted on the ramparts, and *Te Deum* was ſung in the great cathedral church, accompanied with the ſhouts and acclamations of the populace, as if he had obtained ſome ſignal victory, or had been raiſed to the throne by the univerſal ſuffrage, in favour of diſtinguiſhed merit. Theſe ceremonies being ended, he went to the citadel, the keys of which were preſented to him by the palatine of *Ploſko*, as governor of the city and caſtle, and in the evening he made a viſit to the queen dowager, which terminated in an entire reconciliation with her majeſty and the whole family of the late monarch. As the *Roboz* or confederacy perſiſted in refuſing to acknowledge any other ſovereign beſides the prince of *Conti*, *Auguſtus* was confirmed in the reſolution of aſſembling a diet of pacification, as the only means of reclaiming the primate and his adherents to their duty. For this purpoſe writs were iſſued, in which the elector declared the ſincerity of his converſion to the *Romiſh* faith, his reſpect for the liberties of the *Poliſh* conſtitution, his earneſt inclination to heal up the wounds of diſcord, and to become the ſovereign of an united happy people. He avoided all harſh expreſſions, which might irritate the ſpirit of the adverſe party, and only lamented that their miſtaken zeal and erroneous principles ſhould occaſion their perſevering in meaſures which could not fail of terminating in their own deſtruction, and the ruin of the kingdom, if not ſpeedily relinquiſhed; and concluded with aſſurances, that his forces and treaſures ſhould not only be employed in reſtoring the ancient luſtre of the crown, but in retaking *Kaminieck*, and placing the frontier in ſuch a ſituation, as ſhould foil all the future attempts of the barbarians to ravage the provinces belonging to the republic, or extend their barrier.

The king enters Warſaw.

THE expected effects did not follow theſe declarations; a variety of circumſtances concurred to re-kindle the ſparks of ſedition

ſedition juſt as they were thought to be extinguiſhed, both in *Poland* and *Lithuania*. In the latter *Oginſki*, great ſtandard-bearer of the dutchy, reſented that the houſe of *Sapieha* was reconciled to *Auguſtus*, and had the courage to take up arms againſt the great general. A body of nobility was aſſembled, part of the army was corrupted, hoſtilities were committed in the country, and the lands belonging to the houſe of *Sapieha* were ravaged. Theſe violences the grand general determined to oppoſe with the remainder of the forces that continued in their allegiance. *Auguſtus* interpoſed his authority, ordered *Oginski* to diſmiſs his forces and repair to *Warſaw*, and gave ſtrict orders to *Sapieha* not to oppoſe violence to the meaſures of his adverſary, aſſuring him that he ſhould be amply indemnified. In conſequence each ſent deputies to *Warſaw*, but it was impoſſible to effect a reconciliation, becauſe the deputies declared they were not furniſhed with ſufficient powers to conclude a treaty: all therefore that the elector could perform, was to exhort the parties not to diſturb, with their private animoſities, the peace of the kingdom, which the people began now at length to enjoy. *Troubles in Lithuania.*

In *Poland* the army frequently mutinied, notwithſtanding a majority had acknowledged the elector, and taken an oath of obedience. From their extravagant pretenſions, it was obvious they harboured the ambitious deſign of acquiring a ſhare in the legiſlative government, and erecting themſelves into a fourth eſtate. Add to theſe cauſes of the public diſturbance, that the primate appeared as averſe as ever to an accommodation. He heard the remonſtrances of ſeveral of his friends, and was viſited by them without being once moved from his inflexibility; and he now began to expreſs himſelf with more boldneſs, becauſe he had received advice of certain preparations making in *France* in ſupport of the prince of *Conti*. Even the pope's nuncio could work no change in the obſtinate humour of this headſtrong prelate, who ſeemed determined to fall a ſacrifice to his engagements, and the animoſity he entertained to the elector of *Saxony*. At length the court of *Rome* openly declared for *Auguſtus*; the preparations in *France* were laid aſide, and the indignation of the primate began to ſubſide, merely becauſe his pride was not flattered by ſolicitation. The conditions of reconciliation which he offered were extremely inſolent; but *Auguſtus* was pleaſed that he could be brought to any terms; and regarded this change of diſpoſition as a happy preſage that he would ſoon relax in the moſt material points. His demands now were, that the republic ſhould make him ſatisfaction for the injuries committed againſt his perſon and dignity, public acknowledgment of the violation *The primate becomes more pliant.*

of the laws in reſpect to him, engage never to proceed to the coronation of any future monarch without the conſent of the primate, and that the biſhop of *Cujaiva* in particular ſhould make a perſonal ſubmiſſion. The primate's change of humour drew a letter to him from the king, in which he profeſſed a perſonal regard and affection for the prelate, who, ſoftened by kind expreſſions, condeſcended to return an anſwer to the letter of his ſovereign, in which he gave him the title of majeſty. He likewiſe gave the king to underſtand, that he could exert all his authority in the aſſembly of the *Rohoz*, to eſtabliſh the public tranquility, and procure a general acknowledgment of his ſovereignty, provided his demands were gratified. This promiſe however he did not execute in
Feb. 18. its full extent; for though the aſſembly met with the king's conſent, the prelate's whole application proceeded no further than a general propoſal, that methods ſhould be deviſed for reeſtabliſhing the laws, reſtoring the courſe of juſtice, ſecuring the liberty of the conſtitution, and promoting peace, concord, and unanimity, to which pious work himſelf gave the greateſt obſtruction. *Auguſtus* ſent the grand marſhal of the crown, and the great treaſurer of *Lithuania*, in quality of deputies to this meeting; but the title of commiſſioners, which they aſſumed, and certain inadvertent expreſſions dropt in courſe of conference, ſo arrouſed the indignation of the confederacy, that they were forced to retire privately, to prevent their being inſulted. Divers members likewiſe excaimed againſt the title of king, which *Auguſtus* aſſumed in his letter to the aſſembly; but, after warm debates and violent altercation, a bill conſiſting of twenty-one articles was prepared, without ſigning which, the aſſembly declared their reſolution of not receiving the elector for their lawful ſovereign. The reader may peruſe a copy of the articles in the margin (A). The conditions

Aſſembly of the rohoz *propoſe terms, which are rejected.*

(A) ART. I. That the elector ſhall give poſitive aſſurance, atteſted by the court of *Rome*, that his converſion is ſincere.

II. That the electreſs ſhall embrace the ſame religion.

III. That the four provinces diſmembered from the crown, ſhall be re-united with all poſſible expedition.

IV. That the *Roman* Catholic religion ſhall be eſtabliſhed in *Saxony*.

V. That accounts ſhall regularly be laid before the diet of the application of public money.

VI. That the *pacta conventa* ſhall be prepared by the *rohoz*, and preſented by the marſhal of that aſſembly.

VII. That the vacant offices which had been filled up ſhall be confirmed, with new proviſions.

VIII.

ons were found too rigid to be accepted, which threw embly into a ferment. The rage of the confederates out with ſuch violence, that divers perſons fired in at ndows of the *Brandenburg* envoy, for uſing his good in moderating the terms, calming the ſpirits of the and effecting a reconciliation. For ſeveral days the continued, and every man of candour and public ſpirit ed the exceſs to which faction was carried in a meeting, it was propoſed to cloſe all the ſores of diſcord. Many principal members withdrew, with intention to acdge the elector without inſiſting upon unreaſonable ons. The primate and marſhal were in the number of

. That all foreign troops diſmiſſed.
That, in conſideration of ages committed by the l troops in *Poland*, the r ſhall grant winter-quarın equal number of *Poliſh* n his dominions.
'hat no public employf truſt, profit, or digni- l be given to foreigners.
That the act of naturaligranted to the houſe of ſhall not extend beyond al family.
That the king ſhall not title of elector.
. That the damages done ırmy ſhall be made good xpence of the grand ge-

. That all the officers in ırds and army ſhall pro- *Romiſh* religion.
That all foreigners in rice ſhall be ſent out of ıinions of the republic.
. That the city of *Dant*- ll be indemnified the loſſes ſuſtained in conſequence capture of her ſhips, or edition of general *Brandt*.
I. That public ſentence pronounced againſt the biſhop of *Cujaiva*, diſqualifying him from proclaiming and crowning any future ſovereign.

XVIII. That inquiry ſhall be made into the cauſe of the treaſury's being broke open.

XIX. That eccleſiaſtics ſhall not be diſturbed in poſſeſſion of their eſtates.

XX. That general *Brandt* ſhall acknowledge and anſwer for all the damages done in *Pruſſia* by his troops.

XXI. That all decrees paſſed during the diviſions of the republic ſhall be cancelled and annulled (1).

Such was the bill preſented to *Auguſtus* by the aſſembly of the *roboz*, many of the articles of which could not poſſibly be complied with, becauſe they were extravagant, and the higheſt reflection upon his honour. It will appear by comparing them with the *pacta conventa* ſigned by *Fleming*, what additional reſtrictions were laid on the royal prerogative; and hence we may judge of the ſincerity of the primate's profeſſions, who now intereſted himſelf ſo little in bringing the aſſembly to a better temper.

(1) *Parthen. lib.* ii.

thoſe who would admit of no relaxation; on the contrary, they inſiſted that the biſhop of *Cujavia* ſhould be depoſed, and for ever diſqualified from holding any public employment, civil or eccleſiaſtical; and they had the influence to repair the loſs of the late ſeceſſion, by ſix ſtandards of the crown, and ſeveral lords who now declared for the *robox*, and embraced all their meaſures.

THERE is ſomething extremely unaccountable in the fluctuating principles of the *Poles* at this juncture. They ſeldom adhered to any particular intereſt, and ſeemed to be equally agitated by avarice, ambition, principle, and paſſion, each ruling in its turn. On ſome occaſions private intereſt would ſeem to prevail, at others the love of liberty would appear the only actuating principle; while in general, prejudice and paſſion conquered every other emotion of the heart. The latter would ſeem to have wholly ſwayed this aſſembly; and many perſons were ſurpriſed that the king ever permitted the *robox* to meet, though it is plain that he was deluded by the primate's profeſſions, and induced to it by an earneſt deſire to reſtore the tranquility of the republic, which had not, for near the ſpace of two years, taſted the ſweets of repoſe. It was for ſimilar reaſons that he refrained from giving ſatisfaction to the *Brandenburg* envoy, who made loud complaints of the violences committed on his houſe, of the inſults offered to his perſon, and of the infraction of the laws of nations, and the privileges of ambaſſadors. He only promiſed to puniſh, at a proper ſeaſon, the offenders, and the miniſter was forced to reſt ſatisfied with this acknowledgment, at a time when the whole kingdom was diſtracted. The confederates perſiſted in open oppoſition to *Auguſtus*, and endeavoured to ſtrengthen their faction by ſuccours from *France*, which they earneſtly implored. A deputation was ſent to *Verſailles*, to ſolicit the prince of *Conti*'s return; but they met with a cold reception. *Lewis* was not only offended at the uſage the prince had met with from the republic, but he was deeply engaged at that time in affairs of greater moment, the king of *Spain*'s illneſs opening a proſpect for his grandſon of ſucceeding to the throne of that monarch. This diſappointment proved the ruin of the ſchemes formed by the confederates, and brought the greateſt advantages to *Auguſtus*; yet ſtill the troubles in *Lithuania* threatned an inſurmountable obſtruction to the quiet poſſeſſion of his new acquired dignity. The army of that dutchy had almoſt entirely revolted from the great general, and joined themſelves to the party formed by *Oginski*, great ſtandard-bearer. The late injunctions laid upon both theſe noblemen by the king availed little; all the nobility who had ſided with *Oginski*,

Diviſions in Lithuania.

Oginski, demanded to be put on a footing with the ſame order in *Poland*. They alſo inſiſted upon having four hundred thouſand crowns, which they alledged had been promiſed by *Sapieha* for the payment of arrears due to the army. Had a pacification depended on this laſt article, it would have been eaſily procured; it was the king's intention to purchaſe the public repoſe at any price; but the demand which was now made, of aſſembling a diet in arms and on horſeback, occaſioned more ſpeculation and greater difficulty. He dreaded the effuſion of blood, and the thoughts of having a new election propoſed; and therefore peremptorily refuſed granting this demand, although at the hazard of ſeeing the deſired coequation of the *Lithuanian* and *Poliſh* nobility take effect, a ſtep which muſt neceſſarily render him unpopular in *Poland*. It was particularly prejudicial to the intereſt of *Sapieha*, and happily for *Auguſtus*, that powerful nobleman oppoſed it with all his ſtrength and influence. He publiſhed a manifeſto, demonſtrating that *Oginski* not only violated the laws of the conſtitution, but thoſe of equity and humanity alſo; and he reviled in the bittereſt terms the cruelties committed by that officer. This publication wrought a happy effect; many were impreſſed by the arguments, and not a few were ſwayed by the eloquence diſplayed, and the dreadful picture drawn of the violences committed by *Oginski*: in conſequence they deſerted his party, joined themſelves to the intereſt of *Sapieha*, and declared their reſolution of oppoſing, to the laſt drop of their blood, every meaſure which had a tendency to diſturb the tranquility of the dutchy and republic. Even this did not determine the controverſy; the ſword alone was capable of untying thoſe knots, which had foiled all the addreſs of the king and government. *Sapieha* reinforced by the deſerters from *Oginski*, marched againſt that general, came to an engagement, and, after an obſtinate conflict, obtained the honour of a victory, with the loſs of ſix hundred men, killed and wounded, on the ſide of the enemy.

THE blood ſpilt in *Lithuania* abated the heats of party in that country; but it was otherwiſe in *Poland*. Seditious writings were fixed upon the cathedral-door of *Warſaw*, and abſolution offered to all who ſhould aſſiſt in maſſacring the *German* ſoldiers. A great reward was publiſhed for diſcovering the author of theſe pieces, and proper cautions were taken for guarding againſt the effect; after which the king ſet out upon a progreſs to *Pruſſia*, to eſtabliſh his authority in that province, one of the moſt conſiderable of the republic. Here he viſited the fortification of *Marienburg*, and received the ſubmiſſion of the magiſtrates of *Elbing* and *Dantzick*; after which he

he made his public entry into the laſt of theſe cities, receiving the keys from the hands of the burgomaſters. In a word, he received the homage and oaths of fidelity from the inhabitants of *Marienburg*, *Dantzick*, *Elbing*, and all the conſiderable cities, towns, and villages in the province; upon which he returned to *Warſaw*.

Diſſolution of the roboz, and a general reconciliation.

DURING his abſence, *Paulucci* arrived in quality of nuncio from the pontiff, with more ample powers than thoſe given to *Davia*, his predeceſſor. It was through his influence that the confederacy was diſſolved, on a reconciliation effected between the king and the *roboz*. He had ſo artfully ſoothed, cajoled, and threatened the primate, that the inflexibility of that prelate yielded to his reſpect for the holy ſee; in conſequence of which he made a feeling ſpeech to the aſſembly of the *roboz*, which produced a conference with the king's deputies. *Paulucci* took upon him the character of mediator, aſſiſted at the conferences, and acted with ſuch impartiality, that all parties were ſatisfied his ſole deſign was to reſtore the peace of the country, and cruſh thoſe factions which had brought *Poland* to the brink of deſtruction. A reconciliation was accordingly ſigned, upon condition, that the king ſhould exhibit freſh proofs of his having embraced the *Romiſh* faith; that he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours with his conſort to follow his example; that he ſhould diſmiſs the Proteſtant miniſters in his army; that he ſhould paſs an authentic act to preſerve the freedom of elections and diets; that he ſhould not require to be reimburſed in the ſums expended in *Poland*; that he ſhould pay the arrears due to the army; that he ſhould employ his forces in regaining *Kaminieck*, and re-uniting that city and the province of *Podolia* to the crown; that he ſhould afterwards diſmiſs all the foreign troops; that he ſhould revoke his grants of certain demeſnes to private perſons, and apply them to the ſupport of his houſhold; that he ſhould give the preference to the members of the *roboz* in the diſtribution of public offices; that the primate ſhould confirm the king's election; and, laſtly, that this prelate ſhould give his majeſty the benediction in the great church of *Warſaw*, the courts of juſtice to remain ſuſpended until that ceremonial was completed, and the king confirmed in the poſſeſſion of the crown.

THUS happily was *Auguſtus* unanimouſly acknowledged ſovereign of *Poland*, without we except the palatine of *Sandomir*, who not only refuſed to ſign, but entered a proteſt of nullity againſt the agreement: a circumſtance which gave but little diſturbance to the king, who was ſenſible that he muſt ſoon cloſe in with the ſentiments of the nation. Accordingly the marechal of the aſſembly broke his ſtaff, to ſignify that the con-

confederacy was diſſolved; after which *Te Deum* was ſung in the cathedral, and a ſplendid entertainment given in the caſtle, the whole concluding with general demonſtrations of joy, and the loud acclamations of the people [a].

[a] PARTHEN. lib. iii. FONT. lib. vi. Lett. de Pologn. paſſim BARRE Hiſt. tom. x.

SECT. VIII.

Containing the Tranſactions of the Republic to the Depoſition of Auguſtus, *and the Elevation of* Staniſlaus *to the Throne of* Poland.

The primate waits on the king.

ALL the arts of the primate being inſufficient to extend the duration of his authority by continuing the interregnum, he at length reluctantly yielded ſubmiſſion, and waited upon the king at *Warſaw*, with thirty of the principal perſonages of the *roboz*, and paid him a kind of homage; not, however, with the uſual formalities, which he refuſed, under pretence that the election had not yet been ſolemnly confirmed. He likewiſe had the honour of a private audience, and was cloſetted for two hours by *Auguſtus*, though to very little purpoſe, the prelate waving, with great addreſs, every propoſal made of taking the oath of fidelity to the king; inſiſting, that the election ſhould be confirmed by a diet. It would be abſurd in *Auguſtus* to conſent to this meaſure, which would be an acknowledgment that neither his coronation nor election were valid: the prelate was ſenſible of this; but he wanted to prepare the way, by plauſible excuſes, for his future conduct, which evinces how little ſincerity there was in all his profeſſions of reconciliation.

Troubles in Lithuania.

THE next affair which alarmed the king's attention was the quarrel between *Sapieha* and *Oginski*, which divided all *Lithuania*, and had already occaſioned bloodſhed. The great general was ſupported by the army, and the ſtandard-bearer by all the nobility, who were jealous of the power and aſpiring views of *Sapieha*. This family, indeed, engroſſed all the public employments, either lucrative or honourable, by means of their great influence with the court; an influence which they could always maintain, on account of their vaſt poſſeſſions and dependencies. *Auguſtus* had already attempted a reconciliation between theſe chiefs by his own authority; now he thought proper to refer it to the ſenate, which he aſſembled on pur-

purpoſe to deliberate on the preſent ſituation of the great dutchy of *Lithuania*. The deputies of the army demanded their arrears, and laid the whole blame of their circumſtances on *Oginski*, though lately they had taxed *Sapieha* with having detained four hundred thouſand livres. Orders were ſent for theſe two noblemen to appear at *Warſaw*, and *Sapieha* obeyed, while *Oginski* contented himſelf with ſending his brother to attend the king and ſenate. In conſequence a treaty was ſigned, by which all parties agreed to lay aſide their differences; but unfortunately the reconciliation was ſcarce effected, when *Sapieha* received advice that a battle had been fought in *Lithuania* during his abſence. This, it was imagined, would throw every thing again into confuſion. The young prince *Sapieha*, to whom his father had left the command of the army, ſeized this opportunity of trying his fortune, and diſplaying his valour. Accordingly he begun his march at the head of ſix ſquadrons and ſeven battalions, with a train of ſeven pieces of cannon charged with grape-ſhot, againſt *Oginski*, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Jurginburg* in *Samogitia*. *Oginski* drew up his troops in order of battle, determined to give them a warm reception; but his army could not ſtand before the fury and regularity of the enemy's fire: the ranks fell into confuſion, the whole fled in diſorder, and great numbers were drowned in the *Niemen*, or ſlain in the purſuit. *Oginski* had the good fortune to eſcape ſafe into *Ducal Pruſſia*, whither he was followed by a ſmall part of the ſhattered remains of his forces; but he loſt four pieces of cannon, all the money for the payment of the army, and every requiſite for keeping the field and making freſh head againſt the victorious *Sapieha*. The news of this combat deeply affected the elder *Sapieha*, who feared that his ſon's raſhneſs might be attributed to him; but it cauſed no alteration in the treaty, and the king made immediate uſe of the intelligence that was brought, by publiſhing a mandate to the following effect. That ſince his acceſſion he had laboured to compoſe the civil diviſions, and reſtore the peace of the great dutchy of *Lithuania*: that, as it was neceſſary all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe, it was his pleaſure to make known, that all other perſons ſhould lay down their arms, and repair to their ſeveral homes, as ſoon as the army of *Lithuania* ſhould begin to march, to act in conjunction with the *Poliſh* in retaking *Kaminieck*: that whoever ſhould henceforward foment new diviſions would be deprived of the privileges of nobility, and ſubject to ſuch other puniſhments as the law inflicts on diſturbers of the public tranquillity; and *Sapieha* ſent orders for the army

army to march to *Leopold*, in execution of the treaty, and conformity to the king's mandate.

THE king had serious designs upon *Kaminieck*; the re- *The king*
aking of which fortreſs would not only be an exceeding po- *takes the*
ular meaſure, but furniſh him with a ſpecious pretext for *field, and*
etaining a body of *Saxons* in the kingdom. Though his ſo- *the council*
ereignty was generally acknowledged, yet *Auguſtus* did not *is divided.*
hink himſelf perfectly ſecure without the aſſiſtance of troops on whoſe fidelity he might depend. The *Saxons* intended for his expedition were held in readineſs, and the duke of *Wirtemberg* was come from *Germany* to take the command: the crown-army was quartered on the frontiers of *Podolia*, and magazines had been formed ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the combined forces during the campaign. On the tenth of *Auguſt*, *Auguſtus* ſet out for *Rava*, where he found *Peter* czar of *Muſcovy*, with whom he entered into conference for the ſpace of three days, which concluded in a treaty of alliance, that laid the foundation of the unfortunate war with *Sweden*. On the czar's departure, *Auguſtus* ſet out for *Leopold*, into which city he made his public entry with great magnificence. The eighteenth of *Auguſt* a grand council was held, at which aſſiſted the ſenators, the *Poliſh* generals, and the principal officers of the *Saxon* army, which gave offence to the rigid republicans. Here it was debated, whether *Kaminieck* ſhould be immediately attacked. Some of the council eſpouſed the affirmative, alledging, that the place could not poſſibly hold out until the winter ſhould oblige the army to quit the field; while others ſupported the negative, becauſe the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and the enterprize more difficult than was imagined. Beſides, they thought it of more conſequence to fall upon *Moldavia*, to ſeize the principal fortreſſes in that country, to cut off the communication of the *Turks* with *Kaminieck*, and to quarter the *German* troops in that province during the winter. By this, foreigners would be removed from the boſom of the republic, and ſtationed in thoſe places where they might not only guard the kingdom from irruptions, but ſtand between danger and the *Poliſh* army. There was ſomething indeed extraordinary enough in all theſe counſels, when we reflect that a negotiation was now actually carrying on between the Porte and the Republic, to which both the Grand Seignior and king *Auguſtus* had ſent commiſſioners. A few, with more juſtice and good ſenſe, recommended pacific meaſures; and alledged, that no great ſtreſs could be laid on the aſſiſtance of the Emperor and *Venetians*, with whom the republic was engaged in an offenſive alliance

for

for two years preceding the death of their late monarch *Sobieski*. As each party obſtinately perſiſted in the opinions advanced, the council broke up without coming to any reſolution. Next day they met; but were not more unanimous: however, a majority now declared for peace, alledged their reaſons, and were oppoſed with arguments equally plauſible in point of policy, but leſs conſonant to equity, and that candour which ought to direct the meaſures of ſtates, as well as the conduct of individuals. As it was impoſſible to determine while the council remained divided, *Auguſtus* reſolved to diſoblige neither party; but, in ſome degree, to act agreeable to both. With this view he nominated an extraordinary ambaſſy to conclude a peace, and at the ſame time made preparations for taking the field. He reviewed his army on the ſixth of *September*; and, while he was thus employed, advice arrived that a body of *Tartars* had entered *Volhinia*, ravaged the country on all ſides, and defeated a part of the *Poliſh* army. In conſequence the king put himſelf in motion, and advanced at the head of the *Saxons* to join the crown-army, which had orders to meet him in *Podhaicia*. In their march thither, the *Poles* were attacked by forty thouſand *Tartars*, who ſlew and made priſoners all the ſtragglers belonging to the army, and kept cloſe to their ſkirts until they arrived in the ſuburbs of *Podhaicia*. Here it was expected they ſhould meet the *Saxons*; but the *Poliſh* general, finding he was diſappointed, drew up his army in order of battle, in expectation of being attacked by the *Tartars*; a precaution that ſoon proved neceſſary. The enemy fell in by break of day, and by their impetuoſity broke the advanced guard, threw themſelves on the firſt line, and were gallantly ſuſtained. Meeting with inſurmountable difficulties on this quarter, the *Tartars* ſurrounded the wings, defeated them, and penetrated to the baggage, to which is aſcribed the ſafety of the *Poliſh* army. While the *Tartars* were employed in plundering, the *Poles* rallied, and renewed the charge with ſuch ſucceſs, that the enemy were forced to retire with part of their booty, after an obſtinate engagement for eight hours, during which the artillery did prodigious execution. Yet the advantage gained could not prevent the enemy from carrying off ſome very valuable plunder, and burning the ſuburbs and part of the city of *Podhaicia*: however, it muſt be confeſſed that the *Poles* acted with great bravery, conſidering their number did not exceed eight thouſand men, oppoſed to forty thouſand. Nine hundred *Poles* were ſlain in the action, above a thouſand were wounded, and the ſon of the great general *Jablownoſki* with three

The Poliſh *army attacked by the* Tartars.

three ſtaroſts were carried into captivity by the *Tartars*, their ardour puſhing them too far in the midſt of the enemy [a].

As the army of *Lithuania* was not yet arrived, and the ſeaſon far advanced, *Auguſtus* laid aſide all thoughts of beſieging *Kaminieck* for this year, and made diſpoſitions for putting his troops into winter-quarters. Juſt as every thing was in readineſs for this purpoſe, the *Lithuanians* joined the army; and advice was at the ſame time brought, that the *Tartars*, reinforced by great numbers of their own countrymen, and a ſtrong detachment of janiſſaries, were advancing to revenge their late diſgrace. This intelligence extremely embarraſſed *Auguſtus*. A thouſand circumſtances evinced the little dependence he could have on the *Poles*, when joined with the *Saxons*, whom they deteſted, and either of the armies ſingly would be inſufficient to reſiſt the enemy. Nor were the *Saxons* leſs odious to the *Lithuanians*, who took every occaſion to affront and inſult the *German* officers, which had almoſt involved the united armies in ſcenes of civil diſcord and bloodſhed. Their mutual animoſity daily increaſed, and at length roſe to ſuch a pitch, that the king, believing his perſon was no longer ſafe in the *Poliſh* camp, drew up the *Saxons* in order of battle, with intention to obtain juſtice by force of arms, in caſe the crown-generals refuſed to puniſh the authors of the tumult. On the other hand, the *Poles* and *Lithuanians* drew up, affording the faireſt opportunity to the *Tartars* to ruin both, had they received intelligence of the diviſion; and in this ſituation the two armies continued for above half a day, when the menaces of the *Poliſh* army to join with the primate and nobility againſt the foreign troops, obliged *Auguſtus* to quit the field, and repair to *Leopold*, after having aſſigned quarters to the *Saxons* at a diſtance from the army of the republic.

Diviſions between the Poles *and* Saxons.

AUGUSTUS had ſcarce checked the diviſions in *Poland* by his prudent management, when the troubles in *Lithuania* again broke out with redoubled vehemence. The treaty mediated by the king and ſenate had not quieted the ſpirits of the people, or reſtored that harmony which was neceſſary to the tranquillity of the dutchy. On the contrary, it proved a mere temporary expedient to enable the *Lithuanian* army to take the field. The members of the diet diſavowed the treaty of *Warſaw* concluded by their deputies; and, aſſembling at *Wilna*, proteſted againſt almoſt every article, declaring that the deputies had greatly exceeded their inſtructions, and been inveigled into an agreement prejudicial to the intereſts of the

The troubles in Lithuania *renewed.*

[a] PARTH. lib. iii. Univ. Hiſt. tom. xiii.

dutchy.

dutchy. This alluded to the act of *coequation*, and not to the quarrel between *Sapieha* and *Oginſki*, though this too was renewed as a neceſſary conſequence of the other. In this aſſembly it was reſolved to ſummon the whole body of the nobility to meet at *Grodno* on the fifteenth of *October*, in order to raiſe money for the payment of the army, which would ſecure the troops in their intereſt; and in the mean time hoſtilities commenced, the lands belonging to the houſe of *Radzivil* being entirely deſolated, rather from wantonneſs than any particular pique to that noble family.

To theſe evils was ſuperadded an open attack on the republic, made by the elector of *Brandenburg*, who had ſeized upon the city *Elbing*, as an equivalent for a debt of three hundred thouſand rixdollars due to him by the crown of *Poland* ſince the reign of king *Caſimir*. This city had been pledged to him in ſecurity of payment; the affair had been forty years in agitation, and the late treaty ſet on foot between *Auguſtus* and the elector, was broke off without coming to any concluſion. Before he inveſted the place the elector publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring the reaſons upon which was founded his reſolution of doing himſelf juſtice; at the ſame time he wrote a letter to the primate, and notified his pretenſions to the magiſtrates of the city in diſpute. The magiſtrates deſired time to conſider the elector's propoſal, and at laſt offered to pay the money for the crown at certain inſtallments, rather than be oppreſſed by a military force; but the elector, either ſuſpecting that this was an artifice to procure delay, or poſſibly chuſing rather to be maſter of the city than to have the ſum required refunded, ordered trenches immediately to be formed, and threatened to bombard the place if the magiſtrates made any ſcruples about capitulating. This menace wrought the deſired effect, and the city capitulated on the eleventh of *November*, on condition that the privileges, religion, ſchools, and hoſpitals ſhould be preſerved on their preſent footing. To this was added an article reſpecting the conſervation of the magiſtracy and commerce, the ſuppreſſion of impoſts on their merchandize at *Pilau*, with other conditions of leſs importance. *Auguſtus* was at *Leopold* ready to ſet out for *Lithuania*, when advice arrived that *Elbing* was inveſted by the forces of *Brandenburg*.

The king's reſentment againſt the elector of Brandenburg.

The news extremely embarraſſed and affected him; he declared the neceſſity of having reparation, and expreſſed his reſentment in terms the moſt bitter and lively. He wrote to the ſenate a letter full of indignation at the elector's perfidy; the primate and the nobility joined in his complaints; but their paſſion evaporated in murmurs and revilings; the ſeaſon

or relieving the magiſtrates was loſt, and *Elbing* fell a ſacrifice to the diſcords, jealouſies, and irreſolution of the republic. Malignity was carried to ſuch a pitch, that the king's indignation was ſuppoſed counterfeit, and that prince actually taxed with conniving at the elector's deſigns: however, *Auguſtus* laboured to refute the malicious accuſation, and earneſtly ſolicited the republic to aſſiſt him in retaking a place equally important to the honour, intereſt, and ſecurity of the *Poliſh* dominions. Such indeed were the mutual diſtruſts, that the royal remonſtrance produced no other effect than a reſolution to put *Thorn* and *Dantzick* on their guard; to petition the king to ſend the *Saxon* army into *Poliſh Pruſſia*; to publiſh an order for the *poſpolite* of this province to take the field on the third ſummons; to requeſt the aſſiſtance of the allies of the republic; and to order the reſident of *Brandenburg* inſtantly to quit the *Poliſh* territories. Next the king publiſhed the *Univerſalia*, taxing the elector with injuſtice and ingratitude, which piece was anſwered by ſimilar accuſations on the ſide of the court of *Berlin*; and theſe violent publications were followed by a kind of irregular declaration of war, while both parties ſeemed to apprehend the conſequences of a rupture.

A WAR in the North could not but be prejudicial to the intereſts of the court of *Vienna* at this juncture; the emperor therefore laboured to effect a reconciliation, and offered his mediation, which was accepted by both parties, who acknowledged themſelves his ſubjects, as far as they were members of the *Germanick* body. The conduct of the negotiation was entruſted to count *Sareniſki*, the imperial envoy at *Warſaw*, a perſon extremely beloved by the *Poliſh* nobility. The miniſter exerted his utmoſt ability; *Auguſtus* was ſtrongly diſpoſed to an accommodation, on account of the diviſions in his kingdom; the elector declared his intention for peace, yet was the treaty protracted for above a year, becauſe *Brandenburg* inſiſted upon the reimburſement of the demand on the crown of *Poland* as a preliminary article.

WHILE the negotiation with the elector of *Brandenburg* was in agitation, the king applied his mind to the affairs of *Lithuania*, which roſe to a greater height of confuſion, while his attention was diverted by the ſituation of *Elbing*. All the *Saxon* cavalry, with *Fleming*'s regiment, had orders to take up their quarters on certain lands aſſigned for the maintenance of the king's houſhold in *Lithuania*. This order was regarded by the *Lithuanians* as a violation of their priviledges. In conſequence the ſenate aſſembled at *Grodno*, and the nobility of the dutchy ſent two deputies to *Auguſtus*, who advanced to *Breſzcia* in his way to *Lithuania*, aſſuring him of *The Lithuanians oppoſe the Saxons.*

caſtle of *Warſaw* was ſummoned to ſurrender; and the palatine of *Plosko*, who acted as governor, at firſt refuſed; but was ſoon intimidated to ſubmiſſion by a battery of cannon, which was erected, and began firing upon the walls. The following days ſeveral articles were ſigned for the ſupport of the *rohoz*, or confederacy; and a reſolution was taken of writing to the biſhops of *Cujaiva* and *Cracow*, to exhort them not to expoſe themſelves to the reſentment of the republic, by an imprudent attachment to the elector of *Saxony*, whom they intended to crown with all poſſible ſolemnity. At the ſame time the biſhop of *Kiow* was appointed to inform the army of the reſolutions of the diet, and to invite them to accede to the confederacy. In a word, the primate was deſired to haſten his proclamations, in order that the nobility might march in a body to drive the elector out of the kingdom. The whole deſign, indeed, of the confederacy was to prevent the elector's coronation, which gave him the diſpoſal of all vacant offices. In this he muſt anticipate the prince of *Conti*, becauſe he was at the capital, and actually ſurrounded with a numerous body of troops, which diſconcerted all the vigorous reſolutions of his opponents, and effectually fruſtrated their execution.

The elector's meaſures to oppoſe the confederacy.

SECURE of his own ſtrength, the elector determined to proceed to the ceremony of his coronation, which he believed would greatly extend his influence, by giving him the diſpoſal of all public employments; and indeed many lords and gentlemen only waited this event to declare in his favour. Many difficulties however occurred to prevent the ſolemnization of the ceremony agreeable to the laws. The firſt was, that all the crown ornaments were locked up in the treaſury of *Cracow*, the keys of which were kept by eight officers, ſix of whom were in the oppoſite intereſt. The *Saxon* council determined to force a place that had been always deemed ſacred; but, that the laws might not be violated by breaking open the doors, it was judged expedient to enter by a breach made in the walls; a quibble ſuggeſted by ſome of thoſe miſcreants of the court, who are never at a loſs for the means of excuſing the moſt flagrant and criminal actions in princes. Another great obſtruction to his deſigns aroſe from the neceſſity of being crowned by the primate archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, which alone could give credit to that ceremony with the people; to remove this inconvenience, the elector's little council of four or five ſenators declared the archbiſhopric vacant. It was likewiſe required that the body of the late monarch ſhould be interred the day preceding the coronation; but neither was this poſſible, as the enemy were in poſſeſſion of *Warſaw*, where

: the royal remains were depoſited. However, a ſalvo
rovided for this likewiſe; the funeral obſequies were to
rformed in effigy, in the cathedral church, with the ſame
and magnificence as if the body had been actually pre-
Every obſtruction being thus ſurmounted, the ceremony *He is*
, and a proceſſion was made with vaſt pomp to the *crowned*
h of St. *Staniſlaus*, where the confeſſion of faith was read
: biſhop of *Cujaiva*, and the ſacrament adminiſtered by
ther prelates, during which the prince fainted away; a
nſtance which ſome turned into raillery, while others
ded it as an unhappy preſage. The crown was placed
s head by the biſhop; and, after all the ceremonies were
ed, he received the homage of the nobility and gentry
nt, the crown-officers who were in the oppoſite intereſt
repreſented by proxy.

the ſame day the coronation diet aſſembled, and occa-
l the utmoſt tumult and confuſion. Complaints were
ed from every quarter, that certain eſſential formalities
een omitted; but this difficulty was ſurmounted with the
facility as all the preceding; the deputies agreeing to
l each other as regularly elected; however, the choice
narſhal gave birth to new contentions, that honour be-
laimed by prince *Wieſnowiſki* and *Zwiſſa*, and at laſt car-
y the latter. The next ſubject of diviſion reſpected the
conventa, the original draught of which the diet required
l be laid before them. They aſſerted it ſhould ſti-
, in expreſs terms, that the election ſhould be void,
l the ceremony of coronation be performed previous to
ectreſs's converſion; and they were the more confirmed
ir opinion by the elector's anſwer, in which he declared,
he original act was loſt; an evaſive reply which highly
ſed the deputies. An aſſociation of gentlemen, of the
nate of *Sandomir*, produced a copy that had been taken
the original act; but this the elector's council refuſed
nit; and the caſtellan of *Culm* ſo effectually embroiled
ffair, that the deciſion was deferred to the month of *Fe-*
. Fruitleſs proteſts were entered by ſeveral deputies
ſt all that had been tranſacted before and after the coro-
; the elector expreſſed no concern at their proceedings,
garded the ſtorm as a ſudden blaſt, whoſe duration would
portioned to its violence. Others turned the diet into
le, and revenged by a jeſt the injuries offered to national
. A paſquinade, under the title of *The Comedy of Cra-*
was handed about. The piece contained five acts, to
of which was prefixed an argument, to the following pur-
1. A king without a *diploma*. 2. An interment with-
out

before the war. 2. The republic ſhall reſtore all her conqueſts on the frontiers of *Moldavia*. 3. *Kaminieck*, all *Podolia*, and the *Ukraine*, ſhall be reſtored in their preſent ſituation to *Poland*. 4. The Grand Seignior ſhall ſtrictly enjoin all his ſubjects and vaſſals, whether *Turks* or *Tartars*, from making irruptions into the *Poliſh* dominions. All the *Turkiſh* governors and officers ſhall have peremptory orders to be vigilant in guarding the frontiers, and active in puniſhing all violators of the treaty, the republic engaging to do the ſame on her part. 5. *Poland* ſhall be acknowledged a ſtate entirely free and independent. 6. The *Tartars*, who have deſerted their own country to poſſeſs lands to which they had no right, ſhall return and reſide within their antient limits. 7. The religious of the *Roman* Catholic perſuaſion, thro' the whole *Turkiſh* empire, ſhall enjoy the free exerciſe of the functions annexed to their religion and circumſtances, according to antient treaties ſubſiſting. 8. Mutual liberty of trade ſhall be reſtored, and the merchants of either nation ſuffered to paſs without moleſtation, on paying the duties ſpecified by antient treaty and agreement; and no merchant ſhall be obliged to pay a debt claimed only upon verbal evidence. 9. All priſoners taken during the war ſhall be mutually releaſed, on paying the ranſom adjuſted by former treaties; the ranſom to diminiſh in proportion to the length of the captivity. Priſoners taken after the concluſion of the treaty, to be reſtored without ranſom, and a free paſſage granted them through the dominions of either power. 10. The vaivode of *Moldavia* ſhall continue a good underſtanding with the republic; and neither *Poland* nor *Moldavia* ſhall protect or countenance the fugitives of either country. By the 11th and laſt article, former treaties, in every point not ſpecified in the preſent, were confirmed. Each of the contracting powers agreed to notify it to their reſpective allies, governors, officers, and magiſtrates, within the ſpace of thirty days, and to puniſh any infraction with great ſeverity. The republic engaged to ſend an ambaſſador to exchange the ratifications at the *Porte*, and alſo to pay the compliment of a ſolemn ambaſſy to the Sultan, as ſoon as conveniency would admit.

In this manner did the peace of *Carlowitz* reſtore the important fortreſs of *Kaminieck*, the province of *Podolia*, and the vaſt territory of the *Ukraine* to *Poland*; an happy event for *Auguſtus*, who was thereby diſengaged from the moſt difficult of the engagements contracted by the *pacta conventa*. It was not doubted but this event would pave the way to other felicities, the entire re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity,

ty, and confirmation of the ſovereign on the throne.
peace was celebrated by ſplendid public rejoicings at *Irruption*
ew, which were ſoon interrupted by an expedition of the *of the*
e *Tartars*, who either were not informed of the pacifi- Tartars.
, or took advantage of the ſecurity of the *Poles*. They
ced in a vaſt body as far as *Leopold*, plundering and ra-
all before them, and were preparing to return with
ious booty and twelve thouſand captives, when a de-
ent of *Poles* fell upon them and retook great part of the
ers. This incident checked, but did not entirely ſtop
urſe of pleaſure at court. The carnival was ſplendid
agnificent, beyond any thing ever beheld in *Poland*;
e politeneſs, graceful perſon, and majeſtic air of the
ch, contributed greatly to gain over the affections of
les, and ſoften the animoſity of his moſt inveterate
es.

a council held about this time, it was reſolved, that
t ſhould not be convoked before the laſt day of *May*
; that it ſhould be referred to the king to appoint
ſſioners to receive from the hands of the *Turks* reſti-
of the places ſpecified in the treaty of *Carlowitz*;
e mediation of the maritime ſtates ſhould be accepted,
mmodate the differences with the court of *Berlin*; and
onferences ſhould be held for this purpoſe at *Elbing*,
t at *Breſlau*, as had been propoſed. With reſpect to
itution of *Elbing*, the king was left at liberty to act
thought fit and conjunctures might require. *Sweden*,
rk, the ſtates-general, and even the emperor and
king offered their good offices: mediators were not
; but the elector's policy, and ſtrong deſire of poſ-
this city, raiſed difficulties. A congreſs was ſitting, yet
s perceived the neceſſity of preparing for war, though
ſenſible that the mediating powers would oppoſe his
ſiege to *Elbing*. However, this furniſhed him with a *Addreſs to*
e excuſe for retaining the *Saxons* in the kingdom, tho' *diſmiſs the*
d addreſſes were preſented, deſiring they might be diſ- Saxons.
He flattered himſelf likewiſe that his preparations
render the elector more pliant; but he was deceived
conjectures. The *Saxons* became odious to all men,
m their own miſconduct, but from the jealouſy which
les always entertain of foreigners. The primate, ſe-
by a great number of ſenators and the nobility, ſtre-
oppoſed the deſign of retaking *Elbing* by force of arms,
n apprehenſion that this meaſure might involve the
c in a war, and in expences which the treaſury was in
dition to ſupply. Notwithſtanding their remonſtrance,

a camp was marked out at *Marienburg*, and the *Saxon* artillery ſent to *Poliſh Pruſſia*, which obliged the elector to prepare for his defence. That prince had intelligence of a conſpiracy ſet on foot by the magiſtrates of *Elbing* to introduce the king's troops, and he took the moſt effectual meaſures to defeat the project. A ſtronger garriſon was put in the town than had been ſtipulated in the capitulation, the keys were taken from the magiſtrates, and all the guards mounted by the troops of *Brandenburg* inſtead of the citizens and militia.

A general diet, which ends happily.

In this ſtate were affairs when the diet aſſembled, the reſult of which the elector determined to await. It met on the day appointed, and a marechal was choſen without oppoſition, from which the king drew a happy preſage: but this harmony was not of long duration; the diet demanded that the *Saxons* ſhould be diſmiſſed, and the king waved it by every art and intrigue. At length debates roſe ſo high, that *Auguſtus*, fearing the conſequences, gave the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that part of the *German* army already had orders to quit *Poland*, and the reſt were preparing with all expedition to oblige the diet. He remonſtrated, however, that this could not be done till fifteen days after the aſſembly broke up; that he then ſhould require ample ſecurity for his perſon, and expect that a guard of fourteen hundred *Saxons* ſhould always be ſuffered to remain about his court. To enforce this demand, *Auguſtus* ordered the *acta conventa* to be read, by which he was allowed a guard of ſix thouſad men: all were now ſenſible of his moderation, and acceded to his opinions without farther litigation. A deputation waited upon his majeſty to acquaint him with the inclination of the diet. *Auguſtus* gave audience, ſeated on a magnificent throne; he preſerved all the dignity of a ſovereign in his air, but the complacency of his manner obtained whatever he pleaſed from the deputies. Such was the popularity he acquired, that he was ſollicited to preſide in perſon; he accepted the invitation, and his addreſs quickly contributed to the happy iſſue of the diet, which confirmed, by unanimous conſent, the act projected for the ſafety and authority of the king, annexing a clauſe, by which the moſt rigorous puniſhments were denounced againſt whoever ſhould make any attempts againſt his perſon and dignity, or offer to renounce obedience to his authority. It was alſo reſolved, that all *Saxon* and other foreign dependents upon the king's court, ſhould continue about his perſon; that the king ſhould always retain ſix miniſters or counſellors of ſtate for the affairs of *Saxony*; but his majeſty, to remove all exceptions, declared he would

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be ſatisfied with a third of the number. It was further decreed, that beſides the two regiments of infantry called the king's and queen's, there ſhould remain twelve hundred horſe, under the names of great muſqueteers and train-bands; that an equal number of *Saxon* troops ſhould remain in *Lithuania*, the whole to be maintained at the expence of the republic; that arrears for two years ſhould be paid to the *Poliſh* army, and the king authoriſed to put the forces of the republic on a better footing. In a word, every thing was tranſacted with perfect harmony, and to the king's ſatisfaction, the diet cloſing with the primate and the great chamberlain *Bielinski*'s ſigning the act of election.

THE reſult of the diet was by no means agreeable to the hope entertained by the elector of *Brandenburg*. That prince was in expectation that ſuch heats would ariſe as muſt ſufficiently divert *Auguſtus* from any attention to the affair of *Elbing*. This occaſioned his protracting the negotiation during the whole winter, and riſing or falling in his demands, juſt as the intelligence he received of the tranſactions in the diet directed. He now, however, ſent an envoy extraordinary to *Warſaw*, and relaxed ſo much in his demands, that a treaty was concluded to the following effect: the firſt article contained a reciprocal promiſe to harbour no reſentment, not only upon account of the ſeizure of *Elbing*, but of any thing ſaid, wrote, or publiſhed by either party. This article likewiſe ſtipulated, that a perpetual amity and union ſhould take place between the contracting powers. By the ſecond article, the evacuation of *Elbing* was fixed for the firſt day of *February* the enſuing year, without the ſmalleſt alteration in the antient fortifications. By the third article, the elector promiſed to leave every thing in the city in the ſame ſituation he found it. By the fourth article, the king and *Poliſh* republic engaged faithfully to pay the elector in the city of *Warſaw*, three months after the general diet ſhould be held, the ſum of three hundred thouſand rixdollars, and for his better ſecurity, to pledge the crown jewels in the hands of the commiſſaries the day preceding the evacuation of *Elbing*. By the fifth article, the elector was empowered, on default of payment, not only to retain the jewels, but to repoſſeſs himſelf of *Elbing*, and its demeſnes, until the intire diſcharge of his demand. Four other articles reſpected certain private differences, which this treaty furniſhed an opportunity of regulating. At the day appointed the electoral forces quitted the city by torch light[a]. As ſoon as the *Poliſh* commiſſaries

Treaty with the elector of Brandenburg.

[a] Mem. de Branden. page 72. PARTHEN. lib. iii.

regained poſſeſſion, they reproached the magiſtrates with cowardice and perfidy, for opening their gates to the *Brandenburgers*, acquainting them with the penalties incurred by that tranſgreſſion, if the king and republic had not out of parental fondneſs interpoſed their clemency. The magiſtrates pleaded neceſſity; but the commiſſaries refuting all their allegations, told them they were to hold their privileges on the following conditions, preſcribed as a juſt puniſhment. That the city ſhould furniſh fifty thouſand crowns towards the redemption of the jewels; that three hundred foot and thirty horſe, ſhould henceforward be maintained for the defence of the poſts, inſtead of two hundred, the uſual number, and that theſe ſhould be augmented to two thouſand upon any appearance of danger; that an officer of valour, experience, and reputation, ſhould be retained in quality of commandant, who ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the king and republic; that the preſident of the council ſhould henceforward take an oath never to ſurrender the town to any beſieger, until it was reduced to the laſt extremity; and that certain new privileges mentioned in the treaty ſhould be granted to the inhabitants of the *Romiſh* profeſſion. Such was the iſſue of an affair, attended with much anxiety to *Auguſtus*, as it gave birth to a variety of aſperſions equally unjuſt and irkſome, and occaſioned violent contentions between him and certain members of the republic, who had not yet laid aſide their prejudices, or ſubmitted with a good grace to his ſovereignty:

The Turks make difficulties about the ſurrender of Kamipieck.

So deeply had the king and republic been immerſed in negotiations on account of *Elbing*, they had ſcarce time to attend to the execution of the treaty of *Carlowitz*, with reſpect to which ſome difficulties occurred. The reſtitution of *Kaminieck* was deferred under ſeveral pretences, notwithſtanding this place was to have been delivered into the hands of *Poliſh* commiſſaries immediately after the ratification. The Grand Seignior expreſſed the utmoſt reluctance to part with a fortreſs which proved ſo galling a thorn in the ſide of the republic. The reſtitution was ſo contrary to his true intereſt, that the mufti would have abſolved a breach of his engagements, and conſecrated the perfidy. A curſe was denounced upon the vizier, who had conſented to this article; but he defended himſelf by ſhewing the impoſſibility of ſupporting the war without money and forces, or of procuring peace upon other conditions. Now the moſt pitiful ſhifts were taken to evade this article. At firſt, the ſeraſquier had not received the neceſſary orders, and the harveſt, which the garriſon had ſown, muſt be reaped. Next, reſtitution

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was deferred until the miniſter of the republic at the *Porte* had an audience of the Grand Seignior. When the audience was at length obtained, other pretences were deviſed, until it became obvious that the divan had formed a deſign of not complying with the terms of the treaty. At laſt, the vizier exerted himſelf ſo effectually, remonſtrating, in the moſt lively colours, the national diſhonour that muſt enſue from ſo open and barefaced a violation of treaties, that the reſolution was taken of executing the article in its full extent. Accordingly one gate of the fortreſs was ſurrendered to the *Poliſh* commiſſaries, and a promiſe given that the place ſhould, in eight days, be entirely evacuated. The ſeraſquier kept his word, had a magnificent preſent from the republic, and thus *Poland* was once more put into poſſeſſion of this important barrier fortification.

It was after this event that the king propoſed a viſit to his *German* dominions; a point that was agitated with great warmth in the ſenate. Some objected that his preſence could not be diſpenſed with at a period when the reſolutions of the diet required immediate execution, when it was neceſſary to repair the breaches made by the long confuſion of the republic, and to reſtore the tranquillity of the kingdom in general, as well as of individuals. It was added, that the *Saxon* troops ſtill remained in *Poland*, notwithſtanding the aſſurances given by the king to the diet that they would be diſmiſſed; and if his majeſty perſiſted in this neglect of his word, there could no longer be any dependence on the royal promiſe. Theſe arguments were anſwered by the king's party, who inſiſted ſtrongly on the neceſſity of his drinking the waters of *Toplitz* for the recovery of his health. The ſenate ſat from the twelfth to the fifteenth, and the reſult was to preſent the ſubſequent articles to *Auguſtus*; that he ſhould ſend circular letters to all the palatinates, to ſignify the cauſe of his departure; that the two grand-marechals ſhould have the entire diſtribution of quarters to the army; that the general of *Great Poland*, appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to the *Porte*, ſhould have fifty thouſand crowns from the treaſury; that two thouſand florins ſhould be given the envoy from the republic to the cham of *Crim Tartary*, with the preſent of ten thouſand ducats promiſed to the cham of *Little Tartary*; that the treaſurer ſhould continue collecting the public revenues; that the deputies from the army ſhould have a certain gratification proportioned to their ſervices; that ſettling the arrears due to the great generals ſhould be referred to a diet; that a certain ſum ſhould be applied for putting the frontier in a ſtate of defence; and that a regency ſhould be appointed

The king repairs to Saxony.

pointed during the king's abſence. Having adjuſted all theſe points to the ſatisfaction of the ſenate, *Auguſtus* left *Warſaw* with a ſmall train, and arrived at *Dreſden* before the cloſe of the year.

THE king had ſcarce reached his electoral dominions, when repeated letters from the ſenate, primate, and nobility, deſired his return to *Poland*. Not only the war which broke out in *Holſtein*, and the ſtorms that were gathering in *Sweden* and *Denmark* threatened danger to *Poland*; but the averſion of the *Poles* to the *Saxons* required the preſence of the monarch to be reſtrained within the bounds of decency and the ſecurity of the republic. *Saxon* blood was every day ſpilt in ſome of the palatinates, and the army loudly menaced revenge. Even the nobility of the provinces where they were quartered, frequently declared they would mount on horſeback to drive them out of the kingdom. In conſequence the unhappy foreigners were under the neceſſity of perpetually ſhifting their quarters, to avoid the effects of theſe diſcontents and jealouſies. *Auguſtus*, at ſuch a diſtance, could not poſſibly apply the proper remedies to theſe evils; yet they appeared extremely dangerous to the conſtitution. His preſence at *Dreſden* was equally neceſſary as in *Poland:* certain ſchemes he had formed for the recovery of *Livonia* rendered it neceſſary to procure a large ſupply from the ſtates of the electorate, which could only be accompliſhed by his own immediate influence. This ſubſidy was granted, and *Europe* was aſtoniſhed to ſee the ſtorm ſuddenly break out when it was leaſt expected; and a *Saxon* army, inſtead of aſſiſting the *Danes* in *Holſtein*, turn ſuddenly to *Livonia*, carry the fortreſs of *Kober* by ſtorm, and form the blockade of *Riga* (A). Nothing could be more unprovoked and wanton than this attack, of which the king had not given the ſlighteſt

He invades Livonia.

(A) It muſt be obſerved that the czar of *Muſcovy*, the king-elector of *Poland*, his *Daniſh* majeſty, and ſeveral other princes, had ſecretly conſpired to raviſh from *Sweden* thoſe conqueſts ſhe had made under the famous *Guſtavus*, *Chriſtina*, and *Charles* X. and XI. The reigning prince was a minor, who had yet exhibited no proofs of his capacity, and indeed impreſſed foreign miniſters with a mean opinion of his talents. *Auguſtus* offered to aſſiſt the king of *Denmark* with eight thouſand *Saxons*; but being refuſed a paſſage by the court of *Berlin*, he ſuddenly turned his ſtrength towards *Livonia*, and expected he ſhould eaſily recover that province, which would render him extremely popular in *Poland*. The reader may conſult the thirty-third volume of the *Univerſal Hiſtory*, where the origin of this war is minutely traced.

intima-

imation to the ſenate or council of *Poland*, acting wholly the affair of *Livonia* as elector of *Saxony*, though in that ility he had no claim upon the province. In fact, *Patkul*, *ivonian* nobleman, whom we have had repeated occaſions mention, was the author of this expedition, which ended fatally to himſelf and to *Auguſtus*[a]. He repreſented the ility with which this country might be conquered, becauſe nobility and common people were equally incenſed againſt tyranny of the *Swediſh* government. The king of *Sweden* laimed againſt the perfidy of *Auguſtus*; but he reſolved lefer his vengeance until he had brought the king of *Den-rk* to reaſon.

MEAN time the court of *Saxony* thought it neceſſary to e ſome colour of juſtice to their invaſion of *Livonia*, which the powers in *Europe* aſcribed to the king's ambition; ſupply therefore a declaration of war, and remonſtrances ich had been omitted, count *Fleming*, the *Saxon* general, liſhed a manifeſto after he had reduced ſome places in *onia*, and committed ſeveral acts of ſucceſsful hoſtility. pretended that his court had received certain advice that king of *Sweden* formed a deſign of attacking the *Saxon* y, as ſoon as the war in *Holſtein* left him at liberty to his arms from that quarter; and that he entered *Livo-* only to fruſtrate that project, by taking poſſeſſion of ſuch s as were neceſſary to his ſecurity. He offered his pro-ion to the nobles, burghers, and peaſants; but at the e time declared, that whoever diſobeyed his orders ſhould onſidered as rebels, and puniſhed capitally. The public through the thin diſguiſe; they penetrated the ambitious vs of the *Poliſh* monarch; but no power offered to aſſiſt *Swede*, whoſe ſafety depended wholly upon his own ac-y and valour. All men agreed that *Auguſtus* embraced opportunity of making a conqueſt which had ſo often led his predeceſſors; and he had all the reaſon imagin-to expect ſucceſs, conſidering that *Sweden* was governed minor, and engaged in actual war with a powerful mo-hy, always her rival, and frequently her conqueror. *uſtus* flattered himſelf upon the aſſurances of *Patkul*, the *Livonians* would receive his general with open arms, expreſs the utmoſt eagerneſs to break thoſe galling fet-in which they were held by the *Swediſh* government; and as matter of the utmoſt aſtoniſhment to him, that *Flem-s* manifeſto produced no other effect than bringing over obſcure gentlemen to his party. Fear indeed, and not

[a] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. page 304.

affection

affection for the *Swedes*, would ſeem to have operated on the minds of the inhabitants; they lamented the loſs of their liberties, but they dreaded expreſſing their reſentment. They had frequently experienced the valour of the *Swediſh* forces, and regarded a handful of *Saxons* but a feeble barrier againſt the vengeance of veterans, trained under the celebrated *Guſtavus-Adolphus*, and that liſt of *Swediſh* heroes formed by the *German* war. In vain did *Fleming* detach parties of horſe up and down the country offering peace or war: ſcarce any one moved from his habitation, or if he did, it was only to retire at a greater diſtance from the invaders; and there were ſome of the nobility who had the courage to mount on horſeback, and endeavour to perſuade their countrymen to drive the *Saxons* out of the province [b].

FOILED in all his attempts to raiſe the nobility and peaſants againſt *Sweden*, *Fleming* applied himſelf to the governor and magiſtrates of *Riga*. Diſappointed in his expectation that the city would ſurrender on the firſt ſummons, he now made uſe of promiſes, and endeavoured to corrupt thoſe whom he could neither perſuade by arguments, nor intimidate by menaces. Proving equally unfortunate in this attempt, he put himſelf at the head of two thouſand horſe, and once more ſtrove to engage the nobility in the king's intereſt; but he made no progreſs in his deſign, and the *Swediſh* governor of *Riga* profited by the delay, and put himſelf in a better poſture of defence. In the fortreſs of *Dunnamunde* he placed a ſtrong garriſon, kept up a briſk fire from his artillery, and even ordered a ſally to be made, but with little ſucceſs. Next he ſet the ſuburbs on fire, that the houſes might not cover the enemy's approaches, and was upbraided with cruelty by *Fleming*, who wanted to eſtabliſh ſome degree of popularity by rendering the conduct of the enemy odious. *Dalberg* the governor, however, made anſwer, that what he had done was agreeable to the laws of war, from his ignorance of which *Fleming* exclaimed, and he was ready to vindicate his conduct in proper time and place before thoſe who were judges. His cool ſarcaſtic reply ſo irritated *Fleming*, that he determined to bombard the town, and had erected a battery for that purpoſe, though he had been juſt reproaching the governor for burning the ſuburbs in his own defence: however, before the battery began to play, orders arrived from *Auguſtus* againſt laying the town in aſhes, until every other method was firſt tried. This obliged *Fleming* to alter his purpoſe, and begin his operations with battering

A. D. 1700.

[b] FONTAN. cap. vi.

Dun-

Dunamunde, which commanded the paſſage of the river, and enabled the beſiegers to ſupply themſelves with all manner of proviſion. It was cannonaded with great fury for ſix days, when a breach was effected and ſtormed. The *Saxons* fought with the utmoſt intrepidity; but they were repulſed after an obſtinate conflict, and driven headlong from the walls, with the loſs of general *Carlowitz* and ſix hundred ſoldiers and inferior officers. *Fleming* knew the valour of his troops, and reſolving not to give the enemy time to repair the breach, he detached two thouſand freſh forces, who advanced under the cannon of the fort, and renewed the aſſault with the utmoſt magnanimity. The commandant had loſt his beſt officers and ſoldiers, and the bulk of the garriſon was now compoſed of raw undiſciplined perſons forced into the ſervice. No dependance could be placed in their defence; he therefore thought it more adviſeable to capitulate, than, by a fruitleſs reſiſtance, run the hazard of being put to the ſword, by troops who reſolved to conquer or periſh in the breach. Accordingly a flag of truce was diſplayed, and he obtained honourable conditions.

Dunnamunde *fort taken.*

FLEMING was now in poſſeſſion of an important outpoſt, on which depended in a great meaſure the fate of *Riga*; it was therefore expected he would proſecute the ſiege with redoubled ſpirit. A reinforcement of troops, of cannon, and of military ſtores was arrived, the army was in high ſpirits, the beſieged deſpaired of relief, and every circumſtance contributed to inſure ſucceſs; yet he contented himſelf with blocking up the city more cloſely, and repeating his ſummons's to the governor, which were deſpiſed. This conduct was ſuggeſted by an unſeaſonable parſimony; both the king and his general were of opinion they ſhould be able to induce the inhabitants to revolt againſt *Dalberg*, and thereby ſave the conſumption of blood and treaſure conſequent on a regular ſiege. In a ſecond manifeſto which *Fleming* publiſhed, in obedience to the king's command, he offered his protection to thoſe who ſhould throw off the *Swediſh* yoke, and granted all the immunities of commerce to all the towns, and even to *Riga*, provided the obſtinacy of the inhabitants did not compel him to more rigorous meaſures.

In this train were the affairs of *Livonia* when the king returned to *Warſaw*, and gave orders that the *Swediſh* envoy ſhould immediately quit the *Poliſh* dominions, an affront which he drew upon himſelf, by inſinuating to the ſenators that the *Livonian* expedition implied a deſign dangerous to the liberties of the republic, and that *Auguſtus* had in view the extenſion of the royal prerogative, not of the dominions of the republic.

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The king's whole policy was directed to effect a rupture between *Poland* and *Sweden*, in order that he might profit by the ſecret treaty concluded with the czar, by which it was propoſed to deprive the young *Swediſh* monarch of *Livonia*, and all the lands he poſſeſſed between the gulph of *Finland*, the *Baltick*, *Poland*, and *Muſcovy*. The czar was now enabled to purſue the object of this alliance, by concluding a truce for thirty years with the Infidels, and the king laboured to bring the republic into his views; but he feared the reſult of a general diet, as the *Poles* in general expreſſed an averſion to a rupture, before the nation had recovered the loſſes conſequent on the late ſcene of confuſion and diſcord. He flattered himſelf that he ſhould meet with leſs oppoſition from a grand council, and therefore determined upon this method of obtaining the approbation of the republic, though leſs conſtitutional and valid than the reſolutions of a diet. Even here he was very near ſuſtaining the mortification of a diſappointment; for ſeveral of the members who compoſed this aſſembly expreſſed their diſlike of the *Livonian* expedition, and the intended rupture with *Sweden*, by abſenting themſelves, while others came with great reluctance to *Warſaw*, with a full reſolution to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of their ſovereign. The meeting was far from numerous; but there appeared a ſufficient number to juſtify the council in proceeding to buſineſs. Accordingly they immediately begun to deliberate on the expedition to *Livonia*, and the conſequences to the republic of a rupture with *Sweden*. *Auguſtus* preſided, and opened the council with a ſpeech, ſetting forth the affronts ſuſtained by the *Saxon* troops, who were employed in fortifying the gate of *Polonga*. "I thought it, ſaid he, my duty to revenge "theſe indignities, and the injury regards the *Poliſh* nation, "as well as the elector of *Saxony*. As ſovereign of both "countries, I am intereſted; but my deſign in fortifying that "gate, was its peculiar importance to the republic; you are "therefore obliged to concur in my revenge, and cannot poſ-"ſibly excuſe yourſelves from aſſiſting me, without betraying "the honour and rights of the kingdom. In purſuing the "dictates of the revenge here pointed out, the republic will "recover great part of her antient territory, and remove at "ſome diſtance a neighbour that hath been the conſtant "ſource of trouble and chagrin." He concluded with an apology for not aſſembling the diet, which was deferred, he alledged, on account of the diſſentions which prevailed in the provincial diets; and he declared, that if a diet ſhould be judged neceſſary, he was ready to give his aſſent, in order that a final reſolution might be taken reſpecting *Livonia*,

The king endeavours to gain the conſent of the republic to a rupture with Sweden.

which he promiſed upon his royal word ſhould immediately be reſtored to *Poland*, when it once came into his poſſeſſion. The ſpecious eloquence of *Auguſtus* could not prevail; a majority refuſed to declare their ſentiments, and recommended aſſembling a diet. Others alledged that the indignity mentioned reſpected the *Saxons* only, glanced but very obliquely on the king of *Poland*, and ſcarce at all upon the republic, ſince it was in quality of elector of *Saxony*, and not of head of the republic, that *Auguſtus* had ſuſtained any part of the affront. They added that the affair was of too little conſequence to occaſion a rupture between two nations, in which thouſands might periſh. States, like individuals, muſt bear with leſſer evils to avoid greater; and the miſconduct of the governor of a remote province was certainly not to be aſcribed to the *Swediſh* adminiſtration, before complaint was made and ſatisfaction demanded. Should the king of *Sweden* vindicate the inſolence of his ſervant, after the fact had been made evident to him, it would then be time enough to think of hoſtile meaſures. A few of the ſenators would willingly have obliged the king; but they dreaded the thoughts of having a prince at the head of his own troops in the heart of a republic, whoſe treaſures and forces were quite exhauſted. Upon the whole, it was evident to *Auguſtus*, that the council would not conſent to the rupture propoſed, and he was ſenſible he ſhould meet with ſtill greater oppoſition from a diet; he therefore declared his intention of acting agreeable to his engagements with the czar and king of *Denmark*, ratified by the republic, without further conſulting men who paid no regard to the faith of treaties, or the royal honour.

When we conſider that many of the ſenators and principal nobility were in the king's intereſt, we ſhall be the leſs ſurpriſed at the boldneſs of this reſolution. The primate, from whom he had reaſon to fear the ſtrongeſt oppoſition, took his part, and thought it reaſonable to wink at ſome irregularities in the manner of coming to a rupture with *Sweden*, on account of the benefit the republic muſt deduce from the conqueſt of *Livonia*. On the other hand, the biſhop of *Cujaiva*, until now attached to every meaſure propoſed by *Auguſtus*, gave the ſtrongeſt oppoſition to a ſcheme upon which the king had fixed his heart; perhaps for this reaſon chiefly, that it was eſpouſed by his inveterate enemy. He not only refuſed appearing at the council, but he likewiſe wrote to *Auguſtus*, telling him plainly, that his attack on *Sweden* was a groſs violation of the rights of nations, and of equity, which the Almighty would not fail to puniſh, if he did not make proper atonement; a judgment which would ſeem to be dictated by

the

He ſets out in perſon for Livonia.

the ſpirit of divination. Notwithſtanding this remonſtrance, and the general diſſatisfaction of the nation, *Auguſtus* went ſoon after in perſon to *Livonia*, to invigorate the operations by his preſence, and commence in form the ſiege of *Riga*: *Fleming* had returned to *Warſaw* to ſolicit a reinforcement of troops and ſupply of money, and, during his abſence, hoſtilities had entirely ceaſed, except the accidental exchange of a few cannon-ſhot; but the king's arrival infuſed new life and ſpirits, and the reinforcement which he brought of ten thouſand men, enabled the army completely to inveſt the city. To effect this, however, ſeveral previous motions were requiſite. The king found that *Fleming* had neglected taking poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous poſts; he therefore croſſed the *Duna* with the rear of the army, and ſeized an eminence covered with trees and buſhes, which ſerved effectually to cover his artillery. The rear-guard was left on the oppoſite ſide, to prevent ſurprize, and here he directed that the enemy ſhould be driven from a riſing ground, on which he propoſed erecting a battery. All theſe orders were executed with ſucceſs, while general *Welling*, a *Swede*, had been collecting an army of ten thouſand *Finlanders*, with which he encamped at the diſtance of half a league from *Riga*. Imagining that the *Saxons* were greatly inferior to their actual number, he quitted his intrenchments, and *Auguſtus* artfully kept up the deluſion, by oppoſing him for two days with very ſmall detachments, by which he drew the *Swede* into an engagement, that had near proved fatal to his whole army. As ſoon as *Welling* had advanced within muſket-ſhot, he was ſaluted with a ſtorm of bullets from batteries concealed among the woods and buſhes, and had he not immediately ſounded a retreat, muſt have been entirely cut in pieces. Encouraged by this advantage, the *Saxons* deſcended from the eminences, and purſued the enemy. *Welling* for a while perſiſted in his error of believing the king's army leſs numerous than it was; but after he was ſurrounded, and his miſtake diſcovered, he fought with the utmoſt intrepidity, and made good his retreat with the loſs of not more than ſix hundred men.

Gains an advantage over the Swediſh *general.*

AUGUSTUS now determined to attack the *Finlanders* in their intrenched camp; but *Welling* did not chuſe to run the hazard of being ſtormed, and expoſed to the fire of ſo fine a train of well ſerved artillery; he therefore decamped without beat of drum, entered farther into *Livonia*, with intention to ſeize all the paſſes by which the *Saxons* could plunder the country, having firſt ſtrongly reinforced the garriſon in *Riga*, which was now deprived of the army that for ſome time prevented the king of *Poland* from making regular approaches.

The

The king now finding that all obſtruction was removed, in- *Forms the*
veſted the city with his whole army, ſummoned *Dalberg* to *ſiege of*
ſurrender, and was anſwered by that brave officer, "That *Riga.*
he hoped his defence would merit the eſteem of ſo great a monarch." It was indeed leſs the king's inclination to beſiege the place, than to terrify the inhabitants by menaces, or engage them to ſubmiſſion by promiſes. When he ſaw the governor was inflexible, he applied to the people, and put back thirty of their fellow-citizens, giving them their liberty on a promiſe that they would uſe their influence with the burghers of *Riga* to avoid the effects of the king's indignation. The example of the governor would ſeem to have animated the inhabitants; they determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity, and *Auguſtus* made preparations for bombarding the city, and hadactually thrown ſome ſhells and red-hot bullets, when the *Dutch* envoy interpoſed, and threatened the utmoſt vengeance to the republic, if he perſiſted in the reſolution of deſtroying a town filled with the merchandize of the United Provinces. Whether this menace operated on the mind of *Auguſtus*, or whether it was that he did not chuſe to encounter the *Swediſh* army, in full march from *Holſtein*, is what we cannot pretend to determine. Certain it is, that he raiſed the *But is*
ſiege, and deliberated on the means of fulfilling his engage- *forced to*
ments with the czar in a manner leſs hazardous. This prince *relinquiſh*
had already declared war againſt *Sweden*, marched at the head *the enter-*
of a vaſt army to inveſt *Narva*, and was on the point of com- *prize.*
ing to blows with *Charles* XII. who was in full march with a handful of forces to the relief of that city. Happily for the czar's reputation, he was not preſent when the *Swediſh* monarch, with no more than a detachment of eight thouſand men, forced the *Ruſſian* intrenchments, and defeated, with prodigious ſlaughter, an army of between eighty and an hundred thouſand men, who ſeemed determined to conquer or periſh[a]. A ſtroke ſo unexpected occaſioned conſiderable perplexity to *Auguſtus*, who ſaw his ally, on whom he depended ſo much, cruſhed juſt as he was meditating a blow againſt the common enemy, and the young king of *Sweden* changed from a prince of no very diſtinguiſhed talents, to a hero equal to the moſt glorious of his predeceſſors. It is probable that he would now have liſtened to the proffered mediation of the emperor and *French* king, but it was now too late; *Charles* having beat the *Ruſſians*, determined to revenge himſelf on the *Saxons*, and was accordingly preparing to advance towards *Poland*,

[a] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. ſect. xi.

but the ſeaſon was too far advanced. The *Saxon* army, under colonel *Schulenburgh* and general *Stenau* having reduced fort *Kokenhauſen*, by which they ſecured a communication with *Ruſſia*, covered *Courland*, and facilitated the eſtabliſhment of a magazine, was now diſtributed in winter-quarters.

ALL *Europe* ſtood aſtoniſhed at the policy of *Auguſtus*; no reaſons could be aſſigned for his endeavouring to involve the republic in a dangerous war, with a warlike, powerful nation, on account of a province which he was to ſhare in conjunction with the czar of *Muſcovy*, the antient enemy of the republic. Giving the czar footing in *Livonia* would only be drawing him ſo much nearer the frontiers of *Poland*, and enabling him upon the firſt opportunity to pour his forces into the different provinces of the republic; but it was not conſidered, that to give employment to a ſet of factious nobility, at perpetual war with each other, was bringing a very important advantage to *Poland* and *Auguſtus*. The two principal noblemen had renewed their diſſentions in *Lithuania*, and were at the head of hoſtile armies, deſolating each others lands with the fury of barbarians. The reconciliation effected between *Sapieha* and *Oginſki* was but of ſhort duration; the party of the latter was now headed by the prince *Wieſnowniski*, and amounted to ſix thouſand men, who were oppoſed by two thouſand of the faction of *Sapieha*. A battle enſued; the *Sapiehas*, incenſed at the deſtruction of their lands, marched up with a few pieces of cannon, and attacked the enemy with the utmoſt fury and intrepidity, and were ſuſtained with proportioned valour. The conflict was obſtinate and bloody; victory was long diſputed, having more than once ſeemed to incline to the *Sapiehas*, but at length declared openly for *Oginski*, who not only remained maſter of the field, but obliged the enemy to retire in confuſion, with the loſs of their cannon, baggage, and a great number of priſoners. Near a thouſand men periſhed on both ſides, and the battle was followed by a ſcene ſtill more dreadful, as it was tranſacted in cold blood, which equally evinced the perfidy and the inveterate animoſity of the parties. Among the priſoners were the ſon of the great general *Sapieha*, and the ſtaroſt of *Breſſau*, who capitulated for their lives; nevertheleſs, on their arrival in the camp of the conquerors, they were cut in pieces by their exaſperated enemies, contrary to all the rules of war, and the moſt ſolemn engagements; a ſingle inſtance ſufficient to diſplay the bitterneſs of the parties, and the neceſſity of finding ſome employment for the nobility, which ſhould extinguiſh their private diſſenſions, that threatned more danger to the ſtate than the moſt unfortunate foreign quarrel. In fact, nothing could be more diſtracted than

Affairs of Lithuania.

ıe ſituation of *Poland*, rent with civil faction, on the
a war with a formidable external enemy, the republic
oſition to the king's meaſures, the electorate of *Saxony*
ting its treaſures and ſpilling its blood in conquering a
ce which the *Poles* deſpiſed, merely becauſe they would
o obligations to a people they deteſted; in a word, all
partments of the ſtate in oppoſition to each other, the
rovinces deſolated, and the inhabitants maſſacred with-
mpunction, or the feelings of humanity. Such was
uſpicious dawn of the reign of the *Poliſh* monarch,
d to ſtill greater misfortunes.

HEN the new year commenced, it was expected that the A. D.
ould aſſemble, reſtore the public tranquility, and in par- 1701.
apply proper remedies to the fatal diſorders in *Lithuania*.
hopes however ſoon vaniſhed, in conſequence of a *Reſolution*
g of the ſenators, wherein it was reſolved that the diet *of the* Po-
be deferred, on account of ſeveral difficulties that were liſh *ſenate.*
n. The affairs of *Lithuania* were entruſted to the king's
ion, who was requeſted to march the *Saxon* army into
thy, and take upon himſelf the protection of the crown-
l and the houſe of *Sapieha*, ſo grievouſly oppreſſed ever
ıe late unfortunate action. This reſolution facilitated
projects formed by *Auguſtus*, which were chiefly direc-
ſupport the war in *Livonia*, and the family of *Sapieha* in
nia. Putting off the diet, becauſe it would probably op-
rupture with *Sweden*, tended to enable him to execute
agements with *Muſcovy*, and the march of the *Saxon*
ıto the dutchy abſolutely put *Lithuania* in his power.
not fail to embrace the favourable conjuncture; and,
ibting but the *Swediſh* conqueror would puſh his advan-
nd fall upon the *Saxons*, he uſed every method of encou-
the czar, and enabling him again to take the field. It
w agreed that the allied monarchs ſhould have an inter-
o concert a plan of operations, and *Birzen*, a ſmall
n *Lithuania*, was fixed upon for the conference: here *Interview*
ır and *Auguſtus* met, and plunged themſelves in the *between*
iotous pleaſures, as if their dominions were in profound *the czar*
and the ſole intention of the interview was to make trial *and* Au-
ſtrength of their conſtitutions, and their ſeveral inclina- guſtus.
or the moſt ſhameful exceſſes. For the ſpace of fifteen
he princes were in a perpetual ſtate of inebriation, *Au-*
indulging the humour of his ſavage ally, and that paſ-
hich, during his whole life, he entertained for drinking
liquors; however, in the midſt of theſe tumultuous

[b] PUFFEND. lib. iv. FONT. lib. vi.

beaſtly joys, the king elector preſented the czar with a plan of warlike operations, which they were to execute in concert. It was eagerly embraced by *Peter*, who perfectly well comprehended, at the firſt glance, the benefits which muſt redound from it to his country, as it was the certain method of training the *Ruſſians* to the art of war. A treaty was accordingly concluded, whereby the czar ſtipulated to bring two hundred thouſand men into the field by the month of *June*, to ſend fifty thouſand men into *Poland*, to be inſtructed in the military art, to pay three millions of rixdollars in the ſpace of two years to the *Poliſh* monarch, with ſome other articles of leſs importance. In return, *Auguſtus* conſented to furniſh fifty thouſand *Germans*, who ſhould inſtruct the *Muſcovite*, and to maintain beſides, in *Poland*, *Saxony*, and the frontiers, a body of twenty-eight thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. *Livonia*, *Ingria*, and *Finland* were the ſcenes deſtined for their warlike operations.

THIS treaty and plan having been mutually ſigned, *Auguſtus* returned to his *Poliſh* capital, to prepare matters for the execution of his engagements; but here he met with a variety of obſtructions, ſome of them quite unexpected and unforeſeen. Murmurs were not only raiſed againſt the *Saxon* troops, though the ſenate had expreſly requeſted they ſhould be employed in *Lithuania*, but *Auguſtus* was taxed with neglecting the promiſes made at his coronation; and in particular, the diſcharge of ſeveral conſiderable ſums on account of the republic. The prorogation of the diet was another grievance of which the nobility loudly complained, eſpecially in the provinces, where the clamours were much louder than about the court and in the capital. Petty diets were held in divers places; and the diet of *Great Poland* reſolved to ſend a deputation to the king, to demand that he would aſſemble the general diet in the month of *May* enſuing, inſtead of *September*, as had been propoſed at the council of ſenators; that he would terminate the civil diviſions in *Lithuania*; that he would diſmiſs the *Saxons*; that he would conclude a ſolid peace with *Sweden*; and, laſtly, that he would proteſt againſt the title of king of *Pruſſia*, and the coronation of the elector of *Brandenburg*, ſo highly injurious to the republic. *Auguſtus* was forced to receive this deputation with the utmoſt complaiſance, and to promiſe indirectly almoſt every article of their demands. The firſt ſtep taken to ſatisfy the deputies was the aſſembling the diet on the thirtieth of *May* at *Warſaw*; for *Auguſtus* was ſenſible that the provincial diet of *Great Poland* had expreſſed the ſentiments of the whole republic. As the *Lithuanians* objected to *Sapieha*'s being honoured with that diſtinction, the

Deputation to the king. March 20.

ſtaff

staff of marechal was depoſited in the hands of the nuncio of *Poſnania*, which was the only meaſure embraced with unanimity: every other propoſition was oppoſed and diſputed with vehemence. A motion, that the king ſhould be addreſſed with the uſual formality, firſt indicated the ſentiments of the diet. Inſtead of deliberating on this propoſition, the deputies begun with urging their grievances, all of which they attributed to the king's breach of the engagements he entered into at his coronation, and the reſidence of the *Saxons* in *Poland*, whence aroſe damages to the republic eſtimated at twenty millions. Some went ſo far as to inſiſt upon reparation from *Auguſtus*, and a poſitive promiſe that the foreign troops ſhould immediately evacuate *Poland*, *Lithuania*, *Livonia*, and *Courland*. This laſt propoſition was oppoſed: however, it was voted by a majority, that a remonſtrance, requiring the diſmiſſion of the *Saxons*, ſhould be preſented to the throne. A deputation accordingly waited on *Auguſtus*, and, beſides the articles ſtipulated, made a demand that peace ſhould be concluded with *Sweden*, an end put to the diviſions in *Lithuania*, and all foreign miniſters removed from his perſon, or at leaſt from the *Poliſh* councils; notwithſtanding he was allowed by the *pacta conventa* to retain a certain number of *Saxon* ſenators. *The diet aſſembles,*

AUGUSTUS gave for a reply, that he was ready to diſmiſs his *Saxon* troops, provided the republic would ſecure him againſt the deſigns of the *Swediſh* monarch; but this anſwer did not prove ſatisfactory. He was required to fix the time for the departure of the *Saxon* troops, immediately to interpoſe the royal authority to quiet the diſſentions in the great dutchy, and to remove general *Fleming* from the office of maſter of the horſe in *Lithuania*. The nuncio of *Poſnania* was charged with this commiſſion to the king: he delivered the requeſt of the diet: and had for anſwer, that his majeſty would iſſue writs for the meeting of another diet in the month of *December*, and that he would diſmiſs the *Saxons* as ſoon as peace ſhould be concluded with *Sweden*. The anſwer was by no means ſufficient to quiet the diet; yet it is remarkable, that this aſſembly broke up without ever taking it into conſideration, without murmuring, or offering any renewal of their complaints [a]. *and breaks up.*

In the mean time the active *Swediſh* monarch was taking meaſures to diſconcert the projects formed by *Peter the Great* and *Auguſtus*. A ſpy, whom he maintained at *Birzen*, gave him information of all that had been tranſacted at that con-

[a] PARTHEN. lib. iv. vol. i.

ference; and he now took the reſolution of attacking the *Saxons* encamped on the *Dwina*, before they ſhould be reinforced by the expected ſuccours of *Ruſſians* and *Coſſacks*. At the head of fifteen thouſand infantry, and five thouſand cavalry, he croſſed the river in the teeth of the enemy. The *Saxons*, commanded by the duke of *Courland*, made ſome reſiſtance; but were in the end defeated, and forced to take ſhelter under the cannon of *Birzen*, after having blown up the fortifications of *Kokenhauſen*, which they had lately taken great pains to fortify [b].

The Saxons *defeated,*

THIS ſingle advantage inflamed the victorious *Charles* with the deſire of puſhing his deſigns far beyond the revenge which he at firſt meditated. Several neutral powers interpoſed, and offered their mediation, to effect a reconciliation between *Sweden* and *Poland*; but *Charles* declared he had not leiſure to give audience, and could not, in fact, enter upon negociations before the end of the campaign, by which time he hoped to be able to dethrone *Auguſtus*. Vaſt and ideal as this project appeared, it was juſtified by the event; and, indeed, a variety of circumſtances concurred in rendering the iſſue of the war unfortunate to the *Poliſh* monarch. When the news of the defeat of the *Saxons* arrived at *Warſaw*, the court was plunged into deſpondency, while all the republicans rejoiced at it, as an event extremely advantageous to *Poland*. Apprehending that the republic had nothing to fear from the *Swediſh* arms, they congratulated themſelves on the proſpect that the kingdom would at length be delivered from thoſe hated foreigners, who preyed upon her vitals, and alone basked in the ſmiles of the ſovereign. The primate wrote a letter to the *Swediſh* monarch, reminding him of the conſtant affection and good faith of the republic towards the crown and ſtates of *Sweden*, explaining the oppoſition made by the diet to the preſent unhappy rupture, and requeſting his majeſty not to violate the treaties ſubſiſting between the two kingdoms by any attack upon the frontiers or privileges of the republic. A deputation from *Lithuania* addreſſed this prince in ſimilar terms, aſſuring him of the ſtrict regard which the dutchy would pay to the treaty of *Oliva*, and the ſcrupulous delicacy with which the *Lithuanians* would decline every meaſure that might give umbrage to ſo great a monarch. Theſe ſubmiſſions ſerved only to exalt the pride of the *Swede*, who told the *Lithuanian* deputies, that he could not ſee how the republic had ſo inviolably preſerved her friendſhip for *Sweden*, as ſhe muſt in ſome meaſure be deemed acceſſory to the meaſures of her ſo-

and the conſequences.

[b] Vide Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. ſect. xi.

vereign,

vereign, who could neither maintain a foreign army, nor of conſequence begin hoſtilities, without her conſent. Yet his anſwer to the primate was more gentle: here he expreſſed no reſentment againſt the republic; on the contrary, he even declared his inclination to maintain a good underſtanding between the two nations; and deſired that the *Poles* would not take umbrage at his quartering his army in *Courland*, which was a neceſſary conſequence of the ſhare which duke *Ferdinand* took in the ambitious deſigns formed by the elector of *Saxony*. He hinted at the breach of the engagements entered into by *Auguſtus*, his encroachment on the liberties of the *Poliſh* conſtitution, the oppreſſions of the *Saxons*, and his readineſs to aſſiſt the diet in the defence of their laws and privileges.

AUGUSTUS was ſenſible of the dangerous effect which this letter, improved by the addreſs of his enemies, might work upon the minds of the *Poliſh* nobility, and therefore determined to gain their confidence by a ſacrifice the moſt grateful to thoſe ſtaunch republicans. Immediately he iſſued orders for diſmiſſing the *Saxons*, and thereby rouſed the ſtates to a juſt ſenſe of the dangerous deſigns of the *Swediſh* monarch, and a reſolution to defend the perſon and dignity of their ſovereign with their lives and properties. Even the primate, who had entered into a correſpondence with *Charles*, was moved by this inſtance of the regard which *Auguſtus* paid to the inclinations of the *Poles*; and wrote circular letters to all the palatinates, in which he obſerved, that as the king had withdrawn his hereditary troops from *Courland* and *Lithuania*, it was the duty of the republic to provide for the ſecurity of his perſon and dignity, as he had left himſelf deſtitute of forces, from a deſire of removing the jealouſy entertained by the *Poliſh* nation. "The danger, ſaid he, is not remote, or on "the frontiers, but in the heart of the republic; therefore "there is no time left for tedious deliberations." In this manner did this artful prelate temporize, and ballance between his private intereſt and his duty to his king and country. On the defeat of the *Saxons*, he expected nothing leſs than that the king of *Sweden* would have penetrated to the heart of *Poland*, and therefore he paved the way to his favour: as ſoon as he found that *Auguſtus* had gained the confidence of the republic, by the diſmiſſion of the foreign troops, he relinquiſhed the *Swede*, and therefore paid his court to his own natural ſovereign, adviſing the palatinates to a meaſure upon which he expected they would enter without his perſuaſion, and even contrary to his inclinations. The future conduct of this ambitious cunning eccleſiaſtic is the beſt comment on the

The primate's artful conduct.

policy which he purſued on this occaſion. The archbiſhop's circular letters were ſeconded by others from the king, in which he threw himſelf intirely upon the *Poles*, not doubting but their zeal and loyalty would fully compenſate the loſs he ſuſtained by the diſmiſſion of his hereditary troops; and theſe letters were anſwered by the palatines of *Cracow*, *Lublin*, and *Sandomir*, by a deputation to the king, expreſſing their readineſs to lay down their fortunes and lives in his ſervice: and ſeveral other palatinates declared all who did not employ their utmoſt influence and power in preſerving the honour, dignity, and perſon of their king, traitors both to their king and country. Every day brought freſh aſſurances to the court, that the *poſpolite* would mount to oppoſe the *Swedes*, and every attack on the royal authority, or the privileges and honour of the republic. The ſenate even came to the reſolution of declaring war upon *Charles*, if he continued to aſpire after conqueſt; and every thing ſeemed to be in a fair train to anſwer the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of *Auguſtus*. However, the ſtate of affairs in *Lithuania* threatened to throw all things again into confuſion.

Revolutions in Lithuania.

AUGUSTUS had no ſooner diſmiſſed the *Saxons*, than the family of *Sapieha* diſcovered they could no longer rely upon his protection againſt their powerful enemies. It was neceſſary therefore to have recourſe to ſome other prince, whoſe authority might ſkreen them againſt *Oginski*'s ſchemes of revenge, and the moſt natural was the *Swediſh* monarch, the vicinity of whoſe forces afforded a certain proſpect of ſpeedy relief. With this view they entered into a treaty with *Charles*, and engaged to favour his deſigns with all their intereſt; which obliged the *Oginski* faction to throw themſelves into the arms of *Auguſtus*, and intirely renounce their principles, merely in oppoſition to their rivals. They ſent deputies to *Warſaw*, offering to ſupport the king at the hazard of their lives and fortunes; at the ſame time declaring, that they had never oppoſed his government, but only the ambition of the *Sapiehas*, whoſe wrong information had miſled his majeſty, and filled him with ſuſpicions and prejudices againſt his moſt loyal ſubjects. This ſudden change of parties ſoon produced hoſtilities between the *Swedes* and *Lithuanians*. *Charles* detached two hundred dragoons to the aſſiſtance of *Sapieha*: they took poſt at the paſs of *Kroling*, were attacked by *Oginski* at the head of two thouſand men; but thro' the gallantry of their conduct they repulſed the *Lithuanian* chief. This victorious detachment was reinforced by two thouſand more *Swedes*, under the conduct of a *Scottiſh* officer, who had orders to puſh *Oginski* with the utmoſt vigour; and in a few days the king in perſon

perſon entered the dutchy, at the head of the horſe-guards and a ſtrong corps of grenadiers. By this time *Oginski* had aſſembled an army of near fifteen thouſand men, with which he might have made head againſt the *Swediſh* monarch, had he not imprudently weakened himſelf at this critical juncture, by detaching a ſtrong party to deſolate the lands belonging to the chancellor *Radzivil*, who had taken part with his enemies. This rendered him an eaſy prey to the *Swede*, who now attacked him with ſuch impetuoſity as ſoon obtained a victory: after which *Charles*, without heſitation, quartered his forces in the dutchy of *Lithuania* and the province of *Samogitia* [b]. To this advantage was added the ſurrender of *Dunemunde* fort, which *Caunitz* the governor was forced to deliver into the hands of the *Swediſh* general *Dalberg*, after withſtanding a tedious blockade, and the utmoſt extremities for want of proviſion.

The diet aſſembles.

AT this time the diet was aſſembled, agreeable to the promiſe made to the laſt diet by *Auguſtus*; and it was apprehended, from the different and almoſt contradictory inſtructions given to the deputies, that great heats and violent debates muſt enſue. Some were charged not to enter upon any buſineſs before a marechal ſhould be regularly elected; while others were inſtructed to pay no regard to this circumſtance, but to oppoſe every other propoſition, until the affairs of *Lithuania* were placed upon a proper footing. There were a few of the deputies who had orders to inſiſt, that the *Sapiehas* ſhould be declared traitors, and enemies to their country. One point, out of the multitude which were propoſed, met with univerſal aſſent; and this proceeded from the motion of the nuncio of *Ruſſia*, that the king ſhould be asked, by a ſolemn deputation, whether it was in fact agreeable to him that the differences of the grand dutchy ſhould be accommodated? It is not ſurpriſing, that the king was ſhocked with a queſtion which tended to throw ſuſpicions upon his honour: however, he kept his temper, and anſwered the deputies with great moderation, that he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to compoſe the troubles of *Lithuania*; but as they proved inadequate, he hoped the republic would apply more powerful remedies to a diſorder which required all their attention, as it ſeemed to threaten the diſſolution of all government, and the ſubverſion of the *Poliſh* conſtitution. To two other propoſitions, which demanded that he would puniſh the authors of the *Livonian* expedition, and diſmiſs the *Saxon* troops quartered in *Mazovia*, he anſwered, that the expedition againſt

[b] Auct. ſupra citat. ibid.

Livo-

Livonia was undertaken in conſequence of the *pacta conventa*, to which he had ſworn. By theſe he was engaged to attempt the recovery of the provinces which had been wreſted from the republic; and as to the *Saxons* in the province of *Mazovia*, he declared his ignorance; but promiſed, that if any foreign troops were found in the province, they ſhould be ſpeedily diſmiſſed.

'THE next propoſition made to *Auguſtus* was, that he would again ſet on foot the treaties commenced relative to the affairs of *Lithuania*; and that a preciſe time ſhould be fixed for a conference between the deputies of the diet and thoſe of the ſenate: to which his majeſty made a ſatisfactory reply by nominating the commiſſioners, and referring the reſt intirely to the diet. Accordingly the conferences opened, and the great points debated reſpected a general amneſty, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the houſe of *Sapieha*. The *Lithuanians* oppoſed the latter, and the houſe of *Sapieha* the former: however, it was at length agreed, that the family of *Sapieha* ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in all its fortunes, offices, dignities, and prerogatives; that all hoſtilities and damages committed, or ſuſtained by either party, ſhould be forgot, and pardoned by a general amneſty; and that the diſpute between the houſes of *Sapieha* and *Radzivil*, about the tuition of the princeſs of *Newburg*, ſhould be referred to arbitration. The accommo-
A. D. dation was ſigned, and reported to the diet. Several motions
1702. were made by divers members, and it was propoſed to ſend an ambaſſy to the king of *Sweden*; but, inſtead of deliberating upon this ſubject, the aſſembly broke up tumultuouſly on the ſeventh day of *February*, to the great diſappointment of thoſe who expected to build their own fortunes on the public diſturbances; and alſo to the mortification of the king, who hoped he had gained the confidence of the diet by his ready diſmiſſion of the *Saxons*; a meaſure of which he now began with reaſon to repent. Public buſineſs was tranſacted by a general council, to which the king made overtures that were rejected. He commiſſioned the palatine of *Marienburg* to acquaint the council, that he would advance to the army two quarters arrears out of his own coffers, provided he might have the aſſiſtance of the *Poliſh* forces againſt the *Swedes*; and he demanded permiſſion to recal twelve thouſand *Saxons*, until the *Poliſh* army could be ſufficiently augmented to make head againſt the public enemy, whoſe ambitious views muſt now appear ſufficiently evident. The council referred an anſwer to be made by the primate, who now again reſumed his correſpondence with the king of *Sweden*, and eaſily evinced his partiality in the manner of his reply. As to the payment

of the army, that, he ſaid, would be an unneceſſary expence to his majeſty, ſince the troops could not act without the conſent of the republic; and with reſpect to the return of the *Saxons*, it would be a ſure means of exciting freſh troubles in the kingdom. *Auguſtus* beſides put a variety of other queſtions to the council, which ſufficiently demonſtrated the difficulties that attended his ſituation. He asked, what means the council propoſed for driving the *Swedes* out of *Lithuania*? Whether they reſolved to grant an audience to the czar's ambaſſador? What ſecurity they had provided for the royal perſon, and the dignity of the republic, in caſe the king of *Sweden* advanced farther into the *Poliſh* dominions? And, What funds were provided for the ſupport of an army, and the expences of the artillery and ammunition? An anſwer was made by a reſolution taken to mount the *poſpolite*, that the republic might be able to defend herſelf, in caſe of neceſſity; and the king was adviſed to apply to the powers who were guarantees of the treaty of *Oliva*, to give audience to the czar's ambaſſador, and to appoint proper perſons for an ambaſſy to the king of *Sweden*.

Deputation to the king of Sweden.

In conſequence of the deliberations of the council, an ambaſſy, compoſed of five ſenators, ſet out to attend the *Swediſh* monarch in *Lithuania*; but *Vander Sacken*, one of the king's chamberlains, whom he had ſent to notify the ambaſſy to the king of *Sweden*, was put under arreſt by that prince, becauſe he had neglected to procure a paſſport from the primate and ſenate, and was therefore conſidered as the emiſſary of *Auguſtus*. The ambaſſadors were received with great reſpect; but *Charles* told them he would hold the conference at *Warſaw*, and accordingly began his march, publiſhing a manifeſto by the way, in which he declared that he would not quit *Poland*, until he had driven his enemy from the throne, and eſtabliſhed a ſucceſſor. He invited the *Poles* to join him, aſſured them that he laboured to preſerve their liberties, and endeavoured to demonſtrate that the intereſts of the republic and of *Sweden* were directly ſimilar, and ought to unite both nations in promoting his deſigns. After ſo public a declaration, it was impoſſible to miſtake *Charles*: he proceeded to *Warſaw* with great rapidity, and *Auguſtus* entered that city four days before the arrival of the *Swedes*. Before his departure he ſummoned a council, and procured a reſolution, that the crown army ſhould take the field, and aſſemble by the end of the month of *May* in the neighbourhood of *Leopold*, where the king might be allowed to join it with the ſix thouſand *Saxons*, ſtipulated for his guard by the *pacta conventa*. It was however inſiſted, that not only the *Poles* but the *Saxons* likewiſe ſhould

be

be under the command of the crown-general; and that the foreign troops ſhould be diſmiſſed, as ſoon as peace was concluded. At the ſame time the king publiſhed his *univerſalia*, or writs, for aſſembling the *poſpolite* by the middle of the month of *May*, and ſent orders to *Saxony* for the immediate march of his hereditary forces; but, whatever expedition he uſed, his enemies were at the gates of the capital before the troops could aſſemble. *Warſaw* city and citadel ſurrendered without a blow, after ſome ſcruples raiſed by the *Poliſh* commandant, as a mask to his cowardice, had been ſurmounted; and this event was followed by a private conference between the artful primate, attended by the equally perfidious great treaſurer, and the king of *Sweden*. It was even affirmed, that *Auguſtus* ſo far deſpaired of being able to reſiſt his victorious enemy, that he endeavoured to ſet on foot an accommodation, by means of the witty and beauteous counteſs of *Konigſmark*, who made a viſit to *Charles* in his camp; but was denied an audience of that auſtere and unceremonious prince.

NOTWITHSTANDING the plan for depoſing *Auguſtus* was concerted, as moſt people imagined, by the primate and treaſurer at the interview with *Charles*, yet greater difficulties now ſtarted up than had been foreſeen. A *Saxon* army was come to his relief; and the palatines of *Cracow*, *Siradia*, *Great Poland*, *Volhinia*, and *Sandomir*, were arming in defence of the monarch. Already he had collected twenty-two thouſand men, and the *poſpolite* was preparing to mount. Many of the nobility offered to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in oppoſing the ambitious *Swede*; and it was plain, that the iſſue of a battle muſt decide whether *Auguſtus* ſhould remain king of *Poland*, or be reduced to his former ſtate of elector of *Saxony* only. With this force he reſolved to come to action, and accordingly began his march in purſuit of the king of *Sweden*, who was equally forward to engage, though inferior in numbers. Near *Gliſſow* the two kings met, a bloody battle was fought, and *Auguſtus* was intirely defeated, flying before the conqueror to *Cracow*; the inhabitants of which city had the courage to ſhut their gates in the face of the victorious *Swediſh* army [a]. The king of *Poland* had diſplayed great valour and military ſkill: he fought like a prince who merited a crown, and knew the value of the regal dignity. He repeatedly rallied his troops, and charged in perſon; but fortune declared for *Charles*, and he yielded the victory with the loſs of near four thouſand men killed on the ſpot, two thouſand taken priſoners, ſeveral pieces of cannon, and all the baggage of the army.

Battle of Gliſſow, *or* Cliſſow.

[a] Vide Univerſ. Hiſt. tom. xxxiii. p. 339.

A BRUISE

A BRUISE which *Charles* received by a fall from his horſe, prevented his proſecuting his advantage, and furniſhed *Auguſtus* with the means of convoking a diet, re-aſſembling the ſcattered remains of his army, procuring a reinforcement of eight thouſand *Saxons*, and of part of the *poſpolite* of *Little Poland*. This aſſembly proteſted againſt the manifeſto publiſhed by the king of *Sweden*, determined to ſupport *Auguſtus* on the throne, and ſent deputies to the palatinates of *Great Poland*, to deſire their concurrence with the reſolutions taken by the provincial diet of *Sandomir*; or, as the *Swediſh* writers have it, of *Mariemburg* (A). The ſpirited conduct of this province produced no effect in *Great Poland*, where the civil diſorders ſeemed to increaſe in proportion as unanimity was become neceſſary. Inſtead of entering upon meaſures for the protection of the ſovereign and the republic, the nobility were on the point of coming to blows with each other, thereby cutting off not only all proſpect of being able to reſiſt the common enemy, but endangering the intire ſubverſion of the government. A few propoſed imitating the example of *Sandomir*, and forming a confederacy in favour of *Auguſtus*: others propoſed declaring for *Charles*; a third party thought it better that the aſſociation ſhould take place, for protecting the liberties of the republic againſt all encroachments; and a fourth gave their opinion againſt all parties and confederacies, which they ſaid ought to depend on contingencies. This ſpirit of diſſention, and the fear leſt the king of *Sweden* ſhould object that the ambaſſy was not ſufficiently authorized to treat of an accommodation, determined *Auguſtus* to appoint a new aſſembly of the ſenators. This meeting was held accordingly; and the primate, who ſtill continued irreſolute, attended, had an audience of the king, who yet did not entertain any well-grounded ſuſpicion of his fidelity, and obtained leave to ſend an expreſs with propoſals of peace to the *Swediſh* monarch. The prelate wrote to that prince in terms extremely pathetic; but with a coldneſs for king *Auguſtus*, which plainly declared his ſentiments. All that he ſaid reſpected the republic: the king's affairs he referred to his agent, who accompanied the expreſs. In a word, he endeavoured to throw the veil of elocution over the perfidy of his heart, and to cover with the broad mantle of religion, and eccleſiaſtical

(A) It is probable that what the *Swediſh* writers call a diet was no more than a great council, which aſſembled at *Mariemburg* ſoon after the confederacy formed by the provincial diet of *Sandomir*. We have, however, in complaiſance to them, called it a diet in our Hiſtory of *Sweden*.

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cunning, that ſelfiſh diſpoſition which ſought its own gratification at the expence of his honour, the dignity of the crown, and the felicity and peace of his country. The ambaſſy too ſet out to *Cracow*, where the *Swediſh* monarch reſided; but was refuſed an audience, under pretence that his *Swediſh* majeſty could not determine whether he was at war or peace with the republic. However, both *Charles* and his miniſter count *Piper* anſwered the prelate's letter; and the terms in which they expreſſed themſelves gave *Auguſtus* ſome light into the ambiguous conduct of that prelate.

The Poliſh *envoys are refuſed audience.*

WHEN it was known that the ambaſſy had been denied audience, a new council was aſſembled, and freſh inſtructions given to the ambaſſadors to repeat their requeſt of being admitted to a conference. The deputies obeyed their inſtructions; but met with another refuſal, as *Charles*, now recovered from his late diſorder, reſolved to purſue his military operations, which he knew muſt cut off all altercation, and bring matters to a ſpeedy iſſue. Leaving a ſufficient garriſon in *Cracow*, he put himſelf at the head of his army, and advanced to *Warſaw* by ſlow marches; upon advice of which motion, the king of *Poland* poſted to join the *Saxon* army quartered in *Pruſſia*, and on his arrival at *Thorn* ſummoned a council ſecretly, and then paſſed on to *Dreſden*, reſolving to return by the day fixed for the meeting. What his intention was in going to *Dreſden* is not clear; but the hurry in which he came back to *Pruſſia* proved fruitleſs. Neither the primate, the great general, nor ſome of the principal nobility attended the council, and the few who were preſent were embarraſſed and divided in their ſentiments. Nothing, in ſhort, met with unanimous conſent, except a propoſition to acquaint the king of *Sweden* that the republic had reſolved to accept the emperor's mediation, and to declare war in caſe he refuſed to accept ſo equitable a propoſal. For ſome time the court of *Vienna* had laboured to effect an accommodation; and *Auguſtus*, to facilitate the deſigns of the aulic council, had detached eight thouſand of the *Saxon* troops to his imperial majeſty, perhaps indeed with a view of biaſſing the mediator. All however that count *Zinzendorf* could urge produced no alteration in *Charles*; he rejected the offered interpoſition, and determined upon receiving no other conditions than a formal abdication of the crown of *Poland*, and renunciation of that dignity, ſigned by the hand of *Auguſtus* himſelf.

ABOUT this time a circumſtance occurred which more than ever inflamed the reſentment of the *Swediſh* monarch, and likewiſe involved the republic in diſputes with the court

of

of *Verſailles*. *Auguſtus* had ſeized upon the *French* envoys going to *Warſaw*, the one to the king of *Sweden*, the other to the republic. The latter had been ordered to quit the dominions of *Poland*; but he replied to the meſſenger ſent by *Auguſtus*, that he was ambaſſador to the ſtates of the republic as well as to his majeſty. This news no ſooner reached the court of *France* than all the *Poles* in that kingdom were laid under arreſt, and in the beginning of the year enſuing, the marquis *de Torcy* wrote to the primate, complaining in the moſt bitter terms of the groſs infractions committed on the laws of nations, and demanding to know whether the envoys had been confined by the republic's conſent, or only by the king's orders? The primate wrote in conſequence to *Auguſtus*, in a manner that ſhewed how much he diſapproved of his conduct. "I cannot, ſays he, carry my reſpect for "your majeſty ſo far as to vindicate an action which all men "of honour muſt condemn." He then deplored the unhappy ſtate of the republic, always doomed to ſhare in the puniſhment however guiltleſs; and concluded with obſerving, "that ſad experience ought to have made the king better "acquainted with the characters of thoſe blind guides, who, "inſtead of conducting him to the temple of glory, were "hurrying him on to the pit of ignominy and deſtruction." *Auguſtus* anſwered this letter, and evidently ſhewed by the ironical ſarcaſtic turn of his expreſſion, that he at length ſuſpected the zeal of the primate. "I beſeech you, ſaid "he, my good couſin, neither to ſtrain too far your complaiſance or your diſſimulation upon my account: let each "of us preſerve that power veſted in us by the conſtitution, "and do you remember that while I am king you are nothing "more than a ſimple archbiſhop." *Auguſtus* however condeſcended to explain the motives upon which the ambaſſadors had been arreſted, and declared that a full account of the affair was ſent to *Verſailles*, which he doubted not would fully juſtify his proceedings[a].

Auguſtus *arreſts the* French *envoys.*

Altercation with the primate.

UPON this it was that the primate, of his own authority, ventured to ſummon a great council of the ſenators, for which purpoſe he publiſhed circular letters in the ſame ſtile as if he had been prorex during an inter-regnum. In theſe letters he paſſionately lamented the decay of public ſpirit in the republic, and the indifference with which the *Poles* beheld the ruin of their country, as if no regard for law, juſtice, or liberty remained, and every ſpark of valour and virtue had been extinguiſhed. After much declamation

A. D. 1703.

[a] FONT. cap. v.

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on the degeneracy of the times, and the dangerous ſituation in which *Poland* ſtood on the very brink of deſtruction, he added, that in diſcharge of his conſcience, in pity to his country, and to expreſs his zeal for the public ſervice, as well as by virtue of the authority veſted in the archiepiſcopal dignity, he took upon him to require a meeting of the ſenate at *Warſaw*, to concert means for the preſervation of the ſtate at this critical juncture. Few, however, of the nobility paid any regard to theſe circular letters, ſome refuſing to admit the primate's authority, while others pleaded that while the citadel was in the hands of the *Swedes*, they could not declare their opinions freely; and the prelate was under the neceſſity of putting off the council to a more ſeaſonable opportunity.

Feb. 15.

THE archbiſhop's diſappointment afforded cauſe of triumph to *Auguſtus*, and indeed his affairs immediately aſſumed a more promiſing aſpect. Several provinces aſſured him of their zeal and loyalty by deputies ſent to *Marienburg*, in which city the king had for ſome time reſided. Many of them adviſed him to publiſh his *Univerſalia* for aſſembling a general diet; but *Auguſtus*, apprehending the conſequence of diviſions among the nobility, contented himſelf with iſſuing writs for a general council of the ſenate to be held at *Marienburg*. The letters publiſhed on this occaſion were fraught with a variety of truths, which bore hard upon the character of the *Swediſh* king: they accordingly gave great offence to that monarch, and extinguiſhed every ſentiment of peace in his mind, if he ever entertained thoughts of an accommodation. But this circumſtance gave little uneaſineſs to *Auguſtus*, who ſaw himſelf riſing in the eſteem of the nobility and ſenate, many of whom he entirely gained over to his intereſt by his careſſes, promiſes, blandiſhments, and that eaſy politeneſs of which he was ſo great a maſter. The *Senatus Concilium* accordingly met, the aſſembly was numerous, and the firſt reſolution taken evinced the influence which *Auguſtus* had eſtabliſhed. It was decreed, that as the republic had been equally injured by the pretended friendſhip of the king of *Sweden*, and by his avowed enmity, that prince ought therefore to be conſidered in the latter capacity; that the reſolution of the diet of *Sandomir* ſhould be confirmed, for uniting the whole republic againſt *Sweden*; that the nobility and a general diet ſhould be ſummoned to aſſemble in the open field; that all aſſemblies held by the primate ſhould be illegal and a violation of the conſtitution; that orders ſhould be iſſued to the generals of the army to oppoſe the *Swedes*; and that the aſſembly ſhould ſtand by the king, and

A council aſſembled at Marienburg.

d venture their lives and fortunes in his ſervice. A motion
it a confederacy ſhould be formed for the ſecurity of the
al dignity and the republic met with oppoſition. The
mate had raiſed a party to fruſtrate this meaſure, and now
demanded ſatisfaction for the injury done to his character
l dignity by the decree of the aſſembly, inſiſting that in
: preſent circumſtances of affairs he was veſted with a legal
hority to ſummon a council of the ſenate. To evince
right he appointed the ſixteenth day of *April* for a council
Warſaw, and expected that the ſenators who attended the
g's writs would pay the ſame obedience to his, as ſoon as
council at *Marienburg* was diſſolved. Thus the primate,
e more declared openly againſt the king, and ſet at de-
ice the regal dignity. Two parties were formed, which
ied each other the right of acting in the name of the re-
lic. *Auguſtus* could allow the primate no authority, and
; opinion ſeemed to be founded upon the true conſtitution of
and, by which the primate had no other authority than that
firſt ſenator and his ſpiritual prerogatives, except during an
r-regnum; while, on the other hand, the prelate de-
ed the reſolutions of the councils held by the king ille-
, until he gave his aſſent [b]. In a word, it was apparent
t the primate had declared tacitly for the king of *Swe-*
, that all hopes of peace were vaniſhed, and that the two
gs would now exert their utmoſt ability to drive each other
of *Poland*, the unhappy ſcene of the contentions of two
ditious princes.

ALREADY *Auguſtus* had an army of fifty thouſand men at
diſpoſal. The *Lithuanians* under *Oginski* amounted to
ty-five thouſand men, the remainder were *Saxons*, upon
om alone, either for loyalty, courage, or military ſkill,
uſtus could place any dependence. The czar had indeed
aged to ſend an army of an hundred thouſand men into
uania; and had he executed his promiſe, the king of
and would have been in a condition to ſecure the dig-
of his crown, and avenge himſelf of the *Swediſh* mo-
ch. But no danger moved *Charles*; camps were perpe-
ly ſhifted, and a kind of emulation aroſe, who ſhould
e the moſt ſucceſsful in ruining the territories of the re-
lic. Mutual declarations and recriminations now paſſed,
ch more than ever confirmed *Auguſtus* that the primate
acted treacherouſly, by concerting matters with his rival,
that it would be neceſſary to aſſemble a general diet.
ile he was preparing to iſſue writs for this purpoſe, the

[b] PARTHEN. lib. iv.

The Saxons *are defeated.*

king of *Sweden* attacked the *Saxons* encamped at *Paltuſk*, and obtained an eaſy victory, after an engagement in which *Auguſtus* loſt near two thouſand men, either killed, drowned, or taken priſoners, together with all his cannon and baggage, general *Stenau* who commanded eſcaping with the utmoſt difficulty [c]. *Charles* purſued his advantage, penetrated into *Pruſſia*, blockaded *Thorn*, and put garriſons into *Graudentz* and the little town of *Strazburg*, which opened their gates without any ſhew of reſiſtance.

THOUGH this victory produced nothing deciſive, it nevertheleſs more than ever confirmed the primate in his opinion that he ought by all means to ſtick faſt by *Sweden*, which he found the republic and *Auguſtus* would never be able to reſiſt. Yet he acted with the utmoſt circumſpection, and ſuch duplicity, that he reinſtated himſelf entirely in the opinion of a great number of the nobility, who had entertained ſuſpicions unfavourable to his character. While the diet was ſitting at *Lublin* he wrote a letter to *Charles*, accuſing him of a breach of the privileges of the republic, and inſiſting upon his withdrawing his forces from *Pruſſia*; but he at the ſame time took care that this letter ſhould be intercepted, and produced at the diet, by which he gained the reputation of a ſtrenuous patriot, who had been groſsly miſrepreſented by evil diſpoſed perſons. Having thus paved the way for a good reception from that aſſembly, he ſet out for *Lublin*, attended by a great retinue of nobility and gentry, and was met on the road by ſeveral members of the diet. Such deference was ſhewn this hypocrite, that the diet returned his letter ſealed up; but he was denied audience of the king, until he had taken the oath to which the members of the council at *Marienburg*, and the diet at *Sandomir*, had ſworn.

Diet at Lublin.

THE diet of *Lublin* had been opened by the king in perſon, on the twenty-fifth day of *June*; and now that the primate and his friends had taken all the oaths required, it was hoped the baſis of concord and unanimity was fully eſtabliſhed; yet there aroſe ſeveral debates, which rendered it neceſſary to prolong the ſeſſion for three days beyond the uſual period. Before this time was expired, the diet had agreed upon certain reſolutions, couched in ſix articles to the following purport: that the crown army ſhould be augmented to thirty-ſix thouſand men; and that the *Lithuanian*, including the *Saxons* auxiliaries in that dutchy, ſhould be raiſed to twelve thouſand. To maintain this force a poll-tax was laid upon the *Jews* at a crown each head, and a duty

[c] Univ. Hiſt. ubi ſup.

upon

made liquors. By the ſecond article, the king of was allowed ſix weeks to give his final reſolutions to peace or war. The third article allowed the ce of time to the houſe of *Sapieha*, to return to the ich it owed to the king and republic; in default of l perſons of that family were to be declared traitors. rth article annexed ſevere penalties to any mention ing the throne vacant. The fifth veſted the king ower of forming ſuch alliances as would be neceſſary curity of the crown and ſtate, in caſe the *Swediſh* perſiſted in his ambitious deſigns: and by the laſt tax was laid upon all the water-mills in the king- ſatisfy the king of *Pruſſia*'s claim upon *Elbing*. The f the diet was to prepare an inſtrument to unite al members of the republic, under the title of the roteſt and Agreement of the ſeveral Orders of the ; but the effects of this inſtrument of coalition trated by the conduct of the nobility of *Great Po-* ere it would ſeem the primate had gained an aſcen- he nobility of this province had entered into a con- o prevent the ruin of their country, and to preſerve rties; and the king of *Sweden* took advantage of this nce to invite the reſt of the republic into the con- by whom he hoped to augment the diviſions of this ſtracted kingdom. He publiſhed a manifeſto, offer- rotection to all ſober-minded well-diſpoſed perſons, tening to blaſt with his vengeance all who adhered to ious aſpiring ſchemes formed by king *Auguſtus*, whom ſtinguiſhed only by the title of elector of *Saxony*. The tes were cheared and animated by this declaration, couraged them to demand peace of the king of *Swe-* deputation. The deputies were well received; but ld them, in a reſolute tone, that the depoſition of muſt be the preliminary condition of his compliance r requeſt.

neaſures taken by the nobility of *Great Poland* gave nce to *Auguſtus*, who declared in a rage, that hence- e ſhould treat them as traitors; but this paſſionate ion, inſtead of intimidating the confederates, ſerved ugment the number of his enemies. A variety of joined the confederated nobility, and *Auguſtus* was doned by ſome of the lords in whom he repoſed t confidence. To complete his embarraſſment, the ps were too few to face the *Swedes*, and too much with their late defeats to think of coming again to th an enemy whom they regarded as invincible.

Auguſtus *declares the confederates traitors.*

The crown army relaxed in its zeal for his ſervice, and attachment to his perſon; the primate's intrigues added to his perplexity, and he now ſuggeſted the idea of taking refuge in *Saxony*, under pretence of viſiting his hereditary dominions. The primate oppoſed this reſolution; but *Auguſtus* ſuſpected his ſincerity, and believed that the artful prelate had his own deſigns, and was actually in a conſpiracy againſt his life and liberty.

MATTERS were now drawing towards a criſis. The *Swedes* were eager to come to a deciſive engagement, and *Charles* indulged their ardor, by turning the blockade of *Thorn* into a regular ſiege. Trenches were formed, batteries erected, and the *Swediſh* cannon played ſo furiouſly, that in a few days the whole city was almoſt reduced to rubbiſh. By the fourteenth of *October* the governor was forced to ſubmit at diſcretion to the conqueror. *Charles* thought of diſmembring the place; but the inhabitants purchaſed their walls and gates at the price of forty thouſand crowns. The cities of *Dantzick* and *Elbing* were chaſtiſed for the ſpirit the magiſtrates had ſhewn in refuſing a paſſage to a body of *Swedes*; and *Auguſtus* oppoſed all theſe military operations only by a fruitleſs council of ſenators, whom he aſſembled at *Javarow*. Here the king propoſed renewing the alliance with the czar, his only remaining reſource; a ſtep to which he was impelled by *Patkul*, who had now entered the ſervice of that prince; and was authoriſed by the diet at *Lublin*; but the grand-marechal of the crown, and ſeveral ſenators, proteſted againſt ſending an ambaſſy to *Ruſſia*, leſt it ſhould put an entire ſtop to the negotiations with the king of *Sweden*. Nor was this the only mortification he ſuffered; for the council paſſed an act, in which they decreed, that the regal authority was ſubordinate to the power of the diet; upon which *Auguſtus* broke up the aſſembly in diſguſt, repaired to *Cracow*, and, after a ſhort ſtay in the capital, ſet out privately for his electoral dominions. His departure furniſhed the primate with the faireſt opportunity he could wiſh to execute his deſigns: he ſummoned an aſſembly at *Warſaw* on the fourteenth of *January*, to which the *Swediſh* commiſſaries were invited, and by dint of addreſs and intrigue procured a reſolution, ſigned by himſelf, the biſhop of *Poſnania*, nine palatines, and the caſtellan of *Ploſko*, declaring *Auguſtus* fallen from all right and title to the crown of *Poland*, for having violated the liberties of the people, who by the *pacta conventa* were thus far diſcharged from their oaths of obedience, and engagements of fidelity and allegiance. A decree likewiſe paſſed to ſeize upon the revenues of the crown, the primate

Thorn *taken by the* Swedes.

Auguſtus *depoſed by the confederates.*

mate proclaimed an inter-regnum, and the king of *Sweden* recommended prince *James Sobieski* as a proper ſucceſſor to the depoſed *Auguſtus*. Severe and unexpected as this ſtroke certainly muſt have been, the unfortunate monarch was not diſcouraged; he ſtill hoped that ſome favourable change of circumſtances, the tyrannical ſpirit of *Charles*, the inconſtancy of the *Poles*, his own perſeverance, the valour of the *Saxons*, and the real intereſt of the maritime powers, to check the aſpiring views of his enemies, might effect a change in his affairs. He regarded the confederacy as a faction founded upon caprice, which would break and diſſolve with the firſt rub of fortune; beſides, the whole aſſociation were too inconſiderable a part of the republic, to paſs decrees which ſhould be deemed legal and deciſive. They were likewiſe divided about a ſucceſſor, ſome ſupporting the claim of *James Sobieski*, while others eſpouſed the pretenſions of prince *Lubomirski*, each party being juſt ſufficiently powerful to embarraſs the competitor, without gaining the point it propoſed for itſelf. However, effectually to remove the candidate who bid faireſt for ſucceſs, *Auguſtus* fell upon means to ſeize on prince *James Sobieski* in *Sileſia*, whom he cauſed to be conducted priſoner to *Saxony*; a meaſure which gave birth to loud complaints againſt his juſtice, though in fact it ought to be regarded as an act of neceſſity and ſelf defence. *Conſtantine*, the ſecond ſon of the late monarch, was likewiſe ſurrounded in the neighbourhood of *Breſlau*, and confined in the citadel of *Leipſick*; while *Alexander*, the youngeſt, and all the enemies of *Auguſtus*, were appealing for redreſs to the emperor, in whoſe dominions the violence was committed. It required no very extraordinary abilities to apologize to the court of *Vienna*, as it was evident that both princes had been propoſed as candidates for the crown; beſides, the emperor regarded with jealouſy the deſigns of *Charles*, though the circumſtances in which he then ſtood would not admit of his coming to expoſtulations.

His treaty with the czar.

SUCH was the ſtate of *Poland* and *Auguſtus*, when the palatine of *Culm* was ſent ambaſſador to the czar of *Muſcovy*, charged with a commiſſion to enter upon the ſtricteſt amity with that prince, and give him a minute account of the ſituation of the republic. The palatine conducted the negociation with ſo much addreſs, that a treaty, offenſive and defenſive, was ſigned; all the advantages of which were on the ſide of *Poland*, with a view of regaining the affections of the republic. It was agreed, that no ſeparate peace ſhould be concluded by either of the contracting parties; that all conqueſts made in the *Ukraine* ſhould belong to *Poland*; that the places

A. D. 1704.

in *Livonia*, already ſubdued by the *Ruſſian* arms, together with what might hereafter be conquered, ſhould be reſtored to the republic, without any reimburſement of the czar's expences; that this prince ſhould ſupport, at his own charge, twelve thouſand men, to be at the devotion of *Poland*; that he ſhould pay a ſubſidy of two millions of florins annually, during the war, to the republic, excluſive of his private ſubſidies to *Auguſtus*; and, laſtly, that when the enemy were driven out of the territories of *Poland*, the war ſhould then be carried, with the utmoſt vigour, into the *Swediſh* dominions. The above articles were immediately publiſhed, to evince the good intentions of *Auguſtus* towards the republic, the diſintereſted conduct of the czar, and the happy conſequences of an ambaſſy which had been ſtrongly oppoſed by a body of the nobility aſſembled at *Javarow*; but, by a ſecret agreement between the monarchs, *Auguſtus* promiſed to repay the czar's expences, as ſoon as he ſhould be quietly reinſtated. Beſides, *Riga* and certain other places, eſſential to the execution of the plans formed by the ſagacious *Peter*, were to be the price of his friendſhip to the diſtreſſed king of *Poland*. The effects produced by the publication of this treaty anſwered the moſt ſanguine hope, and determined *Auguſtus* to return to *Poland*. He arrived at his capital in the month of *February*, and held a council of the ſenators, in which were annulled all the decrees of the aſſembly ſummoned by the primate at *Warſaw* the preceding year; and a declaration was publiſhed, whereby the confederates were made traitors to their king and country. This fruitleſs though ſpirited ſtep was ſucceeded by a remonſtrance to the diet then ſitting at *Ratisbon*, in which the confederates were called rebels, and the primate was treated with very little reverence for his ſacred function; but it produced nothing in the king's favour. However, this diſappointment was ballanced by the fortunate accident of intercepting ſeveral letters, wrote by the primate, and the palatines in his intereſt, whereby a clear diſcovery was made of their deſigns, and of the dark intrigues and abominable duplicity of the prelate, which extremely enraged the whole ſenate [a].

He returns to Poland.

THE archbiſhop was not to be diſcomfited with accidents, which he regarded as trivial. Though it was apparent that he preſſed the *Swediſh* monarch to invade *Saxony*, he was far from bluſhing at the length to which he puſhed his animoſity againſt his legitimate ſovereign; on the contrary, he claimed a great deal of merit from this circumſtance, as he alledged it was the moſt efficacious and ſpeedy method of determining the

[a] FONT. cap. vi. PARTHEN. lib. v. tom. ii.

Swediſh

Swedes to quit the dominions of the republic. This defence he corroborated with a direct accuſation of *Auguſtus*, whom he taxed with ſeveral groſs violations of the liberties of *Poland*, and a deſign intirely to ſubvert the conſtitution, by rendering himſelf abſolute, and the crown hereditary in his family; a charge not entirely void of foundation, as *Auguſtus* had certainly entertained ambitious ſchemes, though he had never met with the opportunity of putting them in execution. Little regard indeed was paid to the aſſertions of either by the few moderate perſons who remained; as they were thought to be prompted by faction, dictated by prejudice, and urged by the ſpirit of animoſity and malignity; yet the violent proceedings of the confederates gave more reputation to the cauſe of *Auguſtus*. In conjunction with the primate they ſent a deputation to *Charles*, propoſing a treaty: to which that prince aſſented, on condition that nothing ſhould be ſtipulated in favour of *Auguſtus*, and that a new king ſhould immediately be elected; an anſwer which exactly correſponded with the primate's wiſhes, which led him into ſuch exceſſes as induced a variety of members to quit the confederacy, becauſe they perceived that the good of the republic was not regarded, but only the gratification of the primate's ambition and reſentment. "We ſee, ſaid they, that every thing here is determined by caprice, and to ſerve meaſures very oppoſite to the public good; we therefore reſolve to continue no longer the blind tools of faction, and the vile inſtruments of corruption; for which reaſon we publicly renounce our engagements to this pernicious confederacy."

His affairs ſeem to revive.

It was imagined that this ſeceſſion would have greatly diſconcerted the primate; however, he went on with his deſigns, and ſummoned the diet of election to meet at *Warſaw* on the 19th day of *June* enſuing. To the primate's writs the king oppoſed his *univerſalia*, requiring a diet to meet on the eighth day of the ſame month; and he expected the aſſembly would be numerous, as a great many of the nobility remained firm, and ſeveral palatines had lately deſerted the confederacy. Even the pope's nuncio came to reſide with *Auguſtus*, after having in vain exhorted the primate and his party not to promote the ambitious views of an heretic prince, againſt their religion, king, and country. Yet, although he found himſelf ſurrounded by friends in his own capital, the approach of general *Renſcheld* gave him ſo much diſquiet, that he was forced to quit *Cracow*, and take the rout of *Sandomir*, the palatine of which province had always been his ſtrenuous friend. Even here he found himſelf in danger; he was purſued by the *Swediſh* general, and his force being unequal, he croſſed the

He is purſued by the Swedes.

Viſtula, and marched along the banks of that river, as low as *Petrowina*, at which place he formed a bridge of boats. Here he was joined by ſo conſiderable a body of *Saxons*, that he thought himſelf in a condition to face the *Swedes*, who were reported not to exceed three thouſand, though in fact they amounted to ten thouſand men, and were in full march to give battle when *Auguſtus* found his miſtake, and took meaſures to extricate himſelf out of the perplexity into which he was led by falſe intelligence. Immediately he croſſed the river, and cut down the bridge of boats; but the precipitation was ſo great, that ſome hundreds of lives periſhed, tho' not a blow had been exchanged with the enemy until the rear was almoſt got over, when the *Swedes* arrived ſoon enough to take one of the king's pages and a few more priſoners. The next day was ſpent in cannonading each other to little purpoſe acroſs the river; and *Renſcheld* at length perceiving that he could not force his paſſage, or bring *Auguſtus* to an action, drew off towards *Warſaw*, and encamped in the neighbourhood of that city, with a view of influencing the diet of election.

He declines coming to action.

THIS motion furniſhed *Auguſtus* with an opportunity of returning to *Sandomir*, where he had appointed the diet. From this meeting he entertained great hopes, which were heightened by the proſpect of being joined by ſeven thouſand *Saxons*, whom he had recalled from the imperial ſervice, and ten thouſand more he gave orders ſhould be levied; hopes which ſoon proved deluſive, howſoever well they ſeemed to be founded. His ill-fortune prevailed, and *Auguſtus* became a memorable example of the vanity and uncertainty of all ſublunary enjoyments. The vigour of his own genius ſometimes raiſed him above his misfortunes only to plunge him the deeper in deſpair. The diet, which had now met, deliberated on the means of reſtoring the public tranquillity; and the firſt ſtep was to enter into a confederacy, founded upon the reſolutions of the diet of *Lublin*. It was next decreed, that all that had been tranſacted at *Warſaw*, relative to depoſing *Auguſtus*, ſhould be declared illegal and void; that whatever *Piaſto* or native ſhould be elected, ſhould be declared an uſurper and traitor; that the primate and biſhop of *Poſnania* ſhould be declared authors of the conſpiracy to dethrone the king, and traitors to their country; that a month ſhould be allowed to the crown-marſhal and other partiſans of the revolt, to renounce the confederacy, return to their duty, and avoid the juſt puniſhment of their crime; that the marſhal of the diet and new confederacy formed by the king ſhould be guarantee and ſponſor for the payment of the crown army;

Auguſtus *returns to* Sandomir, *and holds a diet.*

army; that the garriſons ſhould henceforward receive their orders from him, and not from the crown marſhal; that all treaties with foreign powers, tending to make a diverſion againſt *Sweden*, ſhould be approved, provided however that they ſtipulated nothing contrary to the intereſt of the republic, by the diſmemberment of her provinces; and laſtly, it was reſolved, for the more effectually carrying theſe ſchemes into execution, to aſſemble the poſpolite.

Account of the ſtate of affairs at Warſaw.

THOUGH the proceedings at *Sandomir* gave little uneaſineſs to the confederates at *Warſaw*, yet the diſſentions among the members had almoſt diſſolved the aſſociation. Loud complaints were made againſt the conduct of the *Swedes*, who, under the name of guardians of the liberties of *Poland*, plundered her children, and raiſed heavy contributions, equally on the peaſants, gentry, and nobility; even the church-lands and the clergy were not exempted from the ſacrilegious ravages of thoſe barbarous heretics; but the primate excuſed the king of *Sweden*, by alledging that his army muſt have ſubſiſtence, and in the preſent unſettled ſtate of the republic, he was purſuing the only method which could anſwer that purpoſe; namely, the quartering his troops on the lands of the enemies of *Sweden* and the republic. The 12th day of *July* was fixed for the new election; and every previouſly requiſite meaſure was taken by the diet of *Warſaw*, which opened on the 14th day of *June*, with all the uſual formalities. Fifteen palatines, the eccleſiaſtical and ſecular ſenators, with divers ſtaroſts and caſtellans, were preſent, and a marſhal was choſen without oppoſition. But this harmony was of ſhort duration; for a great number of members inſiſted upon the execution of the king of *Sweden*'s promiſes, and the ceſſation of thoſe grievous contributions which impoveriſhed the country, before the diet ſhould proceed to any other buſineſs. Warm debates enſued; and, by way of moderating the heats of the contending parties, it was thought proper to adjourn for ſeveral days; a meaſure which highly delighted the primate, as he hoped it would pave the way for the prolongation of his own authority, and furniſh him with more time to look out for ſuch a ſucceſſor to the crown as ſhould owe his whole fortune to the primate, and conſequently be reſtrained by ſuch obligations as would confim him the creature of that ambitious prelate. The candidates mentioned on this occaſion were, prince *Ragotzi* of *Tranſilvania*; the elector of *Bavaria*; the duke of *Mantua*; *Lubomirſki*, grand marſhal of the crown; *Sapieha*, the great treaſurer; *Radzivil*, the great chancellor of *Lithuania*; and count *Leczinski*, palatine of *Poſnania*. All theſe candidates were diſagreeable to the primate, who ſtill re-

The candidates for the crown.

tained

tained his affection for the prince of *Conti*, and would now again have nominated him for a competitor, but for private conſiderations, and becauſe he thought that prince would not brook dependence on a ſubject. Prince *James Sobieski*'s impriſonment was a great obſtruction to his claim, as it was feared that his liberty would be more remote, in proportion as he approached the crown. The *Swedes* therefore propoſed the younger brother, *Alexander*, who had the generoſity and wiſdom to refuſe a dignity which of right appertained to *James* or *Conſtantine*, who were both older. He declared he would never profit by their misfortunes, and wear a diadem procured by their loſs of liberty; a ſaying that evinced how deſerving he was of the honour he rejected. *Charles* conſulted the primate on the characters of the *Poliſh* candidates, and found that prelate ſtrongly prejudiced againſt them all, though he could only object his youth to the palatine of *Poſnania*. Accordingly *Charles* declared in favour of the latter, and all the reſt of the competitors became ſenſible that their oppoſition would be fruitleſs. For this reaſon *Lubomirſki* refuſed being preſent at the election, ſaying, that he did not chuſe to aſſiſt in perſon at the funeral of his country's liberty. Three palatines, and ſeveral other nobility, purſued the ſame meaſure, and made a ſimilar reply. The primate himſelf was diſguſted at ſeeing *Charles* direct with ſo high a hand; he refuſed attending on the 12th, and deſired that the election might be deferred for two days; but the *Swediſh* count *Horn* paid no regard to his remonſtrance, and went accordingly to the *ſzopa*, declaring that the election muſt be concluded that day, if he ſtaid till midnight. He preſſed the biſhop of *Poſnania* to nominate a king; and the biſhop, who expected the requeſt, and was wholly in the *Swediſh* intereſt, poured forth his eloquence in perſuading the aſſembly to proceed to buſineſs, without regard to the abſent refractory members. He was oppoſed by the deputies of *Podlachia*, who continued in the *ſzopa* only with intention to obſtruct the election by ſpirited proteſts. At firſt they were terrified by the concourſe of *Swediſh* officers and ſoldiers who ſurrounded count *Horn*; but they ventured to remonſtrate upon this head, and complained of the violation of their privileges, by the undue influence exerted over their opinions and voices. *Horn* however perſiſted, the day was almoſt conſumed in invitations to the primate and abſent members to attend, and upon their refuſal the marſhal of the diet obſerved, that as without their concurrence it would be impoſſible to come to any valid reſolution, the election ought to be deferred till the time propoſed by the recuſants.

IT was the buſineſs of *Sweden* immediately to determine the matter; count *Horn* therefore requeſted the biſhop to proceed to nomination; upon which the *Podlachians* again interpoſed, and one of their number, the deputy *Icrozalski*, whoſe name ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity, roſe up in a fury, and made a ſpeech full of fire and ſpirit, to the equal aſtoniſhment of the *Swedes* and *Poles*:—"Are we aſſembled, ſaid he "boldly, to act in concert for the ruin of *Poland*, whoſe "glory and ſafety depend wholly on the freedom of the people "and the liberty of the conſtitution? Let our independence "be our firſt care, then let us think of an election. Shall "we call that reſolution legitimate, which ſprings from fear "of being hewn down by the troops of armed foreigners, "who ſurround us, and inſult the dignity of the republic by "their preſence! Let our laws be treated with the reſpect "due to them, and I ſhall be the laſt to oppoſe the election. "As I am under no engagements but thoſe dictated by con- "ſcience and the love of my country, I will refuſe my con- "ſent to no meaſure which proceeds from a ſincere inclina- "tion to ſerve the republic; but even this muſt be done "agreeable to the conſtitution, and without conſtraint. I "am beſides well diſpoſed to elevate to the regal dignity a "noble lord now preſent, who hears me ſpeak, and who I "know reſpects me on account of the regard I ſhew for *Po-* "*land*, though contrary to his particular intereſt. Let him "aſcend the throne agreeable to the eſtabliſhed laws, and he "will find in me a loyal, faithful ſubject; otherwiſe I pro- "feſs myſelf his enemy. Let us not place our timidity upon "record, and tranſmit to our poſterity the infamous ſubmiſ- "ſion we pay to a foreign prince. Let us dare nobly to de- "clare againſt all violence; let us not weaken the authority "of the primate or ſenate, leſt our government ſhould be- "come either deſpotical or monarchical. If we deſtroy the "partitions which divide the ſeveral departments of the ſtate, "the conſequence will be fatal, and we ſhall become the "ſlaves of a tyrant, or of our own paſſions. Let us obſerve "the forms preſcribed to this aſſembly, and I will give my "aſſent to every ſalutary reſolution. They are miſtaken who "imagine they ſhall trample upon our liberties without op- "poſition; while they perſiſt in this opinion, I proteſt, as "deputy of *Podlachia*, againſt all that ſhall be tranſacted." *Icrozalski* was ſeconded by the other deputies of the province, and count *Horn* was conſiderably embarraſſed with ſo bold and unexpected a declaration. He ſtormed, he threatened, he ordered the troops to reduce the *Podlachians* to reaſon; but nothing could ſhake their conſtancy, which roſe with oppoſition

Bold ſpeech of the deputy of Podlachia

ſition. "Here, ſaid they, let us ſacrifice our lives to the "freedom of our country; we prefer death to the loſs of li- "berty." At laſt the biſhop of *Poſnania*, perceiving they could not be gained by threats or promiſes, cried out with a loud voice, "Long live *Staniſlaus Leczinski*, king of *Poland* "elect." The nomination was ecchoed by the *Swedes* in the train of count *Horn*, the *Swediſh* ſoldiers who ſurrounded the *ſzopa*, the friends of the palatine, and a few of the nobility; but the *Podlachians* entered their proteſt in form, and retired. Such was the election of *Staniſlaus*, raiſed by the influence of a foreign power to the throne, without ſwearing to the *pacta conventa*, or paſſing through any of the forms which conſtitute a legitimate election in *Poland*. He ſaw the liberty of his country deſpiſed; but he was the neceſſary tool of *Sweden*, and probably lamented the ſad ſituation of *Poland*, though he made the preſent circumſtances ſubſervient to his ambition; and it may fairly be alledged in his vindication, that *Charles* of *Sweden*, and not *Staniſlaus*, was the author of all the unconſtitutional ſteps taken in this extraordinary election. The *Swede* regarded the republic as a conqueſt, and thought he had an abſolute right to diſpoſe of the reward of his own valour; nor is it ſurprizing, that a prince of his diſpoſition, born under a deſpotic government, as *Sweden* certainly was at that time, flushed with conqueſt, and the inveterate enemy of *Auguſtus*, ſhould pay little regard to tedious forms, which only retarded the extenſion of his conqueſts[a].

Staniſlaus elected king of Poland.

SECT. IX.

Containing the Hiſtory of Poland, *to the Reſtoration of* Auguſtus.

STANISLAUS LECZINSKI.

STANISLAUS was no ſooner raiſed to the throne by the voice of a faction, than the primate and his party were terrified into ſubmiſſion by the dreadful menaces of the *Swediſh* monarch. He made his homage accordingly, and congratulated him with a good grace, on the ſucceſs of a meaſure which he had oppoſed with all his power; not from any reſpect to the conſtitution of the *Poliſh* government, but from

[a] PARTHEN. lib. v. VOLT. Mem. chap. iv. FONTAIN. chap. vi. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii.

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private views. His example was followed by the marſhal of the confederacy, and the intereſt of the young king daily gained ſtrength.

Auguſtus was all this while at *Sandomir*, where he ſoon received the news of the election. His chagrin and diſappointment were very great; for, though he was ſenſible of the enmity of *Sweden* and the bitterneſs of the confederates, he relied upon their diſſentions, and was in hopes the number of the candidates would prove an inſurmountable obſtacle to deciſive reſolutions. When he found his expectations diſappointed, he aſſembled in the city *Kamir* the ſame ſet of adherents, who had formerly compoſed the diet of *Sandomir*, and formally proceeded to declare king *Staniſlaus*, and all his party, traitors to their king and country; an impotent reſolution, unſupported by an adequate military force. By this time he had ſufficient cauſe to repent the deference which he paid to the liberties of the republic, and the perpetual dread in which he lived, of diſobliging the few *Poles* who continued faithful to his ſervice. It was this conſideration which had prevented his ſtrengthening himſelf with the forces of *Muſcovy* and *Saxony*. A treaty had been formed with the czar, whereby a conſiderable number of his troops were to have entered the territories of the republic, and orders had been diſpatched to make new levies in *Saxony*; but *Auguſtus* neglected to take the advantage which his ſituation allowed, and even required, becauſe the introduction of foreign troops was diſagreeable to the *Poles*. This complacency for a people, who, notwithſtanding all the zeal which ſome of them profeſſed for his intereſt, were unable to ſecure him againſt the violence of the *Swediſh* monarch, was now, when too late, condemned as ill judged and unſeaſonable. Still, however, a great part of the nation would have declared in his favour, but for the *Swediſh* detachments, which overſpread the country, and kept the inhabitants in continual awe and terror. A body of nobility, who had taken arms for his ſupport, were now routed and diſperſed by the *Swedes*; and the primate with his friends, who had oppoſed the election of *Staniſlaus*, obeyed the nod of the *Swediſh* king, and paid their homage to the new ſovereign. *Pruſſia* was compelled to yield to the laws impoſed by the *Scandinavian* hero, and the magiſtrates and burghers of *Dantzick*, who had been ſtrenuous ſticklers for *Auguſtus*, were forced to bow the neck, and ſubmit to kiſs the rod of tyranny and power. Count *Steinbock* had for ſome time blocked up this city, and the *Dantzickers* thought themſelves happy in being relieved by ſuch eaſy conceſſions from the terrors of a hoſtile army, and

Auguſtus receives the news.

Situation of Auguſtus.

and the revival of an ancient claim made by the houſe of *Guldenſtiern*.

He ſeizes upon Leopold.

In the midſt of theſe ſources of deſpondency, *Auguſtus* had fortunately made himſelf maſter of the city *Leopold* by a well concerted ſtratagem, by which means he was reinforced with the *Poliſh* garriſon, who readily embraced his cauſe, and of a large train of artillery, of which he was in great want ſince the laſt defeat of the *Saxons*. There he remained when advice arrived that a body of ſixteen thouſand *Ruſſians*, and four thouſand *Coſſacks*, had croſſed the *Boriſthenes*, and only waited for orders to commence hoſtilities againſt the *Swedes*. Beſides, the *Saxon* levies at length arrived, by which *Auguſtus* found himſelf in a condition to make detachments to check the ravages of the enemy. As a further addition to his apparent change of fortune, prince *Wieſnowiski* united his endeavours with thoſe of *Oginski*, to reduce *Luthuania* under his obedience, and was oppoſed by the *Swediſh* general *Lewenhaupt* and the houſe of *Sapieha*, with a great viciſſitude of victories and defeats. Prince *Wieſnowiski* had under him an army amounting to twelve thouſand men, compoſed of *Saxons* and *Lithuanians*; with this force he was encamped on the banks of the *Dwina*, where he was vigorouſly attacked by the *Swediſh* general, at the head of ſeven thouſand men, and, after an obſtinate engagement, completely defeated, with the loſs of two thouſand men killed in the field, a great many priſoners, twenty eight pieces of cannon, forty pair of colours and ſtandards, and more than half the baggage of the army; however, *Wieſnowiski* made good his retreat, and ſecured the ſhattered remains of his forces under the cannon of *Riczen*.

Several battles fought between the Swedes and Saxons.

This was a ſevere blow to *Auguſtus*, juſt as his hope began to revive; but it did not diſcourage *Wieſnowiski* from attacking a detachment of five thouſand *Lithuanians* under the conduct of *Minski*. The onſet was furious, the *Lithuanians* were defeated, and one party ſaved themſelves by flight in *Courland*, while the other joined *Staniſlaus* in *Ruſſia*. His triumph however was of ſhort duration; *Minski*, reinforced by a body of *Swedes*, thirſted for revenge, fell upon *Wieſnowiski* unprepared, and forced him to yield up the laurels he had ſo lately acquired. This advantage on the ſide of the *Swedes* and *Staniſlaus* was ſoon followed by another more conſiderable, obtained in the neighbourhood of *Poſnania*, where *Schulenberg*, with ſeven thouſand *Saxons*, attempted to ſurprize three thouſand *Swedes* under general *Meyerfeldt*. The *Saxon* general had laid his plan with great addreſs, and it is probable he might have executed it to his entire ſatisfaction, had not his deſigns been betrayed to the enemy by a deſerter.

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This determined *Meyerfeldt* to call in his detachments, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence. The action began about day-break, *Schulenberg* attacking the advanced guard in perſon, and imagining by the ſilence that reigned in the camp, that his ſchemes remained a profound ſecret; but what was his aſtoniſhment in approaching, to find the enemy not only drawn up in battle-array, but greatly exceeding the number that had been repreſented! It was now too late to retreat, and he determined to reſt the iſſue on the valour of his troops, and his own conduct. He poured in his fire, and was anſwered by the *Swedes*, who then ruſhed in ſword in hand, and put his right wing in diſorder. In his turn he defeated the enemy's right and center, gaining poſſeſſion of the field of battle, while the *Swediſh* colonel, *Taube*, was purſuing the *Saxons* right wing into a great foreſt where they had taken ſhelter. On this officer's return he joined *Meyerfeldt*, regained the field, drove the *Saxons* beyond the *Warta*, and obtained a clear victory, though it is ridiculouſly diſputed by ſome authors. On the ſide of the *Saxons* periſhed a great number of officers; and though *Schulemberg* loſt the honour of the victory, he gained the reputation of conſummate prudence, and great perſonal valour, his defeat being entirely aſcribed to the miſconduct of the right wing, which ſuffered itſelf to be entirely ſeparated from the main body, without attempting a rejunction. After all, *Auguſtus* ſuffered leſs by theſe defeats than by the loſs of his troops, which being already inferior to thoſe of the enemy, could not ſo well ſupport any diminution. Yet they were of the utmoſt conſequence in one reſpect, that they impreſſed his people with an idea that the *Swedes* were invincible, and the genuine offspring of thoſe heroes, who had ſome years before filled all *Europe* with aſtoniſhment at the exploits they performed in *Germany*.

It was the earneſt wiſh of *Charles* to come to a deciſive action, which he ſought with the utmoſt diligence, while *Auguſtus* as induſtriouſly avoided it, until he had procured ſuch a reinforcement as might give him a chance for ſucceſs. With this view he divided his army into ſmall corps, in order, that if he ſhould ſuſtain defeats they might not prove deciſive and fatal. He quitted *Sandomir*, with a deſign of drawing nearer to the *Ruſſian* auxiliaries, who were advancing under the prince *Galliczin*, his neceſſities at length obliging him to ſurmount his fears of diſobliging the *Poles*, by having recourſe to foreigners. During his reſidence at *Joreſlaw*, the *Swedes* advanced with deſign to attack him before the junction; but he avoided this blow by decamping, and placing all his baggage in *Leopold*, to which city however the king of *Sweden* *The king of Sweden beſieges* ſoon *Leopold*.

ſoon laid ſiege. *Auguſtus* not doubting but the garriſon would make a vigorous reſiſtance, embraced the opportunity of the king of *Sweden*'s abſence, put himſelf at the head of the cavalry, and, after a rapid and very extraordinary march, attacked *Warſaw*, where he was on the point of ſurpriſing his rival *Staniſlaus*, and inveterate enemy the primate. Having gained poſſeſſion of the city, he immediately inveſted the citadel, into which count *Horn* had thrown himſelf with a body of *Swedes*. His garriſon conſiſted of fifteen hundred men; but *Auguſtus* made his approaches with ſuch vigour, that finding the place was not tenable, *Horn* ſet on foot a capitulation, and the conditions were accepted by the king of *Poland*. It was agreed that the *Swedes* ſhould be priſoners of war, and all the ſtipulations regarded the deſerters, and the protection of the *Swediſh* priſoners from the inſults of the *Poles*, *Ruſſians*, and *Coſſacks*.

Auguſtus *takes* Warſaw.

Sept. 15.

AUGUSTUS had never before exhibited any remarkable inſtances of his military ſkill, at leaſt ſince his elevation to the throne of *Poland*; now he was regarded as a conſummate general, whoſe genius was depreſſed by a concurrence of unfortunate circumſtances. Yet would it have redounded more to his honour, had he uſed this laſt advantage with greater moderation. He entered *Warſaw* as a conqueror, and determined to make the city ſuffer for the compelled homage done to his rival. The burghers were obliged to redeem their houſes and effects at an enormous price, tho' in fact they had ſhewn no partiality to *Staniſlaus*; and the grand palaces belonging to the primate, *Lubomirski*, and ſeveral of the confederated noblemen, were either plundered or deſtroyed. The booty was immenſe, and the *Hungarian* wines alone, contained in the archbiſhop's cellars, was valued at one hundred and fifty thouſand crowns. The biſhop of *Poſnania*, confined to his bed with ſickneſs, was taken priſoner, ſent into *Saxony*, and his houſe pillaged; but he was afterwards ſet at liberty by the interceſſion of the pope's nuncio, who inſiſted that the holy ſee alone could take cognizance of the crimes of ſo dignified a prelate.

Leopold *ſurrenders to the king of* Sweden.

In the midſt of this triumph, the news of the ſurrender of *Leopold* reached *Warſaw*, and threw a ſudden chill on the ſpirits of the royal party. *Charles* had forced the city ſword in hand, put great part of the garriſon to death, raiſed prodigious contributions on the inhabitants, and ſaved the place at a price almoſt equivalent to its whole value. This ranſom was levied with the utmoſt rigour, and the poor inhabitants plundered of almoſt all their effects, becauſe they were unable to pay in ſpecie the ſums ſtipulated. The booty carried off

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n wrought plate, cloths, ſilks, and other rich merchandize, vas immenſe; but it turned out of little account to the conuerors, who were obliged to leave great quantities behind, herever they encamped, for want of the conveniency of arriage. A report which prevailed, that *Charles* was on his eturn to *Warſaw*, obliged *Auguſtus* to quit that city, and enamp at ſome diſtance, not chuſing to be incloſed within walls ith a corps which intirely conſiſted of horſe and dragoons. e was in his camp at *Wiſgrod*, when advice arrived that the ar of *Muſcovy* had at length reduced *Narva*, and was prearing to reinforce the detachment under *Galitzin*, which ocaſioned great joy; and the ſpirits of the royal party were likeiſe elevated by the junction of the *Saxons*, amounting to fteen thouſand men. This force, united with the *Ruſſians* nd *Coſſacks*, who exceeded thirty thouſand men, gave *Auguſus* a conſiderable ſuperiority in numbers, but not in ſtrength, f which it appears he was ſenſible. The victory at *Narva* afficiently evinced how little confidence he ought to repoſe n the *Ruſſian* auxiliaries acting againſt the *Swedes*. The *Poles* in his ſervice could not be depended on, as they ſeemed o fluctuate in their principles. Even the *Saxons* conſiſted hiefly of new levies, made in a hurry, and without ſelection. carce any of the new-raiſed troops had ever handled a ſword r firelock; and many of them were too old, too weak, and nfirm, to ſupport the fatigues of a campaign. Theſe were he reaſons which induced *Auguſtus* to decline a battle: his ourage, however, hath been called in queſtion, though, in ur opinion, very unjuſtly, as it would be raſhneſs to ſtand he ſhock of the fineſt veteran army in *Europe* with ſuch forces s we have deſcribed. It was this conſideration which determined *Auguſtus* to croſs the *Narew* on the approach of the *Swediſh* monarch, and encamp at *Pultouſk*, in which ſituation e was cannonaded by the enemy from the oppoſite ſide of he river. Then he marched with the main body of his army o *Rava*, with intention to cover a detachment ſent to inveſt *Poſnania*, in hopes of getting poſſeſſion of the family and reaſures of his rival *Staniſlaus*; but this ſcheme was fruſtrated y the foreſight and vigilance of the enemy. General *Brandt*, with ſix thouſand *Saxons*, laid ſiege to the place; but as *Meyerfeldt* and two thouſand *Swedes* had reinforced the gariſon, he made but little progreſs; and indeed formed little more than a blockade, as cannon were wanted to mount the batteries.

DISAPPOINTED in this deſign, *Auguſtus* divided his army nto ſeveral corps; the main body of the *Saxons* being led by chulenberg, who ſhaped his courſe towards *Poſnania*, with inten-

Battle of Punitz, *and the celebrated retreat of* Schulenberg.

intention to join the detachment under general *Brandt*. He was purſued by the king of *Sweden*, who imagined, if he could defeat or diſperſe the *Saxons*, that all the other corps muſt neceſſarily ſhare their fortune; and followed ſo cloſe by the cavalry, that every new day produced a freſh skirmiſh. He had already traverſed three palatinates in the face of a ſuperior enemy, and was now arrived at *Punitz* on the frontiers of *Sileſia*, where he reſolved to halt, and refreſh his troops, becauſe he imagined he had conſiderably gained the ſtart of the enemy [a]. Here he was attacked by the *Swedes*, led by *Charles* and *Staniſlaus*; the firſt, eager to gain a victory over ſo renowned a general as *Schulenberg*; the other, ambitious of diſplaying his courage, and how well he merited the honour of governing a warlike people. It was a fair trial between horſe and foot, the *Saxons* being intirely compoſed of infantry, while the bulk of the *Swedes* conſiſted of cavalry; and *Schulenberg* was the firſt who had evinced the impoſſibility of breaking a rampart of ſcrewed bayonets, judiciouſly diſpoſed. We have already deſcribed the order of this battle: it is ſufficient to obſerve in this place, that the *Swedes* made five furious aſſaults, and were vigorouſly repulſed at every charge; notwithſtanding which they made two more efforts, continuing the action, until night furniſhed the *Saxon* with an opportunity of drawing off in good order, to prevent his being attacked next morning by the ſtrong reinforcement which had now joined the king of *Sweden*. Though he had received five wounds in the engagement, he continued his march with the utmoſt diligence to the *Oder*; and was actually arrived on the banks of that river without any conſiderable loſs, notwithſtanding the *Swediſh* army hung the whole way on his rear, and uſed every poſſible means of harraſſing his march, and bringing him to an engagement. The greateſt difficulty ſtill remained; and as *Schulenberg* had neither pontoons nor boats, *Charles* made ſure either of forcing him to fight at a diſadvantage, or to ſurrender at diſcretion: but he had not yet ſufficiently experienced the ability of the *Saxon*, who iſſued immediate orders to prepare floats; and, in the mean time, gave employment to the *Swedes* by parties, which he had diſpoſed in the ſurrounding houſes, mills, paſſes, and eminences. In this manner he croſſed the *Oder* in the ſpace of three hours, at the expence of no more than fifty men, who, after a deſperate action, ſuffered themſelves to be taken priſoners for the ſafety of the whole army. The retreat was glorious; *Charles* ſpoke of it with admiration, confeſſed the ſuperior addreſs of the

[a] Univerſ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. p. 343.

Saxon,

Saxon, and ever after took delight in mentioning the tranſaction as the fineſt ſtroke of military ſkill which the annals of war afford.

NOTWITHSTANDING this retreat ſpread the fame of *Schumburg* all over *Europe*, it produced no other advantage to *Auguſtus* than merely ſaving a part of his troops; and it evidently ſhewed his inferiority, at the ſame time that it diſplayed the vaſt capacity and extenſive genius of his principal officer. The fate of other parties was different, only becauſe they were not under the direction of ſuch an able commander: colonel *Goltz*, with a ſtrong detachment, eſcorted twelve pieces of cannon, and ſome baggage: he was attacked by a Swediſh corps, and after an obſtinate conflict intirely defeated, with the loſs of the whole convoy. However, a gleam of ſucceſs ſtill enlivened the gloomy fortune of *Auguſtus*: a party of his troops having ſeized the palatine of *Lencicia* in the neighbourhood of *Dantzick*, and carried him priſoner to *Marienburg*, which was deemed a conſiderable advantage, as that nobleman was one of the moſt enterpriſing, inveterate, and active enemies of the royal intereſt. The primate likewiſe narrowly eſcaped ſharing the ſame fate, by taking refuge in *Dantzick*, which produced an altercation between the king and that city. *Auguſtus* not only complained of the protection afforded to his enemies, but inſiſted that the magiſtrates ſhould oblige the primate and his adherents to quit the city, pay him the ſum of money they had paid to the king of *Sweden*, and ſurrender the original treaty between that monarch and the city of *Dantzick*; but no anſwer was made to this demand, the magiſtrates well knowing that he had neither power to enforce his menaces, nor to protect them againſt the *Swedes*, if they complied.

Palatine of Lencicia ſeized by royal party.

A STILL greater acquiſition than the ſeizure of the palatine of *Lencicia* immediately ſucceeded the arrival of *Auguſtus* at *Cracow*; to which place he began his march in the beginning of *November*, at the head of his cavalry. The wife and children of *Lubomirſki* had been taken priſoners in that capital, and ſaved from deſtruction by the king's generoſity, which produced ſuch an effect upon *Lubomirſki*, that he partily repented the oppoſition he had given to the government of ſo excellent a prince, and deſired nothing ſo earneſtly as a reconciliation with *Auguſtus*, which was happily effected by the mediation of the pope's nuncio. He threw himſelf at the feet of his ſovereign, and was graciouſly received. His whole apology conſiſted in exclaiming, "Forgive me, Sire, I have been deluded." He immediately ſtrengthened the royal party with a thouſand men; and had a private audience

dience of the king, in which were concerted meaſures for ſuſtaining the efforts of the enemy; and in conſequence *Auguſtus* ſet out for *Saxony* to make freſh levies, and procure ſupplies of money for the continuance of the war. It was during his reſidence in his hereditary dominions that the fruitleſs negociations were ſet on foot, reſpecting a peace with the king of *Sweden*, and the liberties of the princes *James* and *Conſtantine Sobieſki*. Count *Strathman*, the imperial miniſter, laboured diligently to procure the enlargement of the princes; and count *Horn*, a priſoner on his parole, had made ſeveral journeys to the *Swediſh* camp, and back again to *Auguſtus*, with mutual propoſals for a treaty; but neither point could be eſtabliſhed. The princes refuſed their liberty on the conditions propoſed; and *Charles* dictated with too high a hand to think of having his terms accepted. However, the ſuſpence in which *Auguſtus* was kept by the diſtant proſpect of peace, was the reaſon why he deferred ratifying the treaty with the czar, made by the palatine of *Culm*, which he knew would be an unſeaſonable obſtruction to his pacific deſigns. Indeed, his irreſolution in this particular reflects no great honour either upon his ſpirit or his policy; as he ſubmitted to real indignities, and cutting mortifications, as well as the danger of loſing a faithful powerful ally, merely to avoid giving offence to the *Swediſh* monarch, and a few timid republicans, who, under pretence of preſerving the quiet and tranquillity of the kingdom, ſuffered it to become little better than a conquered province of *Sweden*. *Auguſtus* had miniſters at all the courts of *Europe*, who found means to excite a compaſſion, that however was attended with no other conſequence. The emperor, by means of count *Zinzendorf*, had made ſome overtures to *Charles*; but they proved fruitleſs: and as for the maritime powers, they were too intent upon the buſineſs of the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion to pay much regard to a diſpute between two northern kings, which only affected them indirectly. The pontiff, indeed, ſtirred up by *Lagnaſco*, that able negociator and faithful miniſter of *Auguſtus*, had iſſued briefs, expreſſing with what horror the papacy beheld the meaſures concerted by the rebel *Poles* with an heretic prince againſt their lawful ſovereign; but the prayers and denunciations of the pontificate were equally loſt amidſt the din of arms; and the ſpirits of all men were too violently inflamed to feel the influence of arguments, enforced only by the cold reſpect entertained for the head of the church. The primate and the biſhop of *Poſnania* were cited to appear in three months before the pontifical tribunal; and the latter, who was in cuſtody of the nuncio, was actually ſent thither: but the primate ſhut himſelf

Negociations.

The pope ſides with Auguſtus.

ſelf up in the *Lutheran* city of *Dantzick*, which he knew would protect him againſt the violent intentions of pope *Clement* XI. However, he refuſed to anoint *Staniſlaus*, or even to aſſiſt at his coronation, chuſing not to carry his oppoſition too far againſt the pontifical decrees. This reſolution he took in conſequence of briefs ſent to the papal nuncio, forbidding all the *Poliſh* prelates, under the canonical penalties, to aſſiſt at the coronation, and much leſs at the conſecration of the new king. One of theſe was affixed upon the primate's gate in the night, and this he made a ſufficient excuſe for not complying with the requeſt of the *Swediſh* monarch, who was by no means ſatisfied with the apology, and therefore ordered a number of troops to be quartered in the lands belonging to the archbiſhop [b].

ALL this while *Auguſtus* remained in *Saxony*, where the preparations for continuing the war proceeded ſlowly; and poſſibly with deſign to wait the event of the czar *Peter*'s hoſtilities in *Livonia*, and of the pope's interceſſion. Certain it is, that he was now ſincerely diſpoſed to an accommodation. He had ſufficiently experienced the power of the *Swediſh* monarch, and the affections of the *Poles*, to know how little able he was to reſiſt the former, or heartily to engage the latter in his intereſt. He now, indeed, expected great things from *Lubomirſki*, who appeared zealous to repair his former errors; but the ancient animoſity which ſubſiſted between him and ſome others of the friends of *Auguſtus*, had almoſt been attended with fatal conſequences to the whole party. The council uſed their utmoſt endeavours to reconcile them; and they, at laſt, ſucceeded ſo far as to moderate the reſentment which they could not extinguiſh. He had greater reaſon to entertain hopes from the ſpirited zeal of *Smielgiſki*, who had diſperſed the petty diet of *Siradia*, carried off the marechal, and tore away the *univerſalia* of *Staniſlaus*, fixed upon the gates of *Warſaw*. Had the power of this nobleman been in any degree proportioned to his zeal, courage, and activity, *Auguſtus* would have found in him a moſt valuable adherent; but now his violent ſpirit ſerved only to inflame and irritate, without mortally injuring. He traverſed the country at the head of a ſmall party of free booters, beat up the *Swediſh* quarters, kept up a perpetual alarm, ravaged the lands, and carried off the cattle of the enemy. A. D. 1705.

THERE was a party in the republic that profeſſed itſelf neutral, and reſolved not to declare in favour either of *Auguſtus* or *Staniſlaus*. At the head of this party was the pala- *A neutral party ſtarts up.*

[b] PARTHEN. lib. v. FONT. cap. vi. VOLT. ubi ſupra.

tine of *Potoſki*. "We will ſubmit, ſays he, to the deciſion "of Providence, and obey that prince whom the Almighty "ſhall think fit to render victorious. In the mean time, it "is neceſſary for us to prevent the kingdom from becoming "a prey to foreigners." The moderation of theſe ſentiments, and the ſecurity which they ſeemed to imply, enſnared great numbers. The party increaſed daily, ſubmitted to a chief, and gradually declined into principles oppoſite to thoſe originally profeſſed. Finding no ſafety in that middle courſe, from which ſo much was expected, *Potoski* became the partiſan of *Staniſlaus*; and the ſame perſon who declared againſt foreigners degenerated into the tool of the king of *Sweden*. The primate found it neceſſary to fall in with the views of a party which had the credit of being deemed moderate, neutral, and true to the intereſt of the republic. He had equally diſobliged *Auguſtus*, *Charles*, *Staniſlaus*, and the pontiff. The king of *Sweden* was the prince whom he dreaded, and it was neceſſary to pave the way to an accommodation with him, leſt he ſhould be provoked to puniſh his obſtinacy. With this view he embraced the opinions of the *neutrals*, who ſtill maintained the reputation of patriotiſm, capitulated under the notion of promoting the public good, and, by reducing his demands to matters of mere ceremony, eaſily made his peace with *Charles* and *Staniſlaus*, without appearing either refractory to the pope, or the declared enemy of *Auguſtus*. This, indeed, was trimming the political ballance to a nicety; but it coſt the primate his reputation. Neither party regarded or eſteemed him, farther than he became neceſſary to their own deſigns; and the prelate deſpiſed their opinion, except when it affected his intereſt. Having ſecured a ſufficient protection againſt the pontifical reſentment, he granted his *univerſalia* to ſummon the diet of coronation for the eleventh day of *July*; but at the ſame time took care that it ſhould be thought an act of neceſſity by the adherents of *Auguſtus*.

The elector of Brandenburg *propoſes his mediation.*

In this train ſtood affairs in *Poland*, when a variety of powers, and among them the king of *Pruſſia*, elector of *Brandenburg*, offered their mediation to accommodate the differences between the monarchs. That prince was apprehenſive leſt *Staniſlaus*, placed firmly upon the throne of *Poland*, might, with the aſſiſtance of *Sweden*, revive the pretenſions of the republic to *Pruſſia*, which he had lately erected into a kingdom. His propoſal was to reſtore *Auguſtus* to the *Polish* throne, and to diſmember the grand dutchy of *Lithuania* in favour of *Staniſlaus*; a ſcheme which he hoped would be agreeable to *Sweden*, as it ſecured the tranquillity of her frontier on the ſide of *Livonia*. But there was not a ſingle court intereſted

terested that did not raise objections; and the elector of Saxony, in particular, gave in a counter-project, wherein Stanislaus might be satisfied at the expence of the elector of Brandenburg. His design was to erect the two Prussias, ducal and royal, into a kingdom in favour of this prince, who, after tasting the pleasures of sovereignty, could not be supposed to retire with contentment to a private station. It could not be expected that the king of Prussia would accede to this proposal, and therefore he declined the medal in the last lately offered, and all hopes of a compromise again vanished, which gave room for opening the petty diets, in obedience to the primate's *universalia*. The palatine of *Cracow* was the first that assembled; and here deputies were chosen to attend the diet of election strongly attached to Stanislaus, and instructions given them extremely unfavourable to the cause of *Augustus*. At the petty diet of *Sandomir*, the few of this monarch's friends who were present were borne down by opposition, and forced to yield to the strong adverse tide of faction. Resolutions, similar to those formed at *Cracow*, were preparing, when the active *Smielgiski* presented himself before *Opatow*, the place where the diet assembled, at the head of two thousand Saxon cavalry, an equal number of the troops of the confederacy, and a thousand of his own adherents. He seized upon the marechal and several of the principal nobility, whom he committed to prison; but this, instead of dispiriting the party of *Stanislaus*, cooled the affections of the friends of *Augustus*, who regarded the violent proceedings of *Smielgiski* as a breach of the constitution, and a violation of the rights of every individual of the republic. The diet of *Sandomir* met a second time, while *Smielgiski* was taking measures to prevent the meeting of the provincial diet of *Warsaw*, and entered upon resolutions more detrimental to *Augustus* than those originally proposed. Even the palatine of *Culm* was disgusted with the conduct of this nobleman, whose credit he probably envied: he drew off from his attachment to *Augustus*, and suddenly forfeited all the reputation which he had acquired by his loyalty and faithful services. In a word, every thing concurred to render the expected diet of coronation as favourable to *Stanislaus* as could be wished, when the motions of the *Russian* armies threatened to disconcert all the measures of the *Swedish* party, and to drive *Charles* with his whole army out of the territories of the republic.

THE dutchy of *Courland* was at this time invaded by an army of twenty thousand *Russians*, under the conduct of *Count Remetof*. *Mazeppa*, general of the *Cossacks*, afterwards the ally of the king of *Sweden*, was bringing up forty thou-

Mutiny of the Russians.

ſand of his troops; and the czar in perſon was preparing to enter *Lithuania*, at the head of a very numerous army. United with the *Saxons* and *Poles* in the intereſt of *Auguſtus*, theſe forces appeared ſufficient to cruſh the *Swedes*, were victory to be determined by numbers; but the intrepidity of the latter diſconcerted every ſcheme laid by the friends of the depoſed monarch. *Czeremetof*'s intention was to intercept a body of troops under general *Lewenhaupt*, reduce *Courland*, and then lay ſiege to *Riga*, or blockade that city, juſt as circumſtances directed. The plan was well laid; but the *Swede*, apprized of the deſign, recalled his detachments, marched with the utmoſt ſilence and rapidity towards *Mittau*, to which city the *Ruſſians* were laying ſiege, and propoſed attacking them in their lines; but the enemy had retired to their camp at *Nepten*. As he was now ſupported only by his cavalry, and had failed in the attempt to ſurprize the enemy, he marched to *Gernavert-Holf* to join his infantry; by which means his whole force exceeded eight thouſand veterans, the flower of the *Swediſh* army, who were left to guard the frontiers againſt the incurſions of the *Ruſſians* and *Coſſacks*. Here he drew up in order of battle, in an advantageous ſituation, expecting he ſhould be attacked, in which he was not diſappointed. The *Ruſſian* general advanced, and, ordering his cavalry to diſmount, began a furious attack, ſword in hand, upon the left wing, which, being likewiſe flanked by the extenſion of the *Ruſſian* line, was put in ſome diſorder. Victory was on the point of declaring for *Czeremetof*, when the courage and well-diſciplined valour of the *Swediſh* forces tore it from him, fixed fortune on their own ſide, broke in upon the *Ruſſian* firſt and ſecond lines with aſtoniſhing fury, made terrible ſlaughter, gave the left wing leiſure to rally, then formed into one body, and preſented a ſolid impenetrable front to the *Ruſſian* cavalry, that had orders to attack in the rear. This was one of the fineſt manœuvres ever performed in the heat of battle: it raiſed the reputation of *Lewenhaupt*, and obliged all men to acknowledge, that the ability of the general, rather than the ſuperior valour of the *Swedes*, occaſioned the defeat of the *Ruſſians*, who fought with unparalleled fury, and obſtinately perſiſted in periſhing, after all hope of victory had been loſt. Beſides the fine diſpoſition of the *Swedes*, the wounds received by both the *Ruſſian* generals, *Czeremetof* and *Baver*, contributed greatly to the defeat: they were carried off the field, and no other officer in the army was capable of diſcharging the whole duty of commander. After all, the victory was bloody: it coſt the *Swedes* the lives of a multitude of brave officers and ſoldiers; and, inſtead of remaining in the field,

The Ruſſians *defeated.*

Lewen-

Lewenhaupt was forced to retire under the cannon of *Riga*. Upon the whole, this was the moſt obſtinate action ever fought between the *Swedes* and *Ruſſians*: it continued for the whole day, and, by its effects, fully evinced, that the latter wanted nothing but experience to become ſoldiers.

THIS gave a check to the *Ruſſians*, and diſſipated thoſe fears which had prevented the meeting of the diet. A few members, indeed, obeyed the *univerſalia*; but the bulk pleaded their apprehenſion of falling into the hands of the *Ruſſians* and *Saxons*. The former were now incapable of advancing; and it remained only to guard againſt the parties under *Schulenburg*, *Wieſnowiski*, and the active *Smielgiski*: for which purpoſe two thouſand *Swedes* were aſſembled in the neighbourhood of *Warſaw*; a force too ſlender to oppoſe the troops now collected by the *Saxon* general, whoſe army exceeded nine thouſand men. The *Swedes* diſputed the paſſage of the *Viſtula* near *Zacrotzin*; but were too weak to make any effectual reſiſtance: they were driven before the *Saxons*, and *Schulenburg* advanced within half a league of *Warſaw*, where he halted. On the thirty-firſt of *July* he advanced in order of battle towards the city, and was attacked a ſecond time by the *Swedes*, who, upon receiving a ſlender reinforcement, determined to periſh, or ſave *Warſaw*, and open a way to the ſitting of the diet. Their chief ſtrength was directed againſt the *Poliſh* wing, which gave way, and drew along with it the centre, compoſed of *Saxons*. *Schulenburg* exerted his utmoſt ability in rallying his troops; but a panic had ſpread over the whole army, the rout became general, and this officer, who, with a handful of men, had foiled the utmoſt efforts of the king of *Sweden*, backed by an army flushed with victory, was now defeated by an inconſiderable corps of *Swedes*, commanded by an officer of no diſtinction [a].

THE diſperſion of *Schulenburg*'s army removed all the fears of the deputies of the diet, who now came in crowds to *Warſaw*. By the ſixth day of *Auguſt* the diet proceeded to buſineſs, and *Charles* and *Staniſlaus* both attended in perſon. The marechal ordered the act of confederacy to be read, which had been prepared in the private conferences; and it was ſigned and confirmed by all the deputies, to the following purpoſe: "That king *Auguſtus* ſhould be declared fallen from his "regal eſtate and dignity, for having repeatedly violated the "laws and conſtitution of the *Poliſh* government; that the "confederacy of *Sandomir* ſhould be declared illegal, and all

The Saxons *are diſperſed.*

[a] Vide Univ. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. PARTHEN. lib. v. FONT. cap. vi.

"the

" the acts formed in that aſſembly, with their conſequences, " void and of no effect; that all the ſubjects of the republic " ſhould be diſcharged from their fealty to *Auguſtus*, and ab- " ſolved the oaths of allegiance taken to his perſon; and, " laſtly, that the election of *Staniſlaus* ſhould be confirmed, " and the uſual oaths made to him of allegiance, fidelity, " and zeal." The next object was the diſcuſſion of a treaty ſet on foot with *Sweden*, in which no progreſs was made, becauſe it was objected, that a full and complete diet was neceſſary to repreſent the body of the republic; though this very objection implied the illegality of all the other proceedings of the aſſembly. In effect, the diet broke up without finiſhing the buſineſs propoſed; and the thirtieth of *September* was appointed for another meeting of the nuncios, to prepare the ceremony of the king's coronation. As the primate was confined by ſickneſs to his bed, the archbiſhop of *Leopold* ſupplied his abſence, and opened the diet with a ſpeech, in which he thanked the members for the zeal they expreſſed for the liberties of the conſtitution. Next was renewed the negociation with *Sweden*; and a ſketch of a treaty being read, the aſſembly proceeded to draw up the articles of the *pacta conventa*, to be propoſed to *Staniſlaus* the evening preceding his coronation. As nothing unreaſonable was found in this convention, the terms were accepted, and ſworn to with the uſual formality; and on the third day of *October* the ceremony of coronation was performed with great ſolemnity. It is true that ſome of the cuſtomary forms were diſpenſed with in the proceedings of the diet; but this omiſſion was juſtified by the neceſſity of affairs. For inſtance, the primate ought, by the laws of the land, to have conſecrated the king; but he was confined with an ailment that terminated with his death a few days after, and the archbiſhop of *Leopold* was veſted with all his authority; though ſome writers are of opinion, that he aſſumed this power without liberty from the primate, who, upon the whole, was averſe to the conſecration. In this caſe it would be difficult to determine how far the coronation of *Staniſlaus* was legitimate. The laws require that this ceremony ſhould be performed by the primate: the elected king has no power to beſtow dignities before his coronation: it therefore follows, that neither he nor the republic could veſt the archbiſhop of *Leopold* with this authority; and indeed this appears to be a defect in the *Poliſh* conſtitution, productive of many inconveniences. For, ſhould the primate die during the inter-regnum, or before the coronation, there ſeems to be no means of legally eſtabliſhing the election; but this is a point which we ſhall leave to be diſcuſſed by political caſuiſts.

Staniſlaus *is crowned.*

With

With reſpect to the diſpoſal of the archbiſhopric, and the primatical dignity, both *Auguſtus* and *Staniſlaus* claimed this power, as well as the regal dignity, each conferring them upon their own particular favourites. As to *Auguſtus*, he beſtowed the dignity of primate, and the annexed archdioceſe of *Gneſna*, upon the biſhop of *Cujaiva*, conferring the vacant ſee of that prelate on the referendary of *Lithuania*.

THIS prince arrived at *Grodno* from *Saxony* in the month of *November*, and was received by ſeveral ſenators and noblemen of the firſt diſtinction; in favour of whom he conſtituted a new order, called the *White Eagle*, the inſtallation being performed with all the magnificence that circumſtances would admit. From hence he went to meet the czar, with whom he had an interview; at which all former treaties were renewed, and reciprocal marks of eſteem and friendſhip were exchanged. *Peter* had juſt conquered the dutchy of *Courland*; the citadel, garriſoned by a body of *Swedes*, having capitulated, after ſuſtaining an aſſault for ſeveral days. He had projected a ſcheme for inveſting *Riga*; but the ſituation of *Poland* obliged him to alter his intention, and give orders for the *Ruſſian* army to file off to the frontiers of *Lithuania*. *Mazeppa* had directions to follow with forty thouſand *Coſſacks*, with whom *Charles* and *Staniſlaus* were ſuppoſed at that time to be in a ſecret treaty. As to the *Poles* in the ſervice of *Auguſtus*, they were divided into a number of different parties, each of which purſued a particular object. *Smielgiſki* with his forces laid ſiege to *Marienburg*, and ſtormed the place on the firſt day of *October*, putting the whole *Swediſh* garriſon to the ſword, and plundering the city. This advantage was ballanced by an equivalent piece of good fortune on the ſide of the enemy: the palatine of *Kiow*, having fallen upon the dioceſe of *Warmia*, defeated a body of *Saxons*, and took four hundred priſoners, moſt of whom enliſted under the banners of *Staniſlaus*, to avoid the rigour of impriſonment. Divers other ſkirmiſhes paſſed; but the only exploit worth recording was performed by *Mazeppa*, who, at the head of his *Coſſacks*, forced the *Swediſh* garriſon in *Zamoſe*, and then ſecured the place by a ſtrong body of *Ruſſians*.

IN the mean while, *Auguſtus* ſummoned a great council to meet at *Grodno* in the month of *November*. It was compoſed of biſhops, palatines, ſeveral nobility of diſtinction, and divers great officers of the crown. It was opened by the vice-chancellor, who ſubmitted a variety of points, reſpecting the ſtate of affairs, to the deliberation of the aſſembly; recapitulated the principal occurrences of the reign of *Auguſtus*; and concluded with a warm panegyric on the policy, courage, pa- *Council at Grodno.*

triotiſm,

triotiſm, and other virtues of that monarch. The means for ſubſiſting and reinforcing the army were particularly propoſed; after which the marechal of the confederacy repreſented, that as the treaties with the czar were of the laſt importance, it was neceſſary the palatine of *Culm*, who was the chief agent, ſhould lay his negociation before the council. We have already obſerved, that this nobleman expreſſed his diſtaſte of the meaſures purſued by the party of *Auguſtus*, particularly the violences committed by *Smielgiſki*; and he now gave further indications of this diſpoſition, by refuſing to conſent to the marechal's propoſal, inſiſting, that a general diet alone poſſeſſed the right of demanding the report required. However, he condeſcended to lay before the council ſome of the moſt material articles of the treaty; ſuch as the czar's conſent to reſtore the *Ukraine* to the republic; to aſſiſt him with troops and money during the continuance of the war; to grant toleration of conſcience to the *Roman* Catholics diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of the *Ruſſian* empire; and to ſurrender all the conqueſts of the next campaign to the republic, provided that a *Ruſſian* commandant ſhould be allowed to reſide in all the places ſubdued by the combined arms. Upon this the *Ruſſian* commiſſaries were admitted to clear up ſome neceſſary preliminaries to the ratification. The council demanded the immediate reſtitution of the *Ukraine*, the conqueſts in *Livonia*, and ſecurity for the payment of the crown-army: to which the deputies replied, that the czar conſented to the firſt without reſtriction, and would admit *Poliſh* troops into the *Livonian* conqueſts; but that he had given no inſtructions upon the third head, therefore the means of paying the crown-forces muſt be ſubmitted to his pleaſure. Here this matter reſted, the commiſſioners declaring their inability to proceed, without an extenſion of their inſtructions. Upon this obſervation the council proceeded to other buſineſs, continuing to act as the body repreſentative of the republic. The motion was made to draw up an inſtrument, ratifying all the acts paſſed during the king's abſence by the confederacy, abrogating all treaties, public acts, and tranſactions of the oppoſite faction, and ſpecifying the penalties incurred by adhering to the laws made by the uſurper and his contumacious adherents. The inſtrument contained eleven articles, one of which related to the payment of the army, and the adminiſtration of the treaſury; another ſettled the public taxes and impoſts; a third regulated coinage, in ſuch a manner as to facilitate commerce, and prove ſubſervient to the conveniency of the poor; and, indeed, the methods propoſed on this head were prudent, politic, and public-ſpirited, had the ſituation

tion of the republic admitted of their being enforced. A variety of other particulars, tending to promote the intereſt and eſtabliſh the tranquillity of *Poland*, were ſpecified in this decree; after which the aſſembly broke up about the middle of *December*.

Council at Warſaw.

WHILE *Auguſtus* held the council at *Grodno*, the oppoſite faction aſſembled at *Warſaw*, and were taking meaſures diametrically oppoſite. The treaty with *Sweden* was the main object: the council had delivered ſeveral sketches of the principal articles; but the *Swediſh* commiſſioners always found ſomething to add, or to amend. At laſt it was ſigned at *Blenia*, containing, in ſubſtance, a confirmation of the treaty of *Oliva*, except in ſome particulars ſpecified in the treaty; a general amneſty to thoſe who accepted of the gracious pardon offered by the king and republic, in three months; an agreement that no truce, armiſtice, or peace, ſhould take place with *Auguſtus*, except by joint conſent, and on condition of his renouncing the crown of *Poland*, and indemnifying *Sweden* and the republic in the expences of the war; that all declarations, ſtatutes, acts, and decrees, paſſed by *Auguſtus* and his adherents, ſhould be void and of no effect; that no king of *Poland* ſhould henceforward contract engagements either with foreign princes in his own perſon, or in behalf of the ſtate, without the participation and concurrence of the republic. All alliances contracted by the republic, prejudicial to *Sweden*, were declared void: both ſtates agreed in continuing the war againſt the czar of *Muſcovy*, until full reſtitution was made of his conqueſts in each, and ample reparation of the injuries ſuſtained by both kingdoms. No peace, convention, or agreement with that prince ſhould be binding, that had not the conſent of both nations: the king of *Sweden* ſtipulated to keep in arms, until he had fully re-eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of the republic. The conqueſts made by his arms were to be reſtored to *Poland*, upon reimburſement of his expences. The *Swedes* were permitted to keep garriſons in all ſuch places as they now or ſhould hereafter conquer, during the courſe of the war: they ſhould likewiſe be at liberty to recruit their forces in the provinces belonging to the republic; all the ports of the republic were to be open to the *Swediſh* ſhipping; the family of *Sapieha* was to be reſtored to all its dignities: in a word, the whole tenor of the treaty tended to promote the intereſt of *Sweden*, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance furniſhed by that kingdom to oppoſe *Auguſtus*. Nothing could be more diſſonant than the ſpirit of the decrees paſſed at the two councils, and of the treaties formed with the czar of *Muſcovy* by the aſſembly at *Grodno*, and with *Charles* XII. by that at *Warſaw*.

Treaty with Sweden.

ſaw. The friends of *Auguſtus* were ſenſible of this ſtriking difference, and they invidiouſly took all opportunities of making the compariſon. *Staniſlaus* had the odium thrown upon him, than which nothing could be more unjuſt: they were laws eſtabliſhed by a victorious prince, in a country which he held as a conqueſt, and governed as a province. *Charles* dictated to the aſſembly at *Warſaw*; and the king of *Poland* as well as the nobility gave their aſſent, merely becauſe they wanted the power to maintain an oppoſition. His *Swediſh* majeſty was the whole ſupport of the faction; and to have diſobliged him, would have plunged the republic in worſe circumſtances than thoſe ſhe was deſirous of avoiding. Though a toleration of religion was granted by the treaty of *Warſaw* to all Proteſtants within the dominions of the republic, the aſſembly ſent it to *Rome* for the approbation of the pontiff, expatiating at the ſame time on the great care taken to admit of nothing prejudicial to the Catholic religion. However, the pope was highly diſpleaſed not only with this particular, but with the conſecration of *Staniſlaus*, contrary to his mandate; and the party of *Auguſtus* did not fail to take advantage of ſo popular a handle for clamour, invidiouſly publiſhing the article ſtipulated with the czar in behalf of the *Roman* Catholics of the *Ruſſian* empire.

In this manner was the winter conſumed. The ſpirit of party, which the ſeverity of the climate prevented from breaking out in hoſtilities, vented itſelf in the moſt rancorous and bitter revilings; and the moſt heinous crimes that malice could invent were reciprocally charged upon each faction.

A. D. 1706. *The armies put in motion.*

The return of ſpring produced a revival of military operations, and by the latter end of *January* the troops on both ſides were in motion. By the diſpoſition of the winter-quarters, *Charles* of *Sweden* was ſurrounded by *Ruſſians*, *Saxons*, *Coſſacks*, and the *Poles* in the ſervice of *Auguſtus*. He knew his danger, and determined not to wait the junction of the enemies ſcattered forces. Accordingly he began his march towards the river *Bog*; drove the *Ruſſians*, after a ſharp action, from a bridge and poſt they poſſeſſed on this river; penetrated, amidſt the rigours of a ſevere froſt, to *Pultowſk*; defeated a body of the czar's troops in the neighbourhood of that place; and detached *Renſchild* to oppoſe the *Saxons* and *Ruſſians* in motion on the ſide of *Sileſia*, while another detachment was directed to amuſe the *Coſſack* general towards the frontiers of *Volhinia*. At the head of the main army, *Charles* in perſon entered *Lithuania*, in hopes of ſurpriſing *Auguſtus*; but in this expectation he was diſappointed by the precaution of that monarch, who had cantoned thirteen *Saxon* regiments, and

near

near an equal number of *Poles*, in ſuch a manner that they could afford each other ſupport, and be aſſembled upon very ſhort notice. To this circumſpection he now owed his ſafety: the march of the *Swediſh* army was rapid, and the deſigns of *Charles* executed with great ſecrecy; but *Auguſtus*, having received advice that he was in motion, judged where the ſtorm would fall, ſent his baggage and military cheſt to a ſtrong fortreſs in *Pruſſia*, and retired with the greater part of the forces towards *Warſaw*. The convoy, however, was met by a ſtraggling party of *Swedes*; the detachment that eſcorted it was defeated, and the military cheſt and baggage plundered: but *Charles* was aſtoniſhed, on his arrival at *Grodno*, to hear that *Auguſtus* was in the heart of *Poland*. Yet the expedition was not intirely uſeleſs to the *Swediſh* monarch: he detached colonel *Ducker* in purſuit of three thouſand *Ruſſians*, who, retiring under the cannon of *Witau*, were at laſt forced to throw themſelves into the town, which the *Swedes* puſhed ſo vigorouſly, that they gained poſſeſſion of the place, and of one hundred and fifty pieces of heavy cannon.

Auguſtus lays a plan for diſperſing part of the Swediſh army.

It was not the ſole deſign of *Auguſtus* to avoid an action with the king of *Sweden* by his rapid march to *Warſaw*: he had another object in view, and the plan was ſo well concerted, that it could only have failed through the cowardice of his troops, and that fatality which attended all his projects. He propoſed to encloſe *Renſchild* between him and the troops expected from *Saxony*, by which he depended on an eaſy victory, which would have deprived the king of *Sweden* of near half his army, and given an immediate turn to the face of affairs. The *Saxons* were conducted by *Schulenburg*: the whole army, in march from the electorate, amounted to ſixteen thouſand men; but unfortunately not a third were diſciplined ſoldiers. Near four thouſand were *Ruſſians*; almoſt two thouſand were *French*, *Swiſs*, and *Bavarians*; and about three thouſand five hundred men were newly inliſted in the electoral dominions. Theſe were by no means troops to oppoſe to the *Swediſh* veterans, led by ſo experienced a general as *Renſchild*; but *Auguſtus* relied upon his ſuperiority, his vigilance, and the known approved ability of *Schulenburg*, who, though almoſt always defeated, was daily increaſing in reputation. This general croſſed the *Oder* in three columns; upon which the *Swede* advanced with his whole army towards *Frauenſtadt* to obſtruct him, and give battle, if the opportunity offered. The ſituation of the roads was ſuch, that *Schulenburg* could not avoid an action; and, indeed, he had the expreſs orders of *Auguſtus* to come to an engagement, that prince relying more than he ought upon the courage of his troops,

troops, and the infallibility of the plan formed of attacking *Renſchild* in the rear with the forces under his own command, upon the ſuppoſition that the *Saxons* could advance faſter than upon trial was found practicable. In the neighbourhood of *Frauenſtadt* the two armies were in ſight; and *Schulenburg* drew up in a manner that was greatly admired by the *Swede*, and celebrated by all the great officers of *Europe*; but his troops would not execute the orders he iſſued, or follow the plan he concerted. On the firſt attack they broke their ranks, and fell in confuſion. On the left, a whole battalion of *Ruſſians* deſerted their poſt, before they had ſuſtained the firſt fire, and only the troops on the right performed any part of their duty. Here the battle raged with obſtinacy; but it was not poſſible for a few regiments long to withſtand the whole weight of the *Swediſh* army. They were attacked in front, flank, and rear, reduced to an inconſiderable number, and then totally defeated. Never had the genius of *Schulenburg* ſhone brighter than in this unfortunate action: he was every where preſent, admoniſhing, praying, menacing, and fighting; but finding his endeavours vain to recal the fugitives, he applied his whole attention to the brave regiments who ſtood their ground. Theſe he modelled into a thouſand different ſhapes and ſituations, altering their diſpoſition juſt as their numbers happened to be reduced, according to the vigour with which the enemy preſſed, the nature of the ground, or the advantage which the opportunity of the inſtant yielded. Nothing eſcaped his penetrating eye; and the ability of this handful of men, accuſtomed to the orders of their general, was very extraordinary. Every evolution of the parade was performed with the utmoſt compoſure, while a perpetual fire was kept in platoons, or otherwiſe as the occaſion required. At length they ſunk under numbers and fatigue: a fruitleſs effort was made to cut a way through the main body of the *Swedes*; but this attempt failing, every man truſted to his good fortune and agility. Seven thouſand men were killed in the field and purſuit, near as many were taken priſoners, and of *Schulenburg*'s whole army only the ſhattered remains of four old regiments, and the body of four thouſand *Ruſſians* that fled in the beginning of the battle, remained. Such was the iſſue of a plan, upon which *Auguſtus* relied ſo much; a plan that miſcarried through the cowardice of the troops, and the impoſſibility of timing things ſo exactly as that two diſtant armies ſhould encounter an enemy at an appointed time and place, without allowing for thoſe accidents which neceſſarily attend great bodies of men upon a long march.

Schulenburg *is defeated.*

In fact, *Auguſtus* had not yet ſtirred from the caſtle of *Warſaw* when the news arrived of the defeat, which overwhelmed the court in deſpair. Even the ſoul of *Auguſtus*, accuſtomed to ſtruggle with adverſity, could hardly ſupport this freſh ſtroke of misfortune. Immediately he ſummoned a great council, where it was reſolved he ſhould quit *Warſaw*, and advance to *Lowitz* with the troops brought from *Lithuania*. Here he was joined by ſome *German* regiments; and, collecting his utmoſt force, advanced to give *Renſchild* battle, after he had loſt the opportunity; but *Schulenburg* prevented his following a reſolution that would ſeem to be dictated by deſpair. This general had joined the king at *Pilka* with a few battalions, which he had formed out of the remains of his army; and ſo fully demonſtrated the ſuperiority of the *Swediſh* forces in courage and diſcipline, together with the fatal conſequences of a defeat, and the inutility of a victory in the preſent circumſtances, that *Auguſtus* approved his advice, ſent him to make new levies in *Saxony*, to proceed according to martial law againſt all who had miſbehaved in the late action, and ſet out himſelf for *Cracow*. A council was called, and *Auguſtus* was taking the moſt vigorous meaſures, when the king of *Sweden*, tired of running over *Poland*, and conquering provinces for *Staniſlaus* that revolted next day, formed the reſolution of effectually cruſhing his enemy by ſeizing upon the electorate of *Saxony*, from whence the means of ſupporting the war had hitherto been drawn. The protection which the diet of the empire offered to *Saxony* had no effect on *Charles*: he knew that the reſolutions of a body ſo vaſt, compoſed of a variety of diſcordant members, muſt neceſſarily be ſlow; and imagined, with great reaſon, that he might accompliſh all his purpoſes before the princes of the *Germanick* body could come to any reſolution [a]. Taking poſſeſſion of *Saxony* was laying the ax to the root, intirely diſarming his enemy, and filling his own coffers with the treaſures of an electorate, which, though grievouſly oppreſſed by a tedious war, ſtill afforded inſtimable ſpoils to a conqueror. This reſolution he purſued, and thereby plunged *Auguſtus* in greater perplexity than he had hitherto experienced. Relief was cut off at the ſource; and, as if this were inſufficient to fill up the meaſure of the depoſed monarch's misfortunes, he found himſelf deſerted by thoſe *Poles* in whoſe fidelity he placed the utmoſt confidence. Thus he was on the point of loſing not only a crown, which he obtained through ſeas of trouble, blood, and treaſure, but was actually ſtripped of his paternal dominions, already

Auguſtus is reduced to great neceſſity.

[a] Univerſ. Hiſt. tom. xxxiii. p. 349, 350, & ſequent.

hauſted and impoveriſhed in ſupporting the ambition of the ſovereign, and raiſing him to a dignity that could never reflect a ſingle ray of honour or advantage upon the electorate.

CHARLES, not ſatisfied with raiſing a private nobleman to ſucceed the monarch he had dethroned in *Poland*, entertained likewiſe ſome thoughts of making a new elector, and placing the hereditary prince of *Saxony* on the electoral throne of his father. It was this, and the inſupportable contributions levied by the *Swedes* upon his unfortunate ſubjects, that reduced *Auguſtus* at length to have recourſe to the clemency of his enemy, writing with his own hand a letter to *Charles*, in which he requeſted a ceſſation of hoſtilities, that a chriſtian and equitable peace might be eſtabliſhed[a]. We have ſeen the ſteps by which this negotiation was conducted. Sufficient it is to obſerve in this place, that the *Saxon* miniſters, ſecretly charged with the commiſſion, had diſcretionary powers; and that either dread of the ferocious *Swede*, or the influence of his money, were ſuppoſed to have powerfully operated on their minds, and ſhook their fidelity to *Auguſtus*. *Imhoff* and *Pfingſten* found *Charles* at *Alt-Ranſtadt*, and ſigned ſuch a peace as they durſt not acknowledge to their ſovereign. They filled up one of the blanks ſigned by *Auguſtus* with ſuch articles as the king of *Sweden* thought proper to dictate; and it was given out, that count *Piper* ſhewed the *Saxon* envoys ſuch original papers as left them no room to doubt that their maſter was betrayed: but the world in general believed this was a contrivance to palliate their own conduct, by ſhewing the neceſſity they were under of ſigning any conditions. Be this as it may, certain it is, that *Auguſtus* was under the neceſſity of ratifying the treaty, even after obtaining a victory, which, by the malignity of his fortune, could prove of no ſervice to his affairs. The *Ruſſians* were his only ſupport, and his army being now united with that of prince *Menzikoff*, he dreaded the reſentment of the czar, in caſe the treaty with *Charles* ſhould tranſpire. A very peculiar perplexity aroſe from *Menzikoff*'s preſſing inſtances to come to an engagement with the *Swediſh* general *Meyerfeldt*. *Auguſtus* was ſenſible, that, if he complied, *Charles* would deem it an infraction of the treaty, revenge it upon *Saxony*, and perhaps carry his reſentment to the laſt extremities. On the other hand, his refuſal would create ſuſpicions in the *Muſcovite* general, and perhaps endanger the perſon of *Auguſtus*. Both the *Swediſh* monarch and the *Ruſſian* general were fierce, haughty, untractable,

[a] Univerſ. Hiſt. ibid.

and impatient: the leaſt ſuſpicion on either ſide might prove fatal to himſelf, or his ſubjects. *Auguſtus*, therefore, from motives of ſelf-preſervation, ſuffered himſelf to be drawn into the battle of *Kaliſch* by the preſſing inſtances of *Menzikoff*, and rather to run the hazard of having *Saxony* made the ſcene of the *Swede*'s revenge, than his perſon to be ſeized by the ſuſpicious *Muſcovite*. *Meyerfeldt* was defeated; and *Auguſtus*, after having the honour of driving his rival *Staniſlaus* out of the field, and taking the *Swediſh* general priſoner, was forced to apologize in the moſt abject manner to *Charles*. In vain did he practiſe every expedient to avoid ratifying the ſhameful treaty, by which he conſented to renounce a crown; fruitleſs were his endeavours to ſoften the ſeverity, and move the inflexibility, of the headſtrong *Swede*: after entering *Warſaw* in triumph, after aſſiſting at *Te Deum* and public rejoicings for his victory, he was forced to repair to *Saxony*, to reſign his diadem, and ſuſtain divers mortifications from his inveterate enemy. Here it was that he put the laſt hand to a treaty, which we ſhall here preſent to the reader at more length than he has ſeen it in our Hiſtory of *Sweden*.

Auguſtus, with the aſſiſtance of prince Menzikoff, gains a victory, and is forced to renounce the crown of Poland.

I. THE treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt* imported, that a perpetual peace and amity ſhould ſubſiſt between *Charles* king of *Sweden*, *Staniſlaus* king of *Poland*, and *Auguſtus* king elector of *Saxony*, and their ſeveral ſtates and dominions: that oblivion and compenſation ſhould take place on all ſides: that *Auguſtus* ſhould renounce all his rights to the crown and dominions of *Poland*; ſtill, however, retaining the appellation of king, but without either the title or arms of *Poland*: that the king-elector ſhould notify his abdication by a formal diploma, abſolve the *Poles* from the oath taken to his perſon, and in the moſt explicit terms acknowledge *Staniſlaus* the legitimate ſovereign of the republic; promiſing at the ſame time, in the moſt ſolemn terms, never to ſet on foot any intrigues, or countenance the diſobedience or rebellion of his ſubjects againſt that monarch: that he ſhould renounce all alliances contrary to the intereſt of *Sweden*, eſpecially that with *Muſcovy*, and recal all the *Saxon* troops in the *Ruſſian* ſervice: that he ſhould cancel all decrees, treaties, and public contracts or declarations made by his party in the name of the republic, if they were found contrary to the import and ſpirit of the preſent treaty: that *Staniſlaus* ſhould have power either to confirm or revoke the dignities granted by *Auguſtus* ſince the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and four: that *Auguſtus* ſhould, immediately after the ratification, reſtore the crown-jewels, and archives of the kingdom, which were carried into *Saxony*: that the princes *James* and *Conſtantine Sobieski* ſhould be ſet at liberty, the elector clearing off immediately the ſum of money

Treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt.

due to the former: that all *Poles* and *Lithuanians* detained priſoners by *Auguſtus* ſhould be ſet at liberty, without ranſom; and that the elector ſhould uſe his influence with the pontiff to procure the enlargement of the biſhop of *Poſnania*: that the *Swediſh* and *Saxon* priſoners ſhould be mutually releaſed, without ranſom, except thoſe who had contracted debts; who, in that caſe, were to be detained until the creditors were ſatisfied: that all traitors and deſerters from *Sweden*, protected in *Saxony*, ſhould be delivered up to his *Swediſh* majeſty, particularly *John Reinold Patkul*[a]: that all the *Ruſſians* in *Saxony* ſhould be ſurrendered priſoners of war to his *Swediſh* majeſty: that all the cannon and military trophies taken from the *Swedes* ſhould be reſtored: that the ſentence paſſed againſt colonel *Gortz*, now in the ſervice of the king of *Sweden*, ſhould be annulled: that the *Swediſh* army ſhould have quarters in the electorate: that all the towns and caſtles held by *Auguſtus* in *Poland* ſhould be ſurrendered to commiſſaries appointed by king *Staniſlaus*: that the towns of *Leipſick* and *Wirtemberg* ſhould, in a ſimilar manner, be evacuated by the *Swediſh* garriſons: that a ceſſation of hoſtilities in *Saxony* ſhould commence from the ſigning of the treaty, and in *Poland* three weeks after: that the king of *Sweden* and the king-elector, as members of the *Germanick* body, ſhould act jointly for the conſervation of religion, as eſtabliſhed by the treaties of *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*: that no change of religion ſhould be admitted in *Saxony* or *Luſatia*; and that the *Roman* Catholics ſhould be denied churches, ſchools, academies, colleges, and monaſteries within theſe ſeveral diſtricts. The kings of *Sweden* and *Poland* engaged to ſupport *Auguſtus*, ſhould he be attacked by the czar on account of the preſent treaty; and they promiſed likewiſe to provide for his intereſt in any peace which they might happen to make with *Muſcovy*. Laſtly, it was ſtipulated, that the ratifications ſhould be exchanged in ſix weeks.

THOSE who favour the character of *Auguſtus* affirm, that he was deluded into this monſtrous treaty by the artifice of *Pfingſten*, who had concealed particulars from him until his arrival in *Saxony*; and that, once being in the power of the *Swediſh* monarch, he could refuſe nothing that was propoſed, without ſubjecting his perſon and dominions to the vengeance of an incenſed barbarian. Even the character of *Charles* had been miſrepreſented to him; and, inſtead of that complacency and affability which he was made to expect, *Auguſtus* found him proud, fierce, obdurate, and inflexible. An interview

[a] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii.

paſſed

paſſed between the monarchs at *Gutterſdorp*, that proved extremely mortifying to *Auguſtus*. Here the ratifications were exchanged, and *Charles* aſſumed ſuch an air of ſuperiority as was ſcarce ſupportable by a prince of ſpirit. Nor did the humiliating conditions of the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt* ſufficiently gratify the inſolence of *Charles:* he ſoon after required that *Auguſtus* ſhould write, with his own hand, a letter of congratulation to *Staniſlaus* upon his acceſſion to the throne of *Poland*. How could he refuſe, in his unfortunate circumſtances? He complied, and by the ſtile of his epiſtle evinced his regret, and the violence offered to his inclinations. Only the plea of neceſſity can exculpate him for this condeſcenſion; and even that may be deemed inſufficient to reſcue his character from the imputation of puſillanimity. He had formally renounced a crown that had coſt him ſo dear; he had abandoned the intereſt of his only ally, broke all his engagements, even ſurrendered the miniſter of his friend to ſuffer the moſt ignominious and excruciating puniſhment, and now, in complaiſance to the author of all theſe blemiſhes on his reputation, he wrote a letter of compliment to the uſurper of his regal dignity and dominions, at the ſame time notifying the ratification of that diſgraceful treaty by which he eſtabliſhed *Staniſlaus* upon his own throne (A).

Auguſtus *has an interview with the king of* Sweden.

AFTER

(A) As this letter is curious, we ſhall gratify the reader with it at full length.

" *Sire and Brother,*

" If we have not anſwered your majeſty's letter ſooner, it was becauſe we thought the occaſion unſeaſonable for entering upon an epiſtolatory correſpondence: however, to ſatisfy the king of *Sweden*, and that he may not think us difficult in complying with his demands, we give you joy upon your acceſſion to the crown; and we hope that your majeſty will find the ſubjects of your kingdom more faithful and obedient than thoſe we left there. The whole world will agree with us in this particular, that, for all our favours, we have had no return but ingratitude; and that moſt of the perſons on whom we moſt liberally ſhed our bounty have been induſtrious only in forming cabals againſt us, with the view of promoting our ruin. We heartily wiſh your majeſty may not be expoſed to ſimilar events, recommending you to the Divine Protection.—— Given at Dreſden this eighth day of *April*, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven.

" Sire and brother,

" Your good brother and neighbour,

" *Auguſtus* R."

It would ſeem, from this letter, that *Staniſlaus* had wrote to *Auguſ-*

AFTER a few inſincere compliments had paſſed by letters, the princes had an interview, which indeed afforded great matter of triumph to *Charles*, to ſee his court honoured with the preſence of two great monarchs, dependent on his ſmiles and frowns, whom he could render happy or wretched at pleaſure. Several difficulties aroſe about the execution of the treaty, and *Charles* offered to refer all difficulties to be adjuſted by commiſſaries. Accordingly a negociation was ſet on foot, and the *Swedes* inſiſted upon the rigorous performance of every ſingle article, while the *Saxons* enforced every argument of reaſon and paſſion to procure a mitigation. What reſpected the crown-jewels and archives gave the moſt trouble. The *Swediſh* commiſſaries inſiſted upon immediate reſtitution; and the *Saxons* pleaded that *Staniſlaus* muſt firſt be acknowledged by the whole nation, leſt, if he ſhould happen to be depoſed, *Auguſtus* might then be accountable to the republic. There was a ſtrong appearance of equity in the allegation; nevertheleſs, the *Saxons* were forced to give it up, and comply to a tittle with the demands of the *Swedes*.

To the reſtitution of the jewels, *Charles* now added another demand, which was likewiſe granted. An inſtrument of his abdication, and the act of pardon for all who had taken up arms againſt him, were required; and the unfortunate prince yielded this point, as he had done every other. Accordingly they were publiſhed in the ſeveral palatinates, from a preſumption that ſuch a meaſure would induce the nobility the more readily to acknowledge *Staniſlaus*; yet did it ſerve no other purpoſe than that of augmenting the confuſion of the republic, occaſioned by the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt*, and the departure of *Auguſtus* from *Poland*. Thoſe who were ſtill attached to his fortune could not reſolve how to act: his ſolemn abdication left them no pretence for continuing the war, and their ſubmiſſion to *Staniſlaus* would probably be attended with the loſs of thoſe employments beſtowed on them by *Auguſtus*. The only remaining reſource was the czar, who offered them his protection, and was now entering upon the moſt vigorous preparations for invading *Poland*, and diſputing the conqueſts of *Charles* and election of *Staniſlaus*. *Peter* had remonſtrated, in the moſt lively terms, againſt the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt*: every court in *Europe* was filled with his complaints againſt *Auguſtus*; and indeed the maritime powers not only expreſſed their ſurprize at the treaty, but their uneaſineſs at the conſe-

Auguſtus, ſignifying his acceſſion; and this latter prince's acknowledgment that he returned an anſwer only in obedience to the king of *Sweden*, is no argument of his fortitude.

quences

quences of it, and of *Charles*'s long residence in *Saxony*, which they apprehended might threaten a storm to the empire. When the czar, however, saw a copy of the treaty his resentment was disarmed, and the same breast that lately glowed with indignation now melted into compassion. He not only forgave *Augustus* the breach of his engagements, which was already sufficiently punished, but determined to pour his vengeance on *Charles*, as the author of the infidelity of his ally, and to make all possible advantage of the divided sentiments and irresolution of the *Polish* nation. It could not escape *Peter*'s sagacity that he would be hard pressed by *Charles*, as soon as he had settled his affairs in *Germany*; but he relied greatly upon the disposition of the republic, her resentment of the arbitrary manner in which the *Swedes* had dictated, her indignation at seeing her country ruined, impoverished, and enslaved by a foreign power, and the interest which such a variety of individuals had to oppose *Stanislaus*; a king not established by the states, or tied down by the laws of the constitution; but settled upon the throne, and governing rather as the viceroy of *Sweden* than the sovereign of *Poland*. Besides, he was encouraged by certain neighbouring powers, who promised him assistance as soon as their peculiar circumstances would admit. It was upon this foundation that he made vast preparations during the whole winter. *The czar's treaty.*

MENZIKOFF had the command of the *Russian* army and auxiliaries in *Poland* since the departure of *Augustus* to *Saxony*. By his prudence and activity he had assembled a very considerable force, and now was taking measures in conjunction with the primate, lately bishop of *Cujavia*, to alienate the minds of the *Polish* nation from the new sovereign. The primate-archbishop owed his elevation to *Augustus*, and he was confirmed in the dignity by the pontiff; but as the rich bishopric of *Gnesna* was likewise claimed by an adherent of *Stanislaus*, his power rested solely upon the success of *Augustus*, and he resolved to exert his utmost authority in maintaining that prince upon a throne which he had solemnly renounced. *Menzikoff* was sensible that his master was equally interested in disputing the validity of the treaty of *Pultowa*, and he closed in with the primate in concerting measures which for that treaty at nought, and might be [illegible] *Augustus*. The primate published his [illegible] general council of the senators at *Leopold* [illegible] of nobility at this assembly greatly [illegible] result was to renew and confirm the [illegible] *domir*, and to pass the following [illegible] should publish his *universalia* for a general [illegible] *A.D.* 1705. *Council held at Leopold.*

the month of *May* following; that the petty diets ſhould alſo be ſummoned with the accuſtomed formality; that all perſons engaged in the oppoſite party ſhould be exhorted to return to their duty, and to unite for the common defence; that circular letters ſhould be diſpatched to the neighbouring powers, to acquaint them with the rights and liberties of the republic, to requeſt they would only acknowledge that ſovereign who ſhould be raiſed to the ſupreme dignity by the voice of the people, and that they would not beſtow the title of king upon any one who had uſurped that authority, or been violently thruſt into it by a foreign power.

SUCH reſolutions evinced that *Auguſtus* was not wholly deſtitute of friends in *Poland*; but they tended nothing to the advancement of his intereſt: on the contrary, they ſuggeſted to the party of *Staniſlaus* the neceſſity of uniting more cloſely; and the czar had too much penetration not to be offended at proceedings ſo vain, oſtentatious, and frivolous. He perceived the impoſſibility of holding a diet, as had been reſolved by the council; and ſhould it meet, no other purpoſe could be anſwered by it than deferring military operations, which muſt at laſt cut the knot of controverſy, too hard to be untied by all the refinement and art of policy. Already ſeveral palatines declared, that it was not practicable to form any ſalutary unanimous laws, while the kingdom was in a ferment of inteſtine commotion; and the party, in general, demanded the ſubſidies which the czar had given them reaſon to expect; a demand which he anſwered by deſiring that the troops to be furniſhed as an equivalent might be raiſed. As the return of *Charles* and *Staniſlaus* from *Saxony* would effect an entire change in the face of affairs, he laboured to accelerate the meaſures of the *Poles*, and in ſome reſpect acted independent of the republic, diſpoſing his forces in ſuch a manner as to hold *Poland* and *Lithuania* in a kind of friendly ſubjection. Large detachments of *Ruſſians* entered *Pruſſia*, with intention of diſlodging the *Swedes* from *Thorn*, and divers other places which they poſſeſſed in that province. It was likewiſe concerted that the czar's troops ſhould invade *Pomerania*; but the king of *Pruſſia*'s refuſal to grant a paſſage broke the project. *Peter*'s great favourite, prince *Menzikoff*, though active and vigilant in promoting the czar's intereſt, had however the misfortune to alienate the minds of ſeveral of the adherents of *Auguſtus*, by a ſupercilious haughty carriage. *Smielgiſki* in particular, the braveſt nobleman of the party, expreſſed the keeneſt reſentment at ſome indignities which he ſuſtained. He had been ſo fortunate as to ſeize upon the palatine of *Kiow* and his whole family, of which ſucceſs he gave

Smielgiſki and others deſert the party of

the

Ruſſian immediate notice; but *Menzikoff*, inſtead of king him for his diligence, claimed the honour to him- of ſending the priſoners to the czar, and arrogantly or- d *Smielgiski* to ſurrender them to him without delay, h ſo irritated the ſpirited ſtaroſt, that he immediately he palatine at liberty, ſeized all the *Ruſſians* in his little s, acknowledged *Staniſlaus*, and became the avowed ene- of the *Ruſſians*, and of *Auguſtus*. He beſides exerted viligance in calling in his detachments and levying new es, that he ſaw himſelf in a condition to keep the field out any dread of *Menzikoff*'s reſentment. The czar la- ted the loſs; he was ſenſible to what cauſe it ought to ſcribed; he endeavoured to moderate the pride of his urite, and in the mean time varniſhed over the tranſac- by imputing it to the fickleneſs and perfidy of *Smielgiski*: ever, the example of this ſtaroſt would ſeem to have e a deep impreſſion on the minds of ſeveral of the *Poliſh* lity, who either actually received affronts from *Menzikoff*, nade that a pretence for ſharing the favours of *Sta- us* and the king of *Sweden*. Prince *Wiſnowiski* had erto ſupported the cauſe of *Auguſtus*, and fought at the of an army compoſed equally of *Poles* and *Ruſſians*. Now erved under *Menzikoff*, and it is probable that his pride hurt by his ſubordinate ſtation. Accordingly he ſtruck n agreement with the *Swedes*, had the promiſe of being d to the dignity of grand general of *Lithuania* after *Sa* r, and joined *Lowenhaupt* with all the troops under his mand. Several other noblemen at the ſame time changed · principles, and *Sinieski* in particular, ſword bearer of *unia*, deſerted the *Ruſſians*, and carried off with him rge ſum of money, intended for the payment of the r.

UCH were the difficulties which the czar of *Muſcovy* to encounter in his ſcheme of reſtoring *Auguſtus* to the ne of *Poland*. It is the opinion of ſome writers that, ſeeing the impoſſibility of giving effectual aſſiſtance to unfortunate prince, and not at all diſpoſed to acknow e *Staniſlaus*, his deſire was that a king ſhould be elected whom he might concert meaſures with leſs trouble than a council diſagreeing with him and with each other. s they ſaw he laboured to bring about with the diet aſſembled at *Lublin*; but nothing could be obtained he deputies beſides complaints, which they were directed ake from the palatinates and towns petitioning under the of oppreſſion ſuſtained from all parties; but chiefly from *Ruſſian* army, and eſpecially the *Calmuck* and other irre-

gulars.

gulars. The czar's commiſſioners, and it is reported himſelf in diſguiſe, endeavoured to give the *Poles* all poſſible ſatisfaction on this head; but ſuch a variety of embarraſſments aroſe, that the diet was frequently on the point of breaking up without coming to a ſingle reſolution. In the end however it was agreed, that an inter-regnum ſhould be publiſhed, although *Auguſtus* had not regularly notified his abdication to the republic. The public declaration of a vacancy neceſſarily produced candidates; four appeared, but as their ambition proved unſucceſsful, they were ſcarce ever heard of as competitors for the crown after their firſt nomination. Indeed, it would appear from the long letters which the czar ſent to the queen of *Great Britain* and the ſtates general, that he was extremely ſerious in the deſign of procuring a new election, and full of indignation againſt *Auguſtus*, who he complained had ſacrificed him to the common enemy, and given up his envoy *Patkul*, contrary to the moſt acknowledged laws of nations; but the ſudden change of circumſtances left him no opportunity of purſuing the plan he had laid down of equally puniſhing the arrogance of *Charles*, and the puſillanimity of *Auguſtus*.

A. D. 1708. ALL this while *Poland* was a ſcene of the moſt deplorable diſtreſs, the *Ruſſians* levying moſt exorbitant contributions on the adherents of *Staniſlaus* and the *Swediſh* faction, while they retaliated upon the nobility and gentry in the intereſt of the czar. The former ſet fire to the city of *Liſſa*, in the palatinate of *Poſnania*, one of the fineſt towns in *Poland*, which had frequently redeemed itſelf from this treatment, and being at laſt quite exhauſted and impoveriſhed, was laid in aſhes. *Peter* treated *Poland* as a conquered country, and diſplayed his taſte at the expence of juſtice and the *Poliſh* nobility, whoſe wrought plate, pictures, ſtatues, and other valuable effects and curioſities he ordered without ſcruple to be ſent to embelliſh his capital. The return however of *Staniſlaus* from *Saxony* gave a check to the ravages of the *Ruſſians*, which the czar was told by ſome of his *Poliſh* friends would inevitably alienate the minds of the people, and conſtrain them even againſt their inclination and intereſt to join the *Swedes*. He was ſtill more diſconcerted with the arrival of the king of *Sweden*, who had rendered himſelf ſo terrible to the *Ruſſians*, that his preſence alone ſtruck more conſternation than a whole army. The deſigns carrying on by the czar and confederates were broke and diſconcerted; irreſolution and diſtruſt inſinuated themſelves into their aſſemblies; nothing was tranſacted, and the czar was forced to collect his ſcattered troops, retire to *Warſaw*, and keep the *Viſtula* between him

him and the enemy. *Siniowiski* offered to join him with the confederate army; but the czar refuſed the aid of auxiliaries, whoſe fidelity he diſtruſted, and would not even admit the *Poles* to take poſt in the rear of his troops, leſt they ſhould follow the example of *Smielgiski* and *Wiſnowiski*, upon ſome critical occaſion. But as if the misfortunes of *Poland* were not complete with the ravages of two hoſtile armies, a peſtilential diſeaſe and famine appeared in the capital, and ſeveral of the great cities, ſweeping off incredible multitudes of the poor, who were found to be more ſuſceptible of the contagion, in conſequence of the nature of their living. Preſſed by hunger, whole families ſubſiſted upon the putrid fleſh of quadrupeds that periſhed through want of forage. The calamity was dreadful, and raged with extreme fury during the heat of ſummer, gradually yielding to the approach of the cold ſeaſon, before which it at length entirely vaniſhed.

It was in the month of *November* that *Charles*, at the head of the *Swediſh* forces, began his march towards the frontiers of *Poland*. Every movement of his forces evinced how dreadful he appeared to the *Ruſſians*, who retired in juſt the ſame proportion he advanced. They abandoned their poſts in *Lithuania*, while he advanced to *Grodno*. The troops aſſembled about that city could not be encouraged by the czar's preſence to ſtand their ground: he had come from *Warſaw* to perſuade them to diſpute the enemy's approach; but he was now forced to ſhare in the diſgrace of a precipitate flight, without exchanging a ſingle blow. They filed off in columns, and great numbers of ſtragglers fell into the hands of the *Swedes*, before the *Ruſſian* army reached *Mobilow* on the *Boriſthenes*, where it intrenched in a ſituation thought inacceſſible; but nothing could reſiſt the *Swediſh* army, refreſhed and vigorous with long eaſe, fluſhed with victory, enriched with the treaſures of *Saxony*, and headed by a prince deemed invincible. *Charles* croſſed the *Boriſthenes* at a place called *Holowitz*, and immediately attacked the *Ruſſian* intrenchments, where he was oppoſed by the generals *Czeremetoff* and *Menzikoff* in perſon, with ſeveral battalions and the bulk of the *Ruſſian* cavalry. They ſuſtained the ſhock with unexpected firmneſs, and the engagement laſted for the ſpace of four hours with unparalleled fury. At length the *Ruſſian* front line was broke, upon which *Czeremetoff* drew off his forces to the great intrenchment in the rear, after having near four thouſand men killed on the field of battle, and near an equal number wounded and taken priſoners; an advantage which the *Swedes* purchaſed with the price of much bloodſhed. About midnight he decamped ſilently, abandoning *Battle of* Holowitz.

ing *Mohilow*, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, rather than running the hazard of expoſing the army under his command, and made not the ſmalleſt halt to refreſh the troops until he arrived within fourteen leagues of *Smolensko*. Here it was that the czar joined his army, while *Charles* purſued, determining to puſh his way to the capital of *Ruſſia*, and dictate there as he had done at *Cracow* and *Dreſden*; a pleaſing dream and flattering illuſion which ſoon vaniſhed, and from the ſummit of proſperity plunged him headlong to the very abyſs of misfortune.

THE reſolution which *Charles* had formed of penetrating into *Ruſſia* was no way favourable to the peculiar circumſtances of *Staniſlaus*. He had delivered him from the main army of the *Ruſſians*, but ſtill there remained a ſufficient ſtrength to exerciſe the utmoſt courage and ability of the new monarch. *Siniowiski*, inflexible to all the propoſals that had been made, and unſhaken by the ſuſpicions of his fidelity entertained by the czar, was at the head of a body of confederate forces. This chief rather rejoiced at the defeat of the *Ruſſians*, as it occaſioned the removal of the *Swedes*; all he wanted was to gain time, which would neceſſarily acquire ſtrength. He had taken up his quarters in *Sandomir*, while *Staniſlaus* was buſied in *Lithuania*; ſeveral overtures of agreement were made to him by Mr. *Bonac* the *French* miniſter; but they were ſhifted off, in expectation that ſome ſudden turn of fortune would enable him to ſtipulate better conditions. He was too much a politician not to diſcover that the victories gained by the *Swediſh* monarch would prove his deſtruction; and that the repeated loſſes of the czar, which he could ſo eaſily repair, would in the iſſue teach him to beat his conquerors, after they were reduced by fatigue, famine, and perpetual ſkirmiſhing. For theſe reaſons he kept aloof, and received from time to time ſuch intelligence from the czar as confirmed him in his opinion. Of this nature was the news of the defeat at *Leſno*, which the *Ruſſians* magnified greatly beyond truth, while the *Swedes* denied that it was of half the conſequence which it really proved.

WHEN *Charles* had reſolved to enter the *Ukraine*, he ſent orders to general *Lewenhaupt*, at that time in *Livonia*, to join him with a convoy of cloaths, proviſion, and ammunition for the army. *Lewenhaupt* made ample proviſion of theſe neceſſaries, and advanced with fifteen thouſand men to the neighbourhood of the palatinate of *Smolensko*, when he was unexpectedly attacked by the czar at the village *Leſno*. The action was obſtinate and bloody, terminating at length to the advantage of the *Ruſſians*, who had ſuch a ſuperiority in num-

bers

bers as rendered it impoſſible for the enemy to reſiſt. However *Lewenhaupt* made good his retreat, and joined the king in his camp, notwithſtanding *Peter* very politicly boaſted as if he had obtained a complete victory, in order to inſpire his *Poliſh* allies with courage, and to efface gradually thoſe dreadful notions which his ſoldiers entertained of the valour and ſtrength of the *Swedes*. The truth is, this affair ought more than ever to have confirmed the *Ruſſians* in their opinion: *Lewenhaupt* had for three ſucceſſive days reſiſted the whole ſtrength of the czar, and at length joined the *Swediſh* army unconquered, after having ſlain thirty thouſand of his enemies; but it was enough for *Peter* that he had deſtroyed the fruits of the expedition, deprived the *Swediſh* army of the cloaths and other neceſſaries, of which they were in the utmoſt want, and reduced the invincible king to the very brink of deſtruction, without hazarding a general action, in which he knew he muſt be worſted, until the ſtrength and vigour of the enemy were broke with fatigue, hunger, cold, and diſeaſe. It was not long after this action with *Lewenhaupt* that the famous battle of *Pultowa* happened; an event which we have already explicitly recorded. It is ſufficient therefore that we here trace its influence on the affairs of *Poland*[a].

King of Sweden defeated.

[a] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii. pag. 366, 367, & ſeq.

SECT. X.

Containing the Hiſtory of Poland, *to the Death of* Auguſtus.

AUGUSTUS and STANISLAUS.

AUGUSTUS always regarded the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt* as a compulſive act that was no longer binding than while the king of *Sweden* could enforce the obſervance. Theſe were ſentiments which the czar aſſiduouſly cheriſhed; for which purpoſe he ſent envoys ſecretly to *Dreſden*, to concert the plan of a treaty with the depoſed king, and proper meaſures for his re-aſcending the throne of *Poland*. *Siniowiski* was privy to the intrigue, and promiſed to aſſiſt the ſcheme that was laid, with the whole force of the confederate army; but *Auguſtus*, rendered wary by ſad experience, and inſtructed by misfortune, embraced with the utmoſt caution meaſures which might endanger him beyond remedy, ſhould the fortune of the *Swediſh* monarch prevail in *Muſcovy*

Auguſtus *and* Staniſlaus.

as it had in *Poland* and *Saxony*. The arrival of his *Daniſh* majeſty at the court of *Dreſden*, had already ſuggeſted to the public the idea that ſome very extraordinary projects were in agitation. The aſpect of affairs in *Poland* began to change every day, and the confederate army under *Siniowiski* was now reinforced by twenty thouſand *Ruſſians*, who ſoon after defeated a body of ſix thouſand *Lithuanians*, commanded by the young prince *Sapieha*, with the loſs of ſeven hundred men ſlain in the field, and a conſiderable number of priſoners. The event of the battle of *Pultowa* intirely turned the ſcale of fortune, and fully determined *Auguſtus* openly to avow his intention of breaking the treaty of *Ranſtadt*, and re-aſcending the throne of *Poland*, which it was plain *Staniſlaus* would be in no condition to diſpute. To him the czar firſt notified that ſignal victory, by which he fully revenged himſelf on the *Swediſh* monarch, now a fugitive in the *Turkiſh* dominions. While his troops were in purſuit of the remains of the *Swediſh* army, he invited *Auguſtus* to renew the very ſame treaty that had been broke by the engagements which the *Poliſh* monarch contracted at *Alt-Ranſtadt*. He promiſed now to aſſiſt him againſt all his enemies, if he would enter the territories of the republic, and place himſelf at the head of the confederacy; and *Auguſtus*, who only waited for the happy occaſion, readily embraced the propoſal, and immediately entered upon preparations for his return. He began with ſounding the opinions of the neighbouring princes with reſpect to his deſign of reaſcending the throne of *Poland*. His ambaſſadors were ſent to thank the maritime powers for their conſtant refuſal to acknowledge *Staniſlaus*; but there were not wanting perſons who earneſtly exhorted him to lay aſide all ambitious views, by which he had been ſo extraordinary a ſufferer, and content himſelf with the enjoyment of his hereditary dominions, which he now happily poſſeſſed undiſturbed. But revenge co-operated with ambition in determining *Auguſtus* to reject advice which he thought ſavoured more of cowardice than of political prudence. He therefore purſued his own inclinations, and publiſhed a manifeſto in juſtification of his conduct. In this piece he enumerated all the tranſactions ſince the commencement of the war, painted in the moſt odious light the arbitrary oppreſſive conduct of the king of *Sweden*, reaſoned upon the nullity of the election of *Staniſlaus*, vindicated himſelf for a breach of the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt*, which he declared to be the moſt violent reſtraint ever laid upon any prince, and into which he had been betrayed by his own ſervants; he declared his intention of re-eſtabliſhing himſelf on the throne of *Poland*; and

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concluded with addreſſing himſelf to all the Chriſtian kings, electors, princes, and ſtates, requeſting their aſſiſtance as they regarded juſtice, order, religion, and the moſt ſolemn engagements.

THE world was by no means ſurpriſed at the publication of this manifeſto; it was generally expected that *Auguſtus* would pay no regard to the treaty with *Sweden* ſhould he ever have it in his power to attempt the recovery of his crown; yet the impreſſions which it made were as various as the prejudices and intereſts of the individuals whom it concerned. Thoſe who lamented the misfortunes of this prince, and were melted into compaſſion while he was expoſed to the inſults of the king of *Sweden*, now changed the object, poured out their tears for the gallant *Charles*, and exclaimed againſt *Auguſtus* as ungrateful and perfidious, becauſe he broke the ſhameful bondage to which he had been forced to ſubmit. Many cried out againſt the king for making uſe of ſo thin a varniſh as the allegation that his agents had exceeded their inſtructions. His committing a blank paper ſigned into their hands, to be filled up as the king of *Sweden* directed, was a confeſſion that the envoy could not exceed his commiſſion, and that the very worſt which could happen was expected: beſides, it was impoſſible, they affirmed, that perſons accuſtomed to tranſact buſineſs of ſtate could either be deceived or intimidated into meaſures contrary to their inclinations. Their degradation and impriſonment, with the cruel ſentence of traitors paſſed on *Pfingſten* and *Imhoff*, after the publication of the manifeſto, were regarded as ſtrokes of policy, and ſacrifices to the honour of the prince rather than proofs of the guilt of the commiſſioners entruſted with the treaty. They inſiſted that the act of ratification was ſufficient for their juſtification; but they did not reflect that this very act was fraudulently obtained, as *Pfingſten* neither durſt mention it to his maſter in the tranſports of his anger, nor return without it to the king of *Sweden*. They argued that the letter which *Charles* forced him to write to *Staniſlaus*, was a ſufficient diſcharge to the *Poles* of their allegiance; as if an act extorted by violence could be of equal force with one voluntarily granted. Upon the whole, it ſcarce occurred to any of the politicians who aſſumed to themſelves the province of deciding the equity of this affair, that the king-elector was actually diſcharged from all his engagements by the repeated breach of articles committed hy his *Swediſh* majeſty. To this the advocates for *Auguſtus* add, that the laws of nations ſuppoſe that when a victorious power abuſes his ſuperiority by preſcribing cruel and unjuſt conditions to the conquered,

A. D. 1709. *Manifeſto publiſhed by* Auguſtus.

quered, the engagements ſhall ſubſiſt no longer than while the prevailing power maintains its ſuperiority. The moment the balance is altered, the other will naturally reſume its equality, like a ſubſtance ſpecifically lighter than water, which floats on the ſurface the moment the power is removed that kept it under. The terrible manner in which the king of *Sweden* treated the electorate of *Saxony* is a preſumption that he did not expect *Auguſtus* would long adhere to his engagements, and he therefore deprived him of all reſources by draining his hereditary dominions.

WITHOUT regard to the different opinions of mankind, *Auguſtus* ſet out for *Luſatia* immediately after the publication of his manifeſto, and reviewed a body of thirteen thouſand men, chiefly cavalry, of the troops of the electorate. Here ſeveral of the *Poliſh* nobility came to invite him to return to the dominions of the republic, and accordingly he begun his march on the twentieth of *Auguſt* through the dutchy of *Sileſia*. His approach was ſufficient to diſſipate that dream of grandeur in which *Staniſlaus* had been wrapped ever ſince the departure of *Auguſtus* from *Cracow*. He now ſaw himſelf abandoned upon all hands, his protector a fugitive, and his rival ſupported by the moſt powerful monarch of the North. Filled with apprehenſion, he wrote to the emperor, the maritime powers, and the guarantees of the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt*; but they ſcarce deigned an anſwer. Upon this he publiſhed his *Univerſalia*, explaining the motives that induced him to aſcend the throne, declaring that as he had taken the diadem with a view to the preſervation of liberty, he was now ready to renounce it, could that ſacrifice any way promote the tranquillity and peace of his country. This was a generous declaration, though few people believed it was ſincere. It was now impoſſible to maintain himſelf in the throne; and even his hope of eſcaping impriſonment depended wholly upon the body of *Poles* under *Potoski*, and the *Swediſh* army commanded by general *Kraſſaw*, under whoſe protection *Staniſlaus* now placed himſelf. This general commanded an army of ten thouſand men, all experienced inured ſoldiers: he could depend on their valour, were matters to be determined by a ſingle pitched battle; but he ſaw himſelf gradually hemmed in by the *Ruſſians*, the *Poles*, and the *Saxons*. *Kraſſaw* demanded a paſſage from the court of *Berlin* into *Swediſh Pomerania*, and was denied: however the neceſſity of removing his preſent ſituation, obliged him to break through ceremonies, paſs through the *Pruſſian* dominions, and arrive with *Staniſlaus* at *Stettin*, after having obſerved ſuch ſtrict diſcipline in his march, that his *Pruſſian* majeſty had

The Swedes *and* Staniſlaus *retire to* Pomerania.

had no cauſe of complaint. Great numbers of carriages were filled with plate which the *Swedes* carried off from the *Poliſh* churches, to ſupply the deficiency in the exorbitant contributions impoſed. The unhappy country bled equally under the cruel ravages of thoſe who called themſelves friends, and openly confeſſed their enmity. Even her own children fattened upon the ſpoils of the republic, every one ſtriving to ſave ſomething out of the general ſhipwreck, and to convert a public calamity to private emolument.

AUGUSTUS had no ſooner received advice of the retreat of the *Swedes*, than he was certain that the oppoſition in *Poland* muſt be inconſiderable; but he dreaded leſt the *Swediſh* general ſhould make an irruption into the electorate. *Potoski* indeed, who continued in *Poland* at the head of a body of the forces of the country, threw out ſome menaces againſt *Saxony*; to prevent, therefore, a meaſure that might be attended with the worſt conſequences, *Auguſtus* ſet on foot a neutrality for the *German* dominions of all parties; and as this appeared equally to the advantage of the *Swedes* and *Saxons*, both readily agreed to a negotiation. General *Kraſſaw* was ſenſible that the empire would oppoſe a farther attempt on *Saxony*; he knew that the emperor was greatly provoked at *Charles* for the indifference with which he regarded the imperial dignity; and he beſides thought that an irruption into the king's *German* dominions would be furniſhing a dangerous example for the invaſion of the *Swediſh* provinces in the empire, conſidering the variety of powers who were ready to catch at the ſmalleſt handle, and turn the ſlighteſt pretext to the gratification of their ambition or revenge. There was hardly a ſtate in *Europe* that did not dread the fierce diſpoſition of *Charles*; moſt of them had received ſome haughty meſſage, or been treated with a mortifying contempt. For theſe reaſons *Kraſſaw* gladly conſented to the neutrality which the courts of *Vienna*, *London*, and the ſtates-general offered to guarantee: however, he ſtill reſerved a liberty of retracting, in caſe the treaty proved diſagreeable to the king, then an exile in *Turky*; and this proviſo ſoon appeared to be neceſſary, as *Charles* rejected the treaty with as much contempt as if he had ſtill fought at the head of a victorious army, inſtead of being a dependent for daily ſubſiſtence on the generoſity of a barbarous prince and people.

Treaty of neutrality for the German *provinces.*

STANISLAUS had now exactly changed ſituations with *Auguſtus*. He ſaw no probability of retaining the regal dignity, and he earneſtly wiſhed to ſee the repoſe of his country once more reſtored. It was from this conſideration that he had made ſome overtures towards an abdication, which oc-

caſioned *Charles* in his exile to anſwer coldly, when it was mentioned to him.—"If *Staniſlaus* will not be king, I will "beſtow the crown elſewhere." He was ignorant at that time of the ſtorm that was gathering againſt *Sweden*, and regarded the return of *Auguſtus* to *Poland* as a matter of very little conſequence. To all this *Staniſlaus* was an eye-witneſs: he ſaw the czar filing off troops to attack *Livonia*, the king of *Denmark* ready to fall upon *Schonen*, while *Auguſtus*, at the head of a numerous army compoſed of *Poles*, *Saxons*, and *Muſcovites*, was reducing all the palatinates of the republic. The palatines of *Mazovia* and *Lublin* had taken the benefit of the amneſty which the king granted on his return; and *Staniſlaus* himſelf adviſed the great men, who were willing to ſtand to the laſt by him, to ſave the remainder of their fortunes by a timely acknowledgment of their error and ſubmiſſion to ſuperior power. Many followed his advice; the court of *Auguſtus* was crowded with pretended penitents, and a few only had the generoſity to face adverſity, and prefer poverty with *Staniſlaus* to wealth with a prince whom they had oppoſed out of principle.

Interview between Auguſtus *and the czar* Peter.

ABOUT this time *Auguſtus* and the czar had an interview, and the *Poles* thought this a proper opportunity to request that he would withdraw his armies from a country ſo exhauſted that it could ſcarce maintain the natural inhabitants. They alſo deſired that the *Poliſh* priſoners in his hands might be ſurrendered to them, particularly the under general of *Lithuania*; but the czar, who did not care to give an abſolute denial, found means to prevaricate, becauſe he apprehended the return of the *Swediſh* army ſhould *Poland* be left deſtitute of forces. As to the priſoners, he ſaid, that inſtead of releaſing them he had a right to demand from the republic ſeveral noblemen whom he accuſed as deſerters to *Staniſlaus*, though, on finding a change in that prince's circumſtances, they returned to their duty, or rather to what they perceived to be their intereſt. *Wieſnowiski* and *Swirſpski* were the principal objects of the czar's reſentment; they had embraced the party of *Staniſlaus* out of hatred to the *Ruſſians*, and being taken priſoners by the czar, they expected the moſt ſevere treatment which an indignant barbarian could invent; while on the other hand *Poniatowski* and the palatine of *Kiow* ſtuck faſt by the fortune of *Staniſlaus*, accompanied him in his exile, and preferred death and baniſhment to ſubmiſſion and the diſgrace of abandoning their principles.

As the court of *Auguſtus* was filled with ſenators, it was thought proper to hold a council, and notify to the public the king's return, and to exhort all men to pay the uſual obe-

dience

o the ſovereign. Application was likewiſe made to *The pope*
:t of *Rome*, to releaſe the king from the obligations *abſolves*
ed by the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt*; a few of the more Auguſtus
onſciences might be hurt with ſeeing him reaſſume, *from the*
ſcruple, that diadem which he had ſolemnly re- *engage-*
, and confirmed by the moſt ſacred obligations to *ments con-*
. The pontiff's abſolving power would apply reme- *tracted by*
ıe found neither in policy nor human reaſon; the *the treaty*
granted the abſolution required, and all good Catho- *with*
: then unanimous that the oaths taken by *Auguſtus* Charles.
no ſignification. This was followed by writs iſſued
ing a grand council on the fourth of *February*, pre-
which the king made a viſit to *Warſaw*, and then
'em. His return to the electorate, and the arrival of
r of *Pruſſia* at *Leipſick*, exerciſed the wits of politi-
The two kings had an interview, and it was gene-
ieved that a plan was concerted not very favourable
n, now the prey of every neighbouring power that
d the ſeeds of ambition, of reſentment, or of ava-
'uguſtus returned to *Warſaw* two days before the meet-
ıe great council, and was received with the warmeſt
ılations of the nobility. He was earneſt to have
nce with the czar approved, and the treaty confirmed
republic. This affair was propoſed to the great
, the ſenators ranged themſelves on the ſide of the
nd profeſſed themſelves at the king's devotion; but
f the nobility made vigorous oppoſition, and every
ıght freſh impediments. The points propoſed by the
were the following; that a general pardon ſhould
ted, except to the *Dantzickers*, whoſe obſtinacy de-
uniſhment; that the war againſt *Sweden* ſhould be
:d, as the only means of eſtabliſhing a ſolid peace;
republic ſhould levy a formidable army, and provide
ı and means of ſubſiſtence; that the czar ſhould
ed to maintain ſtrict diſcipline, to pay the ſubſidies
d to evacuate all the places belonging to the repub-
ıt the treaty with his czariſh majeſty ſhould be con-
ıy the council; and that proviſion ſhould be made
ſecurity of the barrier towns, particularly the for-
F *La Trinité* and *Kaminiec*.

EVER reaſonable theſe propoſals might appear, ſcarce *Great*
: article eſcaped ſevere ſtrictures from the oppoſite *council aſ-*
The debates grew warm, and ſome nuncios were *ſembled.*
ıp to ſo extraordinary a pitch of paſſion, that declar- A. D.
throne vacant they demanded a new election. At 1710.
er the moſt violent contentions, and ſome bloodſhed,

the resolutions of the assemby took a turn favourable to *Augustus*, and concluded with the subsequent decrees: that the treaty concluded with the *Russians* should be ratified by the council; that the army should be established on the footing proposed by the king and senate; that the public revenues should be levied by the great treasurer of the crown, and the army paid out of the money so collected; that the disputes relative to *Dantzick* and *Thorn* should be referred to commissioners; that the tax laid upon mills should be levied to discharge the debt due to the court of *Berlin*, in ransom of *Elbing*; that a sum of money should be issued out of the treasury, in reward of the faithful services of count *Denhoff*, and other persons specified in the resolution of the council; and that ambassadors should be sent to the czar, the Grand Seignior, and the cham of *Tartary*.

In this manner ended disputes which had threatened the revival of civil commotions, now happily quieted; but things did not altogether answer the expectation of *Bussenbury*, deputy of *Dantzick*. He had long applied in vain for an audience of the king: at last he obtained his request, was admitted into the royal presence, and sharply reproached with treason committed by his countrymen, first, in surrendering the king's effects, deposited with them in trust, to the *Swedes*; next, in rudely and insolently shutting their gates in the face of their sovereign when, he claimed their assistance; and, lastly, in refusing to acknowledge him after he was re-established on the throne by the voice of the nation. *Augustus* refused to give the deputy any satisfaction with respect to his demands, and referred him to the resolutions of the grand council. When the commissioners met on the affair of Dantzick, the king demanded five hundred thousand crowns, to indemnify his effects surrendered to the *Swedes*; nor would he mitigate the punishment incurred by felony, which he left intirely to the discretion of the commissioners. The *Dantzickers* offered to the amount of four hundred thousand florins; but this the king refused, insisted upon the full value, and threatened to demand it at the head of an army. These menaces set the burghers on making preparations for their defence; some hundreds of soldiers were levied, as if that force were sufficient to protect a large city against the united strength of *Poland* and *Saxony*: happily however for them, certain powers interposed in their behalf, out of respect to whom *Augustus* sunk in his pretensions, compromised the affair, and accepted for payment a custom on certain merchandize for a limited term, which was deemed equivalent to the effects.

Disputes with Dantzick.

this time the king of *Denmark* had openly declared
t *Sweden*, and actually made an irruption into *Schonen*,
his troops were defeated by the *Swedish* general *Stein-*
The czar, informed of this advantage gained by
emies, entered into treaty with his *Danish* majesty,
by he engaged to make a diversion in *Finland*. By
means it was that *Peter* got possession of *Wiburg* and
places of the utmost consequence to the execution of
t commercial projects. As if the combination against
igitive *Charles* was not yet sufficiently strong, *Augustus*
red to detach the grand vizier from his interest; but
most endeavours proved fruitless; the royal exile kept
strong interest at the *Porte*, and, by means of some
il agents, effected revolutions in the *Turkish* ministry,
he had actually directed the helm of government. This
failing, he contrived other measures for accomplishing
me purposes, namely, that of ruining *Sweden*, and oblig-
Stanislaus to renounce the crown of *Poland* by a formal
iment. That prince depended so implicitly upon the
l of the *Swedish* monarch, that he would not venture
dicate a throne which he had no chance of ever again
; though his single concession would have procured
very advantageous conditions from *Augustus*, who ear-
desired to be restored to his dignity without disputes,
s, or pretensions from competitors, who might always
it in their power to disturb his government. The pa-
of *Posnania*, as *Augustus* effected to call *Stanislaus*, had
party that obstinately combated fortune, and adhered
s fate, though without a prospect of being able to ren-
im essential service. The palatine of *Kiow* over-run
l provinces at the head of a little army, composed of
housand *Poles*, devoted to his interest, and strongly at-
d to the fortunes of *Charles* and *Stanislaus*. He lately
hed a manifesto, in which he threatened *Saxony* with
vasion; but just as he was taking measures to strike some
signal blow, he was surprised by the *Russian* general
, and, after a desperate action, defeated with the loss of
thousand men killed or taken prisoners. With the re-
der he crossed that ridge of mountains called *Crapach*,
h divides *Poland* from *Hungary*, and there joined *Ragotzi*,
ral of the malcontents, by which he involved his *Swedish*
sty in fresh difficulties with the court of *Vienna*.

Schemes of Augustus.

A. D. 1711. *The palatine of* Kiow *defeated.*

HIS was a fortunate incident to *Augustus*, which he en-
oured to improve to the utmost. *Pomerania* had hitherto
ed the ravages of war, under sanctuary of the neutrality
d in the year 1709; but *Charles* had refused to ratify
reaty; and this furnished the northern powers with a fair

occaſion of falling upon his *German* provinces. *Auguſtus* undertook to drive the *Swedes* out of *Swediſh Pomerania*, in ſelf-defence, as he pretended; and for this purpoſe he beſought the aſſiſtance of his allies. Accordingly that province was invaded by twenty-five thouſand *Danes*, ten thouſand *Saxons*, and ſix thouſand *Ruſſians*, who, after ſome other conqueſts of leſs conſequence, fell upon *Stralſund*. *Wiſmar* was at the ſame time blocked up; but ſuch was the ardor of the confederates to enter upon the enterprize, that the neceſſaries for accompliſhing it were neglected. Cannon for battering in breach were entirely forgot; the king of *Denmark* demanded a ſupply from *Roſtock*, and met with a repulſe. In a word, ſo badly was the ſcheme conducted, that it miſcarried, and the princes returned in diſgrace to their ſeveral dominions[a].

THE diſhonour with which the *Pomeranian* expedition was attended, had almoſt been ſucceeded by a total change of fortune, the return of *Charles* XII. to his own dominions, and the reſtoration of *Staniſlaus*. The czar, with his whole army, was ſurrounded by the *Turks* on the banks of the *Pruth*, and reduced to the laſt extremity, when, by dint of addreſs, and well-applied ſums of money, he purchaſed a peace of the vizier, that ſaved his army, and prevented *Auguſtus*, in all probability, from being a ſecond time driven from the throne of *Poland*. By this treaty the czar engaged not to interfere with the affairs of the republic; but as ſoon as he eſcaped the danger, he eaſily ſuggeſted means to elude his promiſes, and ſtill kept an army on foot in *Poland*, notwithſtanding the repeated remonſtrances of the people, who were quite exhauſted. At a diet aſſembled at *Warſaw*, it was propoſed, that the king ſhould make the moſt preſſing inſtances to the czar to withdraw his forces out of all the towns and garriſons of the republic, and entirely evacuate the *Poliſh* territories, as the enemy were ſufficiently cruſhed, and there remained not a ſhadow of reaſon for continuing any longer to oppreſs a nation which had for ſo many years groaned under ſervitude, and had not yet recovered any of thoſe almoſt fatal wounds received in the violent ſtruggle for liberty. After warm debates this point was carried; and it was reſolved, that a deputation ſhould be ſent to the czar, but not until the oppoſite party had eſtabliſhed certain opinions, which they deemed equally neceſſary to the public tranquillity and happineſs. The czar received the deputation: he promiſed all that was required; every one expected to ſee the territories of the republic entirely cleared of foreigners; but

A. D. 1712. April 5. *Complaints againſt the* Ruſſians.

[a] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxiii.

Peter

Peter ſtill contrived pretexts for delaying the execution of his promiſes.

THIS year likewiſe a general diet aſſembled at *Warſaw*, to deliberate upon a variety of points of the laſt conſequence to the good of the kingdom. Among others there was one that in a particular manner engaged the public attention. It regarded the reduction of the troops, and the authority of the generals, who had of late years aſſumed more power than properly belonged to their commiſſions. A deputy of *Sandomir* had the courage to aſk for what purpoſe, and with whoſe inſtructions, the palatines of *Podolia* and *Beltz* were ſent to the *Turkiſh* frontier, as it was reported they were to meet commiſſaries from the *Porte*. The ſame deputy alſo demanded to know by whoſe authority the *Saxon* ſoldiers had been incorporated with the *Poliſh* regiments; inſiſting that the authors ſhould be called to account, and deſiring to be informed in what manner the king propoſed to employ his troops now that the peace of the republic was happily reſtored. Theſe queſtions, though propoſed only by a ſingle voice, were ſoon ecchoed back by the whole aſſembly. Almoſt all the deputies demanded of the grand-marechal to communicate thoſe queries to the king, and report to the diet the anſwer he ſhould receive. The marechal obeyed; *Auguſtus* was alarmed; but he did not venture to give an abſolute denial to the aſſembly. He told them that he had the diet's authority to ſend the two palatines to confer with the *Turkiſh* deputies; that their inſtructions were ſecret, as they certainly ought upon a ſubject of ſo delicate a nature and high importance; and that as to the other two points, he would give ample ſatisfaction, as ſoon as the deputies thought proper to unite with the ſenate. Otherwiſe it would not be proper to acquaint the whole world with the moſt ſecret tranſactions of the cabinet, by expoſing them in a public aſſembly, as their ſucceſs depended chiefly upon their privacy. However agreeable to good ſenſe and true policy the king's anſwer appeared to the more moderate, it ſerved no other purpoſe than that of encreaſing the diſſentions, and blowing hotter the ſpirit of diſcord, at a time when there was reaſon to believe that the *Turks* were aſſembling a great army upon the frontiers of *Poland*.

A. D. 1713. *A general diet.*

THOUGH *Auguſtus* was fortunate enough to break the ſtorm impending from that quarter, and to diſarm the *Turkiſh* wrath, by the force of money judiciouſly applied; yet he could not reduce his own ſubjects to a conformity with his meaſures, nor to an affection for his perſon and government. Every thing conſiſtent with his ſafety he performed,

formed, to acquire popularity; nevertheleſs, there were ſome conſiderable members of the republic ſuſpected of regarding *Auguſtus* as an uſurper, whom it would be juſtifiable to take off by means the moſt odious and baſe. He was called a tyrant, and to deliver one's country from a monſter muſt be commendable, however dark and treacherous the inſtrument might be reputed. The palatine *Jablonowski* was ſuppoſed, in conſequence of ſome inadvertent words dropped, to have been at the bottom of the conſpiracy; and to have contrived a plan for aſſaſſinating his ſovereign, under pretence of entertaining him magnificently at his caſtle. It is probable, however, that the aſperſions thrown upon the character of this palatine are without foundation; but it is certain that *Auguſtus* met with ſtrong oppoſition from divers noblemen who not only acknowledged his legal title to the crown, but were ſincerely attached to his perſon. They murmured againſt the *Saxons* and *Ruſſians*, who, after the campaign in *Pomerania*, took up their quarters in the northern parts of *Poland* and *Lithuania*. Theſe troops likewiſe raiſed ſmall contributions, which had nearly been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, as they were the occaſion of reviving a ſpirit of diſaffection that had only been lately ſubdued. While the king was at *Dreſden*, the whole *Poliſh* nation was uttering the bitterest complaints, which at length reached his ears by means of the primate, who wrote an account of the ſituation of affairs, and ſtrongly recommended the withdrawing his *Saxon* forces, without which it was to be feared the deſpair of the *Poles* might induce them to form reſolutions fatal to the public tranquillity. In general the nobility ſeemed deſirous of aſſembling a diet on horſeback.

Conſpiracy againſt Auguſtus.

AUGUSTUS had repaired to *Dreſden* for the ſecurity of his perſon; he had pardoned two of his greateſt enemies, and even affected to diſbelieve the conſpiracy which was ſaid to be on foot: he had withdrawn thirteen regiments of his hereditary forces out of the dominions of the republic, and he had remitted a third of the taxes impoſed for the ſupport of the army; he was therefore greatly irritated that ſo many conſiderable ſacrifices anſwered no other purpoſes, than rendering the people more difficult, and exciting freſh ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſtruſt. For this reaſon he poſitively denied a diet on horſeback, which would only be giving rebellion the colour of a legal proceeding. This intimation he gave to the primate in anſwer to his letter; and in conſequence count *Denhoff*, and ſome deputies from *Poland* and *Lithuania*, were ſent to *Dreſden* with inſtructions to inſiſt upon the king's

king's return to his *Poliſh* dominions, to iſſue writs for holding the diet, and to diſmiſs all the *Saxon* forces. So bold a deputation, and the refuſal of the primate, and ſome of the nobility, to attend a council that he ſummoned at *Reydzin*, obliged *Auguſtus* to think of returning to *Warſaw*. Before his arrival at that city, ſome of the nobility of *Sandomir*, *Lublin*, and *Volhinia*, had actually begun to mount, declaring a diſpoſition to diſpute the royal authority; upon which the king reſolved to lay aſide gentle meaſures, and told them in a firm tone, that he would treat as rebels and traitors all thoſe who ſhould appear without the authority rendered neceſſary by the nature of the conſtitution. To enforce this declaration, he recalled the *Saxons* who had been diſmiſſed, ſhewed the *Poles* that not want of ſpirit, but the deſire of cheriſhing peace, had made him ſo pliant to all their demands; and now demonſtrated by one extraordinary effort of ſpirit, that he would maintain the prerogatives of the crown, without deſire of retrenching the rights of the people.

AT this time both *Charles* and *Staniſlaus* were priſoners in the *Turkiſh* dominions. The latter, after repeated fruitleſs efforts to defend the *Swediſh* conqueſts, began to think ſeriouſly of abdicating the throne; and not having been able to procure the king of *Sweden*'s conſent by letter, he ſet out for the reſidence of that prince at *Bender*, in hopes of prevailing upon him in a perſonal interview, when he could explain himſelf more explicitly. Ignorant of the diſgrace into which *Charles* was fallen with the *Porte*, he aſſumed the dreſs and title of a *Swediſh* colonel, and as ſuch was arreſted and conducted to *Bender*, juſt as his benefactor was removing to *Adrianople*. It was on this occaſion that *Charles* beſtowed upon him the dutchy of *Deux-ponts*, for which *Staniſlaus* ſet out on the fourth of *July*, where he determined to live in a private capacity upon the revenues of his new acquired territories, which amounted to ſeventy thouſand crowns [a]. *Proviſion made for Staniſlaus* A. D. 1714.

CHARLES no ſooner returned to his own dominions than he began to make vaſt preparations for carrying on the war againſt all his enemies, which furniſhed *Auguſtus* with a ſeaſonable pretext for retaining the *Saxon* forces in *Poland*. He had aſſembled a council of the ſenate, and obtained their approbation, to prevent the *Swediſh* army from re-entering the kingdom, though it was univerſally believed that *Charles* muſt have kept on the defenſive in *Pomerania*. By this means he procured reſpect to his government, kept the turbulent *Poles* in awe, and enjoyed more tranquillity and eaſe than he had

[a] VOLT. Hiſt. page 146.

known

known ſince his firſt acceſſion. Yet his repoſe was by no means undiſturbed with little differences excited by that ſpirit of freedom which alway diſtinguiſhed the republic. Repeated attempts were made to keep the regal power within limits, and ſecure the liberties of the people. A confederacy was planned by the palatines of *Cracow*, *Siradia*, and *Sandomir*, who promiſed each other aſſiſtance, and entered upon engagements to mount on horſeback, to prevent *Auguſtus* from eſtabliſhing a deſpotic government. Similar motions appeared in *Lithuania*, and the diſcontented ſenate were contriving the very ſame projects. Great numbers of the nobility had aſſembled tumultuouſly at *Wilna*, and entered upon an aſſociation to oppoſe the levying of farther contributions. However, the approach of a body of *Ruſſians* kept the aſſembly in awe, and obliged the aſſociation to accept of the conditions offered from the court by the biſhop of *Cujaiva*.

A. D. 1715. *New confederacy formed.*

THE tranquillity reſtored was but of ſhort duration; *Auguſtus* ſet out for *Saxony*, and his abſence encouraged the malcontents to renew their intrigues. A new confederacy was ſet on foot; ſeveral new levies were made and joined by the crown army, under pretence of defending the public liberty. At the head of the inſurrection was the palatine of *Sandomir*, who immediately entered upon meaſures for driving the *Saxons* out of the *Poliſh* dominions. Divers engagements were fought with various fortune, but in general with diſadvantage to the confederates, though the *Saxon* general *Bauditz*, apprehenſive of the conſequences, endeavoured to effect a ſuſpenſion of arms, which was fruſtrated by the ardor of the enemy. They ſuddenly attacked the ſuburbs of *Warſaw* in the night, but were happily repulſed before they had done any conſiderable damage. This check it might be imagined would incline them to the accommodation propoſed; but it ſerved only to irritate their ſpirits and puſh them to extremities. They plundered and reduced to aſhes a multitude of villages, and overſpread the face of the country with the mangled bodies of butchered *Saxons*. The ſcene was horrible, and diſgraceful to a people who acknowledge the truth of the doctrines of Chriſtianity, and a religion filled with ſentiments of benevolence and philanthropy. Every where might be ſeen the veſtiges of barbarous rage and ungoverned fury, which rendered the *Poles* inſenſible to the calamities of their country, provided they could involve the deteſted *Saxons* in the general devaſtation. Fortunately their rage was unſucceſsful, as it was ill conducted; in moſt encounters they were worſted; their repeated loſſes broke their ſpirit, ſoftened their hearts, and opened their eyes to the approaching

proaching ruin. They ſent a trumpet to count *Fleming*, and now ſollicited the armiſtice they had lately rejected, about which he artfully raiſed difficulties without extinguiſhing hope; he at laſt granted a conference, and in the mean time found means to ſurpriſe the fortreſs of *Zamoſe*, and the marechal of the confederacy. The ſpace of two years was taken up in this unſettled ſtate of affairs; no confidence could be placed in truces, and the party dreaded being maſſacred in their quarters, while they were ſcreened by the moſt ſolemn faith of treaties [a].

Diſturbances in Lithuania

In the dutchy of *Lithuania* peace and tranquillity had reigned, until a few of the nobility, ſwayed by the example of the *Poles*, raiſed commotions, from which they hoped to obtain perſonal advantages. In the year 1715, a body of nobility aſſembled at *Wilna*, and propoſed that a diet ſhould be held; a point eaſily obtained, and attended with all the expected conſequences, the deputies having to a man declared their reſolution of joining the *Poliſh* confederacy. Accordingly they obliged themſelves, by oath, to demand from *Auguſtus* the departure of the *Saxon* troops; ſatisfaction for the damages they occaſioned; the ceſſation of contributions; the evacuation of all the places in their poſſeſſion; reſtitution of all the cannon they had taken away, and of the eſtates of the princeſs of *Newburg*; the releaſe of all perſons in confinement, together with the liberty of holding a general diet. This event would have occaſioned the renewal of hoſtilities more bloody than the former, had not the czar *Peter* interpoſed, and approached the frontiers with a formidable army, which terrified the malcontents into the reſolution of deſiring that their differences might be amicably compromiſed. This requeſt produced the conferences at *Lublin*, where a ſuſpenſion of arms was formally accepted by both parties: nevertheleſs, the agreement would appear only a ſtratagem laid by each to gain ſome advantages. No ſooner had the king performed his engagements than the confederates ſurpriſed *Poſnania*, and took the city by ſtorm, where, not ſatisfied with the blood of their fellow-citizens, ſpilt in the heat of combat, they wantonly maſſacred in cold blood a great number of the inhabitants, whoſe lifeleſs carcaſſes they mangled with more than ſavage cruelty. *Auguſtus* was violently incenſed at this perfidy; he publiſhed bitter declarations, determined on the moſt vigorous meaſures, calling upon the czar to aſſiſt him in bringing to reaſon his rebellious ſubjects, which induced that monarch to advance a body of *Muſco-*

Cruelty of the Confederates.

[a] PARTHEN. tom. ii.

vites into the heart of *Poland*. Here they had frequent ſkirmiſhes with the confederates, and obtained ſo many trivial victories, as obliged the diſcontented *Poles* again to renew the negotiations which they had ſo frequently and ſo imprudently broken. Conferences were appointed, and preliminaries adjuſted, in effecting which the chief obſtacle was not the diſſolution of the confederacy, but the time when this illegal aſſociation ſhould be diſſolved. The confederates inſiſted they ſhould hold themſelves united until the meeting of the diet; while the king was equally reſolute that his *Saxons* ſhould not evacuate *Poland* before the ſeparation of the confederate army. After tedious warm diſputes a medium of agreement was happily ſuggeſted; and it was concluded that all confederacies ſhould be aboliſhed, cancelled, and annulled; that a diet of pacification ſhould be held forthwith; that a certain number of ſtanding forces ſhould be maintained for the king's defence, to prevent the neceſſity of keeping foreigners in pay; that the number of thoſe troops ſhould be fixed and invariable; and that all perſons who ſhould bear arms, without the king's permiſſion, ſhould be deemed enemies to the public tranquillity. An amneſty enſued, that was followed by an exchange of ratifications; to which ſucceeded a diet of pacification, and the departure of the *Saxons* from the territories of the republic. Thus ended the civil diviſions of *Poland*, maintained almoſt without interruption ſince the death of *Sobieski*, to the utter extinction of order, peace, felicity, induſtry, arts, ſcience, and every bleſſing of repoſe and good government.

nd of the vil diviions.

THROUGH the courſe of ſeveral ſucceeding years nothing memorable occurs in the *Poliſh* annals; and the firſt tranſaction worth relating happened in 1724, when an affair of ſeemingly trifling conſequence had almoſt involved the republic in freſh contentions. A tumult fell out in the city of *Thorn* in *Pruſſia*, the effects of which might have proved dreadful; as it became a matter of public conſideration, and the origin of diſputes with the Proteſtant powers of *Europe*. We ſhall trace the affair to its firſt beginning for the ſatisfaction of the reader. It is well known that *Thorn* is chiefly inhabited by Proteſtants, though it likewiſe contains a great number of *Roman* Catholics. On the 16th of *July* the latter made a proceſſion of the Hoſt in the church-yard of the abbey of the *Benedictines*, which drew a concourſe of the *Lutheran* children, who had never beheld ſo ſolemn a ſpectacle. As the proceſſion paſſed, a Jeſuit ſcholar inſiſted that the ſpectators ſhould kneel, which being refuſed, a ſquabble enſued that ſoon became general and bloody; nor could it be decided

iſpute vith the agiſtrates f Thorn.

before

before the arrival of a party of ſoldiers, who ſeized the author of the riot, and carried him priſoner to the guard. The ſociety of Jeſuits took the alarm at the confinement of a member of their body; they demanded his liberty; and, incenſed that any demur ſhould be made in granting them ſatisfaction, inſulted the burghers, excited a ſecond tumult, ſhed more blood, obliged the guard again to turn out, by whom they were diſperſed, after the ringleader had been ſeized. Even this could not quiet the fraternity; the principal of the Jeſuits ſent his complaints to the preſident of the city, demanded reparation of the injury, and was in ſome meaſure gratified by the releaſe of the ſtudent made priſoner in the firſt riot; but as the civil magiſtrate deferred the diſcharge of the ſecond priſoner until he had conferred with the principal, the ſtudents re-aſſembled, armed themſelves with ſabres, fell upon the *Lutheran* burghers, wounded ſeveral perſons, and carried off a *German* ſtudent priſoner to their college; a violence that obliged the civil magiſtrate to march a body of ſoldiers againſt them, by whom they were defeated, after a ſharp conflict. Recrimination ſucceeded, the principal and the preſident produced their mutual accuſations. The former demanded ſatisfaction, and the latter inſiſted upon the releaſe of the *German* ſcholar, giving at the ſame time orders that the burghers ſhould ſtand to arms in caſe of a freſh attack; a precaution that ſoon proved neceſſary: for while he was conferring with the rector, the Jeſuit ſcholars and the populace came to blows, and the fray might have been bloody, had not the town-guard ſeaſonably interpoſed. It was thought the diſcharge of the priſoners would have quieted the minds of both parties; but the effect was directly contrary. The ſtudents, enraged at the conceſſions made by their principal, fell upon the mob with ſwords, clubs, ſtones, and even fire-arms, which gave ſuch provocation, that forcing open the college gates the populace ruſhed into their chambers, broke and deſtroyed all that came in their way, marched off with immenſe booty, which they burnt in a great fire kindled in the market-place.

SUCH was the account of this affair tranſmitted to the court of *Warſaw*, differing in many particulars from the relation publiſhed by the Jeſuits, but the moſt authentic, as appears from many circumſtances, which at this diſtance of time it would be unneceſſary to examine. It is acknowledged by the fraternity, that their ſtudent began the quarrel; but they inſiſted, that the *Lutherans* carried their vengeance far beyond the provocation, and ſeemed averſe to all pacific means of deciſion. Be this as it may, it was a circumſtance of another

nature

nature, though abſolutely contradicted by the ſenate of *Thorn*, that determined the opinion of the judges. Scarce was the tumult appeaſed, when the college filled all *Poland* with their complaints, loudly demanding juſtice for the crime of violating the Majeſty of Heaven in the perſons of the ſociety of *Jeſus*; repreſenting, that no puniſhments were ſufficiently rigorous to expiate the abominations committed; and exclaiming, that the ſenate ought to be changed, and the *Lutherans* deprived of the free exerciſe of their religion. "Have they not, ſaid "they, defiled the altars of the bleſſed virgin? Have they not "hewn them in pieces, with prophane hatchets, and trampled "under foot, the images of the venerable ſaints? They have "impiouſly pierced them with ſwords, and thrown them into "fires kindled in the open ſtreets, after having ſuffered the "moſt ſhocking indignities from a baſe rabble, ſaying to the "virgin *Mary*, while ſhe was conſuming in the flames—*Unhappy Virgin, ſave thyſelf, ſince thy votaries affirm that thou haſt the power of delivering mortals.*"

A PEOPLE ſo zealous for the honour of their religion, ſo attached to forms, and bigotted in ſuperſtition, were almoſt neceſſarily filled with indignation at clamours ſo vehemently raiſed and artfully ſuſtained. Without conſulting the truth of the charge, the whole nation catched fire; every individual demanded exemplary puniſhment of the offenders; and, as it was then upon the eve of a general diet, the nuncios were inſtructed to treat that affair with the utmoſt ſeverity. It was even made a preliminary condition, that the diet ſhould enter upon no other buſineſs, until a ſuitable ſatisfaction was granted to the Jeſuits; which induced the court to diſpatch commiſſioners to examine evidences, and inquire into the fact, on the ſpot where it was committed: they were choſen from the principal nobility and dignified clergy; all the world being aſtoniſhed to ſee the republic take ſuch concern in an affair of ſeemingly trifling import. Conſidering the riot in its proper light, judgment belonged to the ſupreme court of the province, and not to a foreign tribunal: however, the king and diet thought otherwiſe. The commiſſion was opened with great ſolemnity, witneſſes were examined with an air of candour, and the proceedings went on for ſome time with great ſhew of equity; but the biſhop of *Cujaiva* and prince *Lubomirſki* ſoon evinced their inveterate enmity to the city of *Thorn* and the Proteſtant religion. Their violent prejudices drove away ſeveral of their colleagues, whoſe moderation obſtructed their deſigns; and this court of juſtice degenerated into a cabal, and faction of murderers armed with legal authority. Every evidence in favour of the poor *Lutherans* was rejected;

jected; while perſons deſtitute of character, and the very dregs of humanity, were admitted as ſufficient teſtimony of their guilt. Divers citizens were committed to loathſome dungeons, notwithſtanding they had clearly proved an *alibi* at the time of the riot, which alone ſufficiently diſplays the iniquity of this tribunal. The whole republic ſeemed bent on humbling the pride of a flouriſhing heretical city; and to ſuch a length was partiality carried, that the deputies of the diet decreed the cognizance of this affair ſhould be referred to all the different orders of the kingdom.

Puniſhment inflicted on the magiſtrates.

It was now chiefly apprehended leſt the proteſtant powers would interpoſe in behalf of the oppreſſed citizens, to prevent which the proceſs was hurried over; and in leſs than ſix weeks the fate of a wealthy city, a free government, independent magiſtrates and citizens, always ſtrenuous in defence of religion and liberty, was decided by an irrevocable decree. The preſident *Reuſner* and the vice-preſident *Zernick* were capitally condemned, for not having oppoſed the tumult as their offices required. Their eſtates were confiſcated, and the city was obliged to indemnify all the loſſes ſuſtained by the Jeſuits. Beſides, ſeven principal citizens were beheaded, near double the number were baniſhed, and great numbers confined in priſon for the ſpace of ſix years. Three gentlemen, accuſed of uttering blaſphemies againſt the virgin *Mary*, and of throwing her image into the fire, were puniſhed with the loſs of their right arms. In a word, the ſeverity of the republic raiſed horror in the breaſts of all men, who lamented the cruel effects of blind ſuperſtition, and the depravity of human nature.

As a farther attonement to the bleſſed virgin, her altars were enriched with the ſpoils of the plundered citizens; and the church of *St. Mary*, that belonged to the Proteſtants, was adjudged to the college, with all its rich plate and valuable library. The proteſtant miniſters were ſtigmatized with infamy; all the papers publiſhed in their defence were burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and a reſtraint was laid on the printing-houſe, whereby all works were required to be licenſed by the biſhop. We may conceive the general opinion entertained of this deteſtable inquiſition by the conduct of the pope's nuncio, who interceded for the unhappy Proteſtants, though he could not be ſuppoſed careleſs of the intereſts of the Catholic religion, and wrote in their behalf to the rector of the college in the ſtrongeſt and moſt pathetic terms; but without effect. What he foreſaw ſoon came to paſs: all the Proteſtant princes took the alarm at the ſignal ſounded by his *Pruſſian* majeſty, complaining loudly of the in-

infraction of the treaty of *Oliva*, and the contempt expreſſed by the *Poliſh* nation for their interceſſion: they demanded redreſs for the *Lutheran* ſubjects of *Poland*, and reſtitution of the civil and religious privileges of which *Thorn* had lately been unjuſtly deprived. The crowns of *Great Britain* and *Sweden* interceded as guarantees of the peace of *Oliva*: the affair was drawn into a negotiation, and ſome bad conſequences were prevented; but the Proteſtants had not that juſtice done them which, from the nature of the treaty and the power of the Proteſtant intereſt, they had juſt reaſon to expect [a].

Auguſtus is involved in difficulties about the ſucceſſion of Courland.

FOR the ſpace of two years the public repoſe continued undiſturbed, when another troubleſome affair occurred, which we think it neceſſary to relate in detail, as it may hereafter be revived. Certain diſputes aroſe about the ſucceſſion of the dutchy of *Courland*, anciently a part of *Livonia*, and held by the family of *Ketler* ſince the year 1561, as a fief of the crown of *Poland*. *William* duke of *Courland*, married to the princeſs *Ann* of *Ruſſia*, niece to the czar *Peter*, died without iſſue, by which the dutchy deſcended of right to his uncle *Ferdinand*. As the claim of this prince was not ſupported by power, the dutcheſs ſeized it by force, and obliged the duke to retire to *Dantzick*, where he lived in an obſcurity ill ſuited to his birth. As early as the year 1719, it was propoſed by the king of *Pruſſia* to give the eventual inveſtiture of *Courland* to the margrave of *Brandenburg-Swedt*, upon condition that he undertook to diſcharge all the debts upon the dutchy; a propoſal the more reaſonable, ſaid that monarch, as the court of *Warſaw* had formed the ſame project in favour of the prince of *Saxe-Weiſſenfels*, without any ſtipulation in favour of the dutchy or the creditors. However, this was not the intention of the nobility of *Poland*, who wiſhed to unite *Courland* with the other dominions of the republic, and incorporate them inſeparably. Nothing could be more diſagreeable to the grandees than a ſcheme which ſeemed to threaten their independency. The king of *Pruſſia*'s project was approved by the czar of *Muſcovy*; but the *Poles* reſented it ſo warmly, that the eventual inveſtiture was dropt until the year 1726; when the regency of *Courland*, fearing the ambition of the republic, ſuddenly publiſhed writs in the name of the duke for aſſembling a diet, to deliberate upon meaſures for perpetuating the liberty of the dutchy in its preſent form of ducal government; ſpecifying in theſe writs, that the palatine of *Wilna*, as great general of *Lithuania*, had promiſed them all manner of aſſiſtance. Theſe publications gave the alarm to duke *Ferdinand*,

[a] PARTHEN. tom. ii. Preſent State of Europe, p. 98.

who

who proteſted againſt them, prohibiting the nobility from taking any reſolutions in an affair of ſuch conſequence, or to aſſemble at the day appointed. His remonſtrances produced no effect: the nobility met, and in a full aſſembly three candidates were propoſed, each of them of acknowledged merit. A. D. 1726.
Theſe were the duke of *Holſtein-Gottorp*, prince *Menzikoff*, and count *Maurice* of *Saxony*, the natural ſon of king *Auguſtus*, afterwards celebrated as a hero by the name of marechal *Saxe*. Their voices were unanimous in favour of this prince, who was accordingly elected to ſucceed at the death of duke *Ferdinand*. This election raiſed a great ferment in *Poland*. *Auguſtus* privately eſpouſed the intereſt of his ſon, which, in this inſtance, proved diametrically oppoſite to the inclinations of his ſubjects. The *Poles* were fully perſuaded, that *Auguſtus* made policy ſubſervient to paternal affection, and had ſacrificed the rights of a whole nation, of which he was ſovereign, to gratify the paſſion of raiſing his family. Nothing leſs would ſatisfy them than his publickly declaring againſt count *Maurice*, and renouncing his intereſt; which ſatisfaction he ſoon gave in the moſt ſolemn manner, declaring that he would afford no countenance to an election that was deemed an invaſion of the rights of the republic. But the *Poles* required a farther ſacrifice, inſiſting upon an act to annul what had been tranſacted by the ſtates of *Courland*. This likewiſe he granted, from an apprehenſion of again involving himſelf in diſputes, by which, experience taught him, he could be no gainer; and he beſides included an order, whereby the marechal of the diet and ſeveral ſenators of the dutchy of *Courland* were injoined to appear in ſix weeks at *Warſaw*, to anſwer for their conduct.

THE court of *Ruſſia* had alſo taken part in this affair; and the czarina had gone ſo far as not only to diſcountenance the marriage that was propoſed between count *Maurice* and the dutcheſs dowager, and the election of that prince, but even to point out the ſucceſſion that would be agreeable to her; to enforce which intimation, a body of her forces had orders to file off towards the frontiers of *Courland*. This conduct in a princeſs ſtrictly allied with *Poland*, gave umbrage to the *Poles*; and, in conſequence, *Auguſtus* remonſtrated in the ſtrongeſt terms to the court of *Moſcow*, requeſting that her czariſh majeſty would publickly diſapprove the conduct of *Menzikoff* and *Dolhouroufki*, who were ſuppoſed to aſpire at the ſovereignty of the dutchy. A diet met at *Gradno*, where this affair was taken into conſideration; and the miniſters of *Great Britain*, *France*, *Ruſſia*, *Pruſſia*, and the United Provinces attended, as if the diſpoſal of ſome mighty kingdom,

not of a petty dutchy, were the object of negotiation. The deputies demanded, that *Auguſtus* ſhould revoke the count's eventual election, and exert his authority with his ſon to oblige him to evacuate *Courland*, to appear before the diet, and ſurrender the patent of his election; requiring alſo, that the regency ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed, and an act prepared to incorporate the dutchy with the body of the republic; with each of which demands the king complied, to prevent ſuſpicion; voluntarily declaring, that the eſtabliſhment of his ſon was but a ſecondary conſideration to the intereſt of his *Poliſh* ſubjects. What influence he uſed with count *Maurice* is not certain: it is, however, acknowledged on all hands, that the prince refuſed appearing before the diet, or delivering up the patent of his election, upon which account he was put under the ban of *Poland*; and commiſſioners were appointed to inquire into the authors of ſummoning the ſtates of *Courland* to the late election, and manage the affairs of the dutchy.

A. D. 1727. *Meeting and ſpirited conduct of the diet.*

No *Poliſh* diet had ever exerted ſo bold a ſpirit as this: ſome of the firſt crowned heads in *Europe* were affronted, becauſe it was conceived their letters to the republic were not couched in terms ſufficiently reſpectful. In particular, a letter ſent by the king of *Great Britain* was read in the aſſembly, publicly condemned, his miniſter denied audience, and a reſolution formed not to receive any other ambaſſador from that monarch. His *Pruſſian* majeſty, and the other guarantees of the treaty of *Oliva*, were treated with the ſame haughtineſs; and even the pontiff himſelf felt the effects of this ſudden emotion of patriotiſm, which ſeemed to warm the breaſt of every member of the republic. The nuncio *Santerin* had not only attempted to enlarge the prerogative of the holy ſee in eccleſiaſtical affairs, but he buſied himſelf in politics, and became ſo odious, that the *Poles* reſolved to break their chains, and accordingly wrote to the pope to recal his nuncio. By order of the ſenate, the regent of the crown ſhut up the nunciature, and forbid that tribunal to ſit henceforward, or exert any juriſdiction, without the permiſſion of the republic.

Besides theſe reſolutions the diet took others, which in ſome meaſure altered the nature of the conſtitution. One very ſalutary decree reſpected the ſitting of diets for a certain number of weeks. Manifold were the inconveniences reſulting from this ordonnance, and the aſſembly determined to apply proper remedies. It was therefore decreed, that henceforth the diet ſhould not be reſtricted to a day; that the abuſes which had crept into the courts of judicature ſhould be reformed; that commiſſioners ſhould treat with the foreign miniſters; and that a grant ſhould be made to the king, and his ſuc-

ſucceſſors, of the lands purchaſed by *Auguſtus* for the building a palace.

SCARCE had the diet broke up when a deputy arrived from the dutchy of *Courland*, to demand, in the name of the ſtates, that the commiſſion iſſued by the republic ſhould not be repugnant to their privileges, endanger their form of government, or make any alteration in the late eventual election; and the ſenate referred him to the marechal of the crown, who was charged with the conſtitutions of the diet. A conference enſued; but as it produced nothing, the commiſſioners for the affair of *Courland* took every requiſite meaſure for eſtabliſhing the intereſts of the republic. Duke *Ferdinand* was invited to meet them at *Mittau*, and a body of *Poliſh* and *Lithuanian* forces had orders to move towards the frontiers of *Courland*. The juncture now was critical. Count *Maurice* had wrote a letter to his father king *Auguſtus*, declaring the invincible neceſſity which he was under of diſobeying his majeſty's orders, or being guilty of a breach of honour and gratitude. "I hold, ſaid he, a diſtinguiſhed employment in the "armies of the moſt Chriſtian King, where fear will admit "of no diſguiſe, nor treachery of interpretation; and ſhould "I be able to ſurmount all theſe eſſential conſiderations, yet "I ſhall never be able to avoid the reproach of my own con"ſcience, were any motives capable of inducing me to de"viate from the direct paths of honour and virtue. I have "nothing ſo profoundly at heart as an intire reſignation to "your majeſty's will; but reputation is accountable only to "itſelf: I alone muſt anſwer for blemiſhes in my character; "and were I capable of renouncing this principle, I ſhould "no longer be worthy of your favour. Neither caprice nor "levity engaged me to conſent to my election: it was that "generous ambition which animates every worthy mind; and "I was unanimouſly choſen by the body of that illuſtrious "nobility, who have ſignalized themſelves for ages by their "attachment to *Poland*, who have contributed to the glory "and intereſts of the republic, who have an equal right to "freedom with her, and who neither intend, demand, or "aſpire to any thing farther than the defence of their natural "privileges, and perſiſting in that fidelity which reflects "honour on the memory of their anceſtors, and from which, "unleſs compelled, they will never depart."

THE manly, generous, and ſpirited manner of *Maurice* raiſed his reputation, and convinced the whole world, that he was deſerving of the honour to which he had lately been raiſed by the judicious ſuffrages of the *Courlanders*. Yet could not this extraordinary proof of his merit oblige the *Poles* to alter

their ſentiments, or depart from their intereſts. This prince had ſoon after a conference with the vice-chancellor of the *Poliſh* crown, in which he explained himſelf in ſuch a manner as rendered it obvious, that he would never renounce the *Courlanders*; but the conduct of the regency obliged him to alter his meaſures. The court of *Ruſſia* had threatened them, if they perſiſted in the eventual election; and an army of *Muſ-*
A. D. *covites*, under prince *Menzikoff*, was now on the borders of
1728. the dutchy, which obliged *Maurice* to fortify himſelf in the iſle of *Uſmitz*, where in vain he invited the *Courlanders* to join him; but they were overawed: he was attacked by the *Ruſſians*, and, after a defence that evinced his courage and martial abilities, forced to retire.

THE affair of *Courland*, the czarina's deſigns to ſecure that dutchy for *Menzikoff*, the threatened invaſion of the *Tartars*, the meditated revolt of the *Coſſacks*, and the ſuſpicion that *Auguſtus* was taking meaſures to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown to the electoral prince, all contributed to raiſe a fer-
The republic jealous of the king. ment in the republic, which was conſiderably augmented by the king's illneſs. A diſorder had appeared the preceding year in his foot, which threatened a mortification: his phyſicians were forced to have recourſe to amputation, and, with the loſs of his great toe, they apparently reſtored his health; inſomuch that he was able to perform a journey to *Saxony*, where he now relapſed with redoubled danger. *Auguſtus* laboured by every poſſible method to calm the minds of his ſubjects; but to little purpoſe. The nobility took fire at ſome inſtances
A. D. of paternal regard which he had ſhewn the electoral prince;
1729. and ſeemed intirely to forget, that, except in the election of the reigning monarch, the crown had gone in a direct line from father to ſon for many centuries, though it was ſtill deemed elective. He propoſed holding a diet this year at *Grodno*, but was prevented by the progreſs of his diſeaſe; and it was ſuppoſed that he had paved the way for the eventual election of the prince royal. As ſoon as his health permitted, he publiſhed his *univerſalia* for another diet; but by this time faction roſe ſo high, that no aſſembly could be held: upon which *Auguſtus* retired greatly diſſatisfied to his electoral dominions; and the *Lithuanians* publiſhed a proteſt againſt his departure without the conſent of the ſenate, and before he had redreſſed a variety of grievances, propoſed to him in a ſtrong remonſtrance. To remove their diſcontents, he con-
A. D. voked a diet the enſuing year; but ſuch was the temper of
1730. the deputies, that it broke up in diſorder, before any reſolutions had been prepared. Without being diſcouraged by this diſappointment, he purſued the ſame courſe in the year 1732,

and

and with no better effect (A). Once more he ventured to reſume his purpoſe, and iſſued writs for the meeting of the diet in the month of *January*, 1733; and every thing promiſed a proſperous iſſue, when, getting out of his coach, *Auguſtus* hurt his foot, ſet the old wound a-bleeding, and was immediately ſeized with a fever. There remained, however, great hopes of recovery until the 29th, when a new ſymptom appeared, which boded the worſt conſequences. The whole leg appeared mortified, and this was attended with an acute pain in his head, and increaſe of the fever, which ended in death on the 31ſt of *January*, while the diet was ſitting. *Death and character of Auguſtus.* A. D. 1733.

THUS ended the life of a monarch whoſe virtues, vices, and fortune were very extraordinary. Good ſenſe, politeneſs, courage, and ſurpriſing bodily ſtrength, were oppoſed to incontinence, inconſtancy, imprudent ambition, and a diſregard of the moſt ſolemn engagements. *Auguſtus* was the moſt deſpotic monarch (as far as the nature of his ſituation would admit), agreeable friend, capricious lover, unfaithful husband, generous maſter, that had ever ruled the *Poliſh* ſceptre; and fortune repaid him with the ſame uſage he had ſhewn his miſ-

(A) We cannot help remarking, that this year was rendered memorable by two extraordinary events, which at that time engroſſed all converſation. The firſt was a ſentence paſſed on one *Dargelles*, a *Frenchman*, major of the royal regiment of crown-guards in *Poland*, who had ſuddenly diſappeared with ſeveral ſums of public money, taking with him a common proſtitute, and leaving behind a wife and numerous family. Not ſatisfied with theſe crimes, he had the inſolence to publiſh bitter libels and ſatires upon ſeveral of the firſt nobility of the kingdom: he retired to *Florence*, and the ſenate applied to the moſt Chriſtian king, that he would take meaſures for delivering up to puniſhment a wretch undeſerving of the protection of any ſtate. *Lewis* exerted himſelf, the criminal was ſeized, ſent under a ſtrong guard to *Poland*, and condemned by a great council of war to have his ſword broke over his head, and the pieces thrown in his face; to receive a box on the ear from the executioner; to have his right hand cut off, and afterwards to be hanged; the laſt part of which ſentence the king was pleaſed to change into perpetual impriſonment at *Dantzick*, on application made by his family.

This ſcene of diſgrace, and rigorous but juſt puniſhment, was followed by another of a more calamitous nature. The young prince *Sapieha*, only ſon to the palatine of *Podlachia*, a youth of promiſing genius, tired with the rigorous treatment of a ſevere tyrannical tutor, laid violent hands upon himſelf, and in a fit of deſpair put an end to a miſerable life by a piſtol; though ſome aſcribe his death to accident.

treſſes. Now at the height of power, and next moment plunged in the deepeſt abyſs of diſtreſs, he conſumed a long reign in contending with a prince his ſuperior in ſtrength and military addreſs, and in wrangling with his own ſubjects. In a word, he obtained an elective crown by dint of intrigue and corruption; he loſt it through ambition and miſtaken policy; he ſaw it placed on the head of a private nobleman by the hand of an inflexible conqueror, who alſo ſtripped him of his hereditary dominions; and he at length recovered both his crown and dominions by one of thoſe extraordinary turns of fortune for which his life was remarkable.

OUR readers have repeatedly ſeen how the death of *Auguſtus* gave birth to a bloody war between the houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*: however, as this incident has rather been mentioned than explained, we ſhall in this place enter more deeply into the politics of the ſeveral courts concerned, in order to convey as clear an idea as our materials will admit of the preſent ſituation of the *Poliſh* republic. The ſuſpicions entertained by the emperor *Charles* VI. that *Auguſtus* had entered upon ſtricter engagements with the court of *Verſailles* than were conſiſtent with friendly intentions towards the Pragmatic Sanction, occaſioned a coldneſs between the courts of *Vienna* and *Warſaw*, juſt before the death of the *Poliſh* monarch. In conſequence, ſeveral ſteps were taken by the Imperial miniſter to traverſe the king's deſign of ſecuring the ſucceſſion in his own family; but with ſuch caution and privacy, that the emperor's ſentiments were rather ſuſpected than diſcovered.

His ſon elected king of Poland.

The death of *Auguſtus* wrought a ſudden change. The electoral prince, now a candidate for the crown of *Poland*, was very well diſpoſed with reſpect to the emperor's favourite point, by which means he gained the intereſt and countenance not only of the court of *Vienna*, but of that of *Peterſburg* alſo. His competitor was *Staniſlaus*, the ſame prince who had torn the diadem from the temples of *Auguſtus*, ſupported by the king of *France* his ſon-in law, an amiable character, and the affections of a great number of palatines, won either by the gold of *France*, the eloquence of the marquis *de Monti*, or the engaging manners of *Staniſlaus*. *De Monti* had the addreſs to engage the primate in his intereſt; and the weight of this prelate's dignity, together with his vaſt abilities, ſoon formed a very powerful faction, which in the reſult produced a double election. *Staniſlaus* once more aſſumed the monarch, and was hurled down from the ſovereign dignity with the ſame precipitation as before. Immediately after his election he repaired to *Warſaw*, and was there received and treated with all the regal honours; a flattering proſpect, that ſoon vaniſhed

before the power of the *Ruſſians*. He was driven out of *Poland* by the celebrated count *Munich*, forced to take ſhelter in *Dantzick*, cloſely beſieged in that city, reduced to the laſt extremity, and, after running the utmoſt hazards and ſuſtaining a variety of hardſhips, at length he made his eſcape with infinite difficulty to the dominions of his *Pruſſian* majeſty, from whom he received the protection due to his quality and misfortunes. By this means the electoral prince acquired the peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſovereign dignity of *Poland*; and at the cloſe of the war no other proviſion was made for the fugitive *Staniſlaus*, than that he ſhould enjoy the poſſeſſion of the dutchy of *Lorrain*, and retain the empty title of king of *Poland*. The conduct of his *Poliſh* majeſty, in the war that enſued about the imperial ſucceſſion, is too well known and recent to be particularized: ſufficient it is, that this prince has now ſeen his electoral dominions become the prey of an aſpiring neighbouring prince, in two ſucceſſive ruptures between the head and members of the *Germanic* body, while the republic hath been forced to ſit a tame ſpectatreſs of the indignities put on her ſovereign. At preſent her conduct is rather cautious than politic: fear of the *Ruſſians* obliges her to oppoſe the ſcheme the czarina has formed of gaining a footing in the empire, by which means the *Poliſh* provinces will be more than ever expoſed to the ravages and ambitious purpoſes of that growing, formidable, and vaſt empire.

A. D. 1737. *Concluſion of the History of Poland.*

END *of the* HISTORY *of* POLAND.

The HISTORY of LITHUANIA.

SECT. I.

Containing a more explicit Account of the preſent State of the Great Dutchy of Lithuania *than is to be found in the* Poliſh *Hiſtory.*

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[a] CROMER, STELLA, &c. apud Piſtor.

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ſome time after this period that letters were brought into the great dutchy; and the *Latin* tongue began to be cultivated with the ſame aſſiduity as in *Poland:* yet far from making any efforts in polite learning, the *Lithuanians* contented themſelves with applying their knowledge of the *Roman* language to theological diſquiſitions, and that ſpecies of metaphyſical jargon, which in thoſe days might be deemed the epidemical diſtemper of *Europe*. The people had no turn for poetry, and that branch was neglected; they ſcarce knew any thing by oral tradition of their anceſtors, and the baſis of hiſtory was wanting. Accordingly we find that all the labour of learned diligent modern writers has ſcarce been able to compile naked annals, or to form a ſeries of the princes who ſucceſſively governed this country, with a few particulars of the wars, revolutions, and conqueſts. *Alexander Guagnini* is the only writer with whom we are acquainted, that even merits the name of an annaliſt; and how imperfect and conciſe he is will appear from the enſuing narrative, which is chiefly deduced from his account, amended and enlarged by obſervations extracted from *Stella*, *Cromer*, *Hartnoch*, and other writers, contained in that uſeful collection of the learned *Piſtorius*.

Etymology of Lithuania.

THE etymology of *Lithuania*, called *Litwa* by the natives, is equally uncertain and conjectural with the hiſtory of the dutchy. *Hartnoch* deduces the name from *Lituo*, a prince of the *Alani*, who ſettled in this country and obtained the ſovereignty. Hence he gave it the appellation of *Lituo-Alania*, whence by an eaſy tranſpoſition it came to be called *Lithuania*, or *Litwa*, ſimply. The etymon propoſed by *Guagnini* is much more ſtrained and unnatural. He alledges that *Palæmon*, an *Italian* nobleman, driven from his native land by the tyranny of the prince, arrived after a tedious navigation upon the coaſt of the *Baltic*, took up his reſidence in this country, obtained the ſovereignty, and gave it the appellation of *La Italia*, which, by mixing with the vernacular idiom, degenerated in courſe of time into *Lithuania*. In proof that ſuch a voyage and family exiſted, we find no ſtronger argument than that the *Sclavonic*, or vernacular tongue of this country, is blended with a variety of *Latin* words; and that the names of the noble families are in general *Italian*, while thoſe of the vulgar are intirely *Sclavonian*. The ſtrength of this argument, and the probability of the above conjectures, we ſhall ſubmit to the examination of our curious readers, and proceed to a deſcription of the country [b].

[b] HART. tom. i. p. 2. GUAG. apud Piſtor. tom. ii. p. 381.

Geography and commodities of Lithuania.

IN the hiſtory of *Poland* we gave ſuch a general account as we thought neceſſary to elucidate the narrative; we ſhall now be more particular, in order to make the public better acquainted with a country almoſt intirely unknown to the ſouthern and weſtern nations of *Europe*[c]. The dutchy of *Lithuania* is of vaſt extent, being bordered by *Ruſſia* and *Livonia* on the North; on the Eaſt by *Volhinia* and *Ruſſia-rubra*; on the South and Weſt by *Upper Poland*, *Podlachia*, *Ducal Pruſſia*, and *Samogitia*. It is watered by ſeveral fine rivers, of which the chief are the *Nieper*, *Dwina*, *Niemen*, and *Przipiec*, and covered by vaſt foreſts, moſt of which are divided by large, fertile, and beautiful lawns, extremely well cultivated. Since the reign of the firſt *Sigiſmund* the country has been exceedingly improved, by cutting down the woods and purſuing agriculture with more ſkill and diligence than had ever been exerted before that period. The paſture of *Lithuania* is fine; and the fleeces yielded by the ſheep ſo exquiſite, that in this conſiſts one of the moſt valuable commodities of the country. The lakes and rivers are well ſtocked with fiſh; the woods abound with bears, wolves, wild boars, deer, buffaloes, and game of every kind: in a word, the neceſſaries of life are in great plenty, yet the people are poor and wretched for want of a well directed induſtry. Money is ſcarce beyond conception, becauſe the inhabitants have no idea of commerce; and the *Lithuanians* may be ſaid to ſtarve amidſt abundance, merely becauſe the nobility are proud, and the peaſants lazy, ignorant, and oppreſſed, like their neighbours in *Poland*. Were it not for the averſion to trade, which the *Lithuanians* expreſs, a prodigious traffic might be driven in corn, beef, hides, wool, honey, pot-aſhes, wood-aſhes, and other commodities, whence the country might be enriched, and the people ſufficiently ſupplied with all the ſuperfluities that by other nations are univerſally deemed eſſential to happineſs.

Vaſſalage of the inferior nobility.

THE ſame kind of vaſſalage and ſervitude prevails here as in *Poland*; the peaſants are the ſlaves of the nobility, and the latter ſo numerous that the whole dutchy, were it equally parcelled, would be inſufficient to ſupport their dignity. On the contrary, the lands are in the hands of a few grandees, whoſe revenues are truly princely, while the inferior nobility, equally poor and deſpicable, are forced to enter in the capacity of pages, bailiffs, valets, ſtewards, and treaſurers, into the ſervice of the more wealthy; yet they maintain their titles, oppreſs the peaſants, and become inſolent and rapa-

[c] Page 3.

cious,

cious, in proportion to their indigence. Several of the rich and powerful nobility retain above an hundred gentlemen and noblemen of high quality, by way of pageantry; they are profuſe, vain, and oſtentatious, ſquandering their vaſt revenues in a barbarous magnificence, that ſavours neither of taſte nor ſentiment; and indeed ſuch is the general defect in the œconomy of the great, that property would be continually ſhifting, were it not that they engroſs all the lucrative employments and places in the diſpoſal of the ſovereign.

LITHUANIA, united in a political view under one head with the *Poliſh* republic, nevertheleſs preſerves its own diſtinct privileges, laws, civil and military officers, and an army ſeparate from that of *Poland*, commanded by a general independent on the grand general of the republic; a circumſtance frequently attended with inconvenience, and fatal to the meaſures planned by the adminiſtration: yet is this a prerogative which the *Lithuanians* cannot be expected to ſurrender, as independency in this and other particulars was the expreſs condition of the union, equally advantageous in all other reſpects to both nations, eſpecially ſince that coequation eſtabliſhed in 1413, with reſpect to public offices and the protection of liberty. The ſame religion is profeſſed in both countries, the Catholic faith being eſtabliſhed by law, though a variety of ſchiſmatics are tolerated, and even protected by the laws. The dutchy ſwarms with *Jews*, *Socinians*, *Lutherans*, and *Calviniſts*; but of all diſſenters the *Greeks* meet with the moſt encouragement from the government, which civility may poſſibly be aſcribed to the dread the *Lithuanians* are under of the power of *Ruſſia*, where this mode of religion is eſtabliſhed.

FOR centuries back the *Muſcovites* have been regarded as the inveterate enemies of *Lithuania*; and we have ſeen repeated inſtances of their terrible incurſions and ravages, in courſe of the preceding hiſtory; yet are many of the cuſtoms and manners of both nations extremely ſimilar. The peaſants plough, ſow, feed, and dreſs in nearly the ſame manner: both are extravagantly fond of ſpirituous liquors, and each preſerve ſome remains of the antient idolatry, notwithſtanding Chriſtianity hath been long embraced. *Hauteville* informs us, that as late as the year 1697, great numbers of the *Lithuanian* peaſants uſed to ſacrifice, at a certain time of the year, to an imaginary deity, whom they called *Ziemmieneck*; and it is well known, that at this day they maintain, with great care, a ſpecies of ſerpents in their houſes, which they worſhip as domeſtic tutelary deities, at the ſame time that they make profeſſion of the light of the Goſpel.

Already

Already we have ſhewn that this people were followers of the doctrines of *Zoroaſter*; and we are told that their veneration for fire is not yet laid aſide: however, the accounts we have of the ſpeculative opinions, as well as the practice of the *Lithuanians*, are ſo imperfect and unſatisfactory, that we muſt drop the ſubject, chuſing rather to appear deficient than fabulous.

Deſcription of Wilna.

We ſhall now give a ſhort deſcription of the principal cities of this dutchy, from whence an idea of the power, wealth, and preſent ſtate of *Lithuania* may be collected. The firſt in dignity, opulence, and extent, is *Wilna*, *Vilna*, or *Wilda*, the capital of the dutchy, ſituated on the banks of the *Wilia*, near the confluence of this river and the *Wilika*, and built like antient *Rome*, on ſeveral little eminences (A). The antient palace of the dukes is in this city; it was magnificent, but now is become ruinous, being converted into an arſenal and court of juſtice. As late as the reign of *Sobieski*, *Wilna* was in a flouriſhing condition, being adorned with the ducal palace, kept in great order, and fortified by two ſtrong caſtles. Still it is decorated by a rich and beautiful church, built in the year 1386, in which ſtands a ſilver ſhrine, ſaid to weigh above thirty quintals. The populouſneſs and great extent of *Wilna* may be judged from the number of its churches, which exceed forty, whereof only two are allowed for Proteſtants. Conſidering how often this city has been the ſcene of deſolation, it is ſurpriſing it ſhould retain any part of its antient magnificence. In 1610 it was laid waſte by the *Ruſſians*. In leſs than fifty years after it met with the ſame fate, before it had recovered ſtrength and vigour. In 1737 it was deſtroyed by fire; and in 1748 there happened a dreadful conflagration, whereby thirteen churches, the *Jewiſh* ſynagogue, twenty-five palaces, and four hundred and ſixty-nine ſtone buildings, near two hundred ſhops, and a great number of private houſes, were laid in aſhes. About thirteen years ſince, the city was again ſet on fire by lightning, which conſumed ſeveral churches, eight palaces, the council-houſe, and near three hundred ſtone edifices, beſides an infinity of wood houſes, the common method of building in *Lithuania*. The great church ſuſtained conſiderable damage; the chapel of *St. Caſimir* was deſtroyed, which loſs alone was eſtimated at

(A) This city is alſo called *Vilenſki* by the natives, and *Die Wilde* by the *Germans*; but the moſt common name is *Wilna*, to which we have adhered in the courſe of our narrative (1).

(1) *Connor, tom.* i. *lett.* vi.

ſeveral

ſeveral millions of the money of the country. *Wilna* has a college endowed with a variety of privileges. This ſeminary was founded in 1570, by biſhop *Szuſkowſki*, confirmed nine years after by king *Stephen*, and erected into an univerſity by *Gregory* XIII. at the requeſt of the biſhop of *Wilna*, the founder. There are ſeven profeſſors of theology, ſeven of polite learning, or *humanity*, and four of philoſophy; but this branch of ſcience hath made ſcarce any progreſs, the old *Ariſtotelian* philoſophy being ſtill taught in the ſchools, as more conſonant to the abſurd ſcheme of divinity, which to this day keeps its ground in *Poland* and *Lithuania*.

Troki. In the palatinate of *Troki* ſtands the city of that name, called in *Latin*, *Trocum*. This city is large, populous, built with wood, and fortified by two caſtles, and a ſtrong wall, which is now falling into ruin. Before the palace at *Wilna* was built, the ducal reſidence was at *Troki*; but the city and palace were deſtroyed by fire in the year 1390, and again demoliſhed by the *Ruſſians* in 1655. Notwithſtanding *Troki* is deemed the capital of the palatinate, it is greatly inferior in bulk, beauty, opulence, and number of inhabitants, to

Grodno. *Grodno*, the alternate reſidence of the united diets of *Poland* and *Lithuania*. This city ſtands on the river *Niemen*; is defended by an old caſtle, deep moat, and ſtrong fortifications, now mouldering into decay. The greateſt ornaments of the city are a beautiful bridge, laid over the river by *Sigiſmund* III. the fineſt piece of architecture in the *Poliſh* dominions, and an elegant palace built by the preſent king of *Poland*, at an immenſe expence. The palaces belonging to the families of *Sapieha* and *Radzivil* are likewiſe very ſuperb ſtructures, to which we may add the Jeſuit church, and a few other public and private edifices. In *Grodno* the fraternity of *Jeſus* have a college for the inſtruction of youth, which is in conſiderable reputation, many of the nobility, both of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, ſending their children to receive the firſt principles of education, under the tuition of a ſociety celebrated for their ſkill in the arts and ſciences. In 1753 almoſt the whole city was conſumed by fire; but it has been ſince rebuilt, and reſtored to its former grandeur.

Breſcia. *BRESSIA*, *Brecia*, *Briſcia*, or *Brezsk*, is a large wooden city, built on the borders of *Lithuania*, ſtanding on the river *Bog*, and the capital of a palatinate of its own name. Here is the moſt numerous ſociety of *Jews* in *Europe*, and a kind of an academy of Rabbinical erudition, to which the *Jews* of *Italy* and the *German* provinces, not only reſort, but ſtudy and paſs through certain learned degrees. At a ſmall diſtance from the city ſtands a royal palace of good archi-

architecture, but neglected by the reigning family. In the ſame palatinate ſtands *Biala*, once famous for its univerſity, and now remarkable only upon account of a fine palace belonging to the houſe of *Radzivil*.

Mſciſlaw. *MSCISLAW*, the capital of a palatinate of that name, in the province of *Lithuanian-Ruſſia*, built of wood, defended by a ſtrong caſtle, and generally well garriſoned on account of its vicinity to the frontiers of *Muſcovy*.

Novogrodec. *NOVOGRODEC*, alſo the capital of a palatinate in the ſame province, is a large town, built with the ſame materials as the former, and antiently the patrimony of the ſecond ſons of the ſovereigns of the Great Dutchy.

Witieſbo. THE next city which deſerves any notice is *Witiesbo*, or *Vitesbo*. It is ſituated on the banks of the *Dwina*, is defended by two ſtrong caſtles, and carries on a conſiderable trade with *Riga*, and other places in *Livonia*. In *Guagnini*'s time there was conſtantly a garriſon of two thouſand men kept here; and he acquaints us, that himſelf commanded one of the companies, conſiſting of five hundred ſoldiers.

Minſki. *MINSKI* is the metropolitan of a palatinate of the ſame name, in the above province. The city is large and ſtrong, being incloſed by a double wall, a deep ditch, and other fortifications, which, however, could now make but a ſlight reſiſtance againſt the improvements in the methods of attack.

Polockz. THE laſt city we ſhall mention is *Polockz*, the capital of the palatinate of this name, in *Black Ruſſia*, a part of *Lithuanian Ruſſia*. It ſtands on the *Dwina*, is well fortified with two ſtrong caſtles, and is the reſidence of a biſhop. The inhabitants carry on a conſiderable trade, and money is in great abundance in this city, on account of the provincial diets and courts of judicature, which are held in this place. In *Polockz* the Jeſuits have a college, and the *Greeks* an academy, for the ſtudy of philoſophy. We thought it neceſſary to give the reader this ſhort account of a country ſo little known in the weſtern parts of *Europe*; but to enter upon a minute topographical deſcription of every town and diſtrict would be foreign to our deſign, and equally deſtitute of amuſement and inſtruction.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Containing the History of the Great Dukes of Lithuania, *until the Union of the Dutchy with* Poland *in the Reign of* Jagello.

IT is probable that the *Lithuanians* have the same common origin with the *Poles*, and all the northern nations. Writers, indeed, pretend to ascertain the particular name by which they were anciently distinguished, and call them the *Gepidæ*, a branch of that vast army of *Cimbri* who over-ran *Italy* in the consulship of *Caius Marius*, and were defeated and driven back with the loss of forty thousand men by that hero. About the fifth century the inhabitants of the dutchy had the name of *Lithuanians*, according to *Erasmus Stella*, from *Litalanus*, son of *Venedictus*, king of *Prussia*, their conqueror. None of the circumstances of this affair are recorded, though *Stella*'s conjectures have an air of probability, and, if not true, must be allowed at least to be ingenious. For a great number of years they were subject to the *Russians*, a people then immersed in the grossest idolatry and most pitiable ignorance: the manners of both were nearly the same, and consequently we cannot expect a single ray of light to direct our inquiries into this period of obscurity. Whether the *Lithuanians* were governed during their subjection by a *Russian* lieutenant, or whether they had their own princes, and only paid tribute to the conquerors, is what we cannot determine: history only mentions, that *Mendolphus*, or *Mendog*, *Witenus*, and *Gediminus*, were the first *Lithuanians* who made any attempts to break the shackles in which the people were held, and to claim independency. Those heroes kindled up the sparks of liberty which had long been smothered under the most tyrannical servitude; and notwithstanding the total ignorance of the *Lithuanians* in the art of war, their broken and oppressed spirit, and that pusillanimity which ever accompanies slavery, they so animated them by their eloquence and example, that a general revolt appeared, and divers obstinate battles were fought with the *Russians*. Practice soon made the *Lithuanians* soldiers: they were brave and hardy by nature, and wanted only military skill, and proof that their conquerors were not invincible, to acquire freedom and reputation. We shall have occasion to relate their transactions, when we come to the reign of those princes.

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tinguiſhed themſelves in the expedition, which they afterwards held on the footing of military tenures. To this day divers noble families in that country bear the names of thoſe heroes who had been honoured with theſe marks of ſovereign eſteem. It is probable, that young *Erdzivil* was all this while at the head of the forces; for we now find him augmenting his troops, marching againſt the *Tartars*, and defeating their king *Kurdaſſus* in a bloody pitched battle, fought at the town of *Mezera*, near the river *Okuniokya*. He is indeed mentioned by our author as prince of *Lithuania*; and it is poſſible he might have ſucceeded to that dignity on the death of *Zivibund*, his valour and other heroic qualities having rendered him extremely popular; yet is there no expreſs detail of his government, though *Guagnini* intimates that he reigned, when he ſays that he was ſucceeded by his two ſons,

MINGAILUS and ALGIMUNTUS.

MINGAILUS and *Algimuntus* were the children of *Erdzivil*. The latter had *Samogitia* for his portion, and the former *Lithuania*; a dutchy which we ſee was always aſſigned to the elder brother as the moſt valuable, and in ſome meaſure the paternal part of the *Lithuanian* dominions; for though, among the northern nations, the power of election was veſted in the people, yet there are but comparatively few inſtances where primogeniture hath been ſet aſide, except for incapacity to govern, or ſome fault of diſpoſition. We know nothing of the government of *Algimuntus*, and little more of that of *Mingailus*, than that he trode in the ſyſtem laid down by his father, of extending his authority at the expence of the inveterate enemies of his dutchy, the *Ruſſians*. After a variety of ſkirmiſhes, attended with various fortune, he came at length to a general action with the enemy near *Grodzeckz*, a *Ruſſian* fortreſs, which he deſtroyed; and after victory had been long diſputed with great obſtinacy, and ſeveral thouſands on both ſides were ſlain, fortune declared for *Mingailus*, the *Ruſſians* were totally defeated, the city *Polocz* was taken, the province of that name reduced, and the government of the reigning prince rendered as abſolute as that of his father over the territory of *Novogrodec*. Having by theſe means ſecured and extended his dominions, exalted his character, and impreſſed the neighbouring princes with awe and reſpect for his perſon, he yielded up his laſt breath, and left his dominions to his two ſons, in the ſame equal manner that had been practiſed by all the former princes of *Lithuania*.

SKIRMUNT, or SKIERMUN, and GINVIL.

THE firſt of theſe princes, who was alſo the elder brother, was duke of *Lithuania* and *Novogrodec*; while the younger, in conſequence of his father's will, entered into the poſſeſſion of *Polocz*, which he formed into a dutchy. *Skirmunt* was mild, timid, and inactive, contenting himſelf with the quiet enjoyment of his own dominions, without ſeeking to enlarge them, or encroach on the property of his neighbours; in which conſiſted almoſt the whole virtue of the barbarous princes of that military age, when valour was deemed ſuperior to all other qualities, and juſtice in a ſovereign was thought a plea for puſillanimity. Nothing is recorded beſides of this duke.—His brother was of a diſpoſition the very reverſe of what we have deſcribed: lively, impetuous, and ambitious, he adopted the maxims purſued by his father and grandfather; regarded the *Ruſſian* dominions as legal plunder; and though there ſubſiſted no other cauſe of difference than the ancient animoſity of the two nations, he entered upon a war, and by his ſucceſs gained the reputation of a hero. *Ginvil* was the firſt of the *Lithuanian* race of princes who embraced Chriſtianity. He was converted by his wife, a lady of *German* extraction, was baptized by the name of *Ginvil*, and died a ſincere believer, leaving the dutchy of *Polocz* to his ſon *Boris*, who alſo ſucceeded to his uncle's dominions, *Skirmunt* having left no male iſſue.

BORIS.

NO ſooner were the laſt obſequies performed to the memory of *Ginvil* than *Boris* took into his hands the reins of authority, and ſoon gave convincing proofs of his dexterity and capacity. He did not enter upon open hoſtilities with any of his neighbours; but the formidable army which he maintained, and the excellent œconomy obſervable through every department of the ſtate, impreſſed the powers moſt diſpoſed to a rupture with ſuch an idea of *Boris*, that fear obliged them to drop their reſentment and ambitious deſigns. Having, by mere dint of good policy, ſecured the peace of his dominions, he applied himſelf to beautify and adorn the country with ſeveral magnificent buildings, among the principal of which might be reckoned the church of *St. Sophia*, a beautiful edifice built with bricks. To this prince the town and caſtle of *Boriſſow* owe their origin, as well as ſeveral cities, churches, and public buildings; from whence we may infer, that, bred up in the Chriſtian faith by his parents, he was deſirous of extending

the bleſſings of the Goſpel (A). After all, it is doubtful whether this prince was actually ſovereign of *Lithuania*, or whether he ſucceeded to *Polocz* only. Some writers alledge, that *Mingailus* left a ſon, who governed in *Lithuania* during the period we have recited in the two laſt reigns; but as it would be impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, and with the ſcanty materials which the annals of this country afford, to correct any errors that may have crept into the ſucceſſion, we ſhall purſue the order obſerved by *Guagnini*, and relate all that we know of the dukes of the new dutchy *Polocz*, as there appears a probability that they might alſo have been dukes of *Lithuania*.

BASILIUS RACHWOLD.

THE next prince of *Polocz*, and probably of *Lithuania*, was *Baſilius Rachwold*, the ſon of *Boris*, celebrated for the humanity of his diſpoſition, and the ſound policy that reigned through his whole government. No particulars of this reign are tranſmitted to poſterity, farther than that it was happy and pacific. *Baſilius*, dying at an advanced age, left his dominions to his ſon *Illebus* and his daughter *Poroſkavia*.

HEBUS and POROSKAVIA.

THE dominions of *Baſilius* were divided between *Hebus* and his ſiſter; but we are ſtrangers to the provinces aſſigned to each; nor do we know any thing more of the prince than that he died ſoon after his acceſſion, and left *Poroſkavia* ſole ſovereign. This lady was a devotee: at firſt ſhe was a bigot to the church of *Greece*, and employed her whole time in the ceremonies enjoined by that religion. Towards the cloſe of life ſhe was converted to the Catholic faith, and ſoon became the weak tool of prieſtcraft, ſuperſtition, and hypocriſy, carrying her enthuſiaſm ſo far as to deſert her people for the ſake of kiſſing the toe of St. *Peter's* repreſentative, and offering up her devotions before certain relicks at *Rome*, where ſhe died.

(A) It will admit of no doubt that *Boris* was a Chriſtian, if what *Guagnini* alledges be credited, *viz.* that he built a monaſtery, and fine church, to the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, which he endowed with certain privileges. This at the ſame time implies, that he was not duke of *Lithuania*; for *Jagello* is ſaid to be the firſt convert to Chriſtianity in that dutchy (1).

(1) *Vide Crom. tom.* i. *apud Piſt.*

SKIR-

SKIRMUNT II.

It is next to impoſſible to determine whether this prince was the ſon of *Poroſkavia*, or only the next of kin to the ducal crown. *Guagnini*, indeed, ſpeaks of him as if he were the ſon of *Mingailus*, the elder ſon of *Erdzivil*, who, according to ſome writers, ſucceeded to the ducal throne of *Zivibund*. But it appears, from ſome expreſſions in the *Poliſh* writers, that there was at leaſt the ſpace of fourſcore years between *Zivibund* and *Poroſkavia*; whence we conjecture that *Boris*, *Baſilius*, and *Hebus*, were actually ſovereigns of *Lithuania*, as well as of *Polocz*, though they took up their reſidence in the latter dutchy; and that the *Skirmunt* whoſe reign we are now about to relate, was either the ſon of *Poroſkavia*, or a prince of the blood, raiſed at her death to the ſupreme dignity by the ſuffrages of the people. The four laſt mentioned princes take up a ſhorter period than the ſingle reign of *Skirmunt*, according to *Guagnini*; and yet he confeſſes, that *Baſilius* reigned a great number of years, and died at a very advanced age; by which means he renders the *Luthuanian* chronology ſo perplexed, that there is no poſſibility of reconciling it with the *Poliſh*, except by ſuppoſing that two princes of the ſame name wore the ducal crown at different and diſtant intervals. We muſt acknowledge, however, that, after all our labour, we have not been able to fix the preciſe time when each duke flouriſhed; but we may form a general eſtimate of the chronology of the *Lithuanian* princes, by tracing them back from *Jagello*, or even from ſome of his predeceſſors; becauſe the æra of his acceſſion to the crown of *Poland* is determined, and ſome of the tranſactions of the preceding reigns happen to coincide with the relations of the *Poliſh* writers. *Skirmunt* II. was conſtantly engaged in war with the *Ruſſians*, and generally victorious. He gave their general *Miceſlaus*, whom ſome call duke of *Ruſſia*, a deciſive overthrow in the neighbourhood of *Pinſka*; then ſtormed, ſacked, and deſtroyed that city, and reduced *Terowia*. Afterwards he defeated *Balaklaius*, prince of the *Tartars*, who had made incurſions into his conqueſts in *Ruſſia*; and, after taking ſeveral thouſand priſoners, obliged him to retreat with great precipitation. He next carried fire and ſword into the very bowels of the *Muſcovite* empire, becauſe the prince of *Ruſſia*, in conjunction with the *Tartars*, had endeavoured to revenge the late diſgraces by an attack on *Lithuania*. Notwithſtanding theſe repeated victories, the dutchy was ſtill regarded as a province, and the dukes acknowledged the ſovereignty of the

great duke of *Ruſſia*, at the ſame time they were engaged in open hoſtilities with his great vaſſals and the governors of provinces, who ſometimes threw off their allegiance to the ſovereign. This would ſeem to be the caſe in the preſent inſtance; for though we are told that the *Lithuanians* and *Ruſſians* were perpetually at war, yet it is confeſſed that *Mendog* was the firſt who broke the chains of the *Lithuanians*, and rendered the dutchy independent on the *Ruſſian* empire. *Skirmunt* now met a body of *Muſcovites* in the open field, and after defeating them with prodigious ſlaughter, ſubdued the cities and provinces of *Mozera*, *Czernichovia*, and *Carazovia*, which he annexed to his own dominions, and left to his three ſons, to be held of the ducal crown of *Lithuania*, that went to his uncle *Kukovitus*.

KUKOVITUS.

THIS reign exhibits a ſtrong preſumption that the *Lithuanian* crown was elective; for we ſee the three ſons of the late ſovereign ſet aſide to make way for the uncle, though no reaſon is aſſigned for this proceeding by any hiſtorian. *Kukovitus* purſued different maxims from thoſe adopted by his nephew; and, either out of policy, or from a pacific diſpoſition, ſtruck up a treaty with the *Ruſſians*, which he preſerved inviolably through a long ſeries of years to the end of his life. At his deceaſe his dominions devolved to his ſon-in-law,

GIEDRUSSUS,

who had married his only daughter and ſole heireſs *Paiata*. He was a prince of extraordinary ability and valour; yet he found it adviſeable to preſerve the public tranquillity, and live upon terms of friendſhip with the *Ruſſians*, whom he deteſted as the inveterate enemies of his country. To this ſyſtem he cloſely adhered during the courſe of a long reign, by which means he rendered the inhabitants of *Lithuania* and *Samogitia* more happy than under any former prince. Impartial poſterity will admire the virtue of a ſovereign who is capable of ſacrificing his inclinations and ambition to the real intereſt of his people.

RINGOLT.

ON the death of *Giedruſſus*, *Ringolt*, his only ſon, ſtepped into the ducal throne with the unanimous conſent of the whole nation, who had diſcovered in his youth all the qualities of a hero, which however the maxims of his father's government had prevented his exerting. To the ſound judgment

ment of the parent, he joined all that fire and vigour of genius which prompts the ſoul to action and enterprize. He was ſenſible he might preſerve his dominions in peace and ſecurity by following the ſteps marked out by his predeceſſor; but he likewiſe knew that the civil diviſions in *Ruſſia* afforded an opportunity of extending his authority, and perhaps of recovering national liberty, and aboliſhing that ſhameful and grating tribute paid to the grand duke of *Muſcovy*. This laſt was a policy more conſonant to his inclinations, and that activity of mind of which he was poſſeſſed. He therefore began to augment his forces and garriſons, and made all the neceſſary preparations for coming to an open rupture; and the firſt year after his acceſſion, he refuſed paying the uſual homage to a prince who conſidered himſelf as his ſovereign. *Ringolt's* ſpirited conduct incenſed the great duke of *Ruſſia*, and determined him not only to levy the tribute, but to invade *Lithuania*, and ſtrip the young prince of all his dominions. Accordingly he aſſembled a prodigious army, compoſed of *Ruſſians* and *Tartars*, marched towards the frontiers of the dutchy, and advanced to *Mohelna*, where he was met with far inferior forces by *Ringolt*, who nevertheleſs joined battle without reluctance. The engagement was bloody; numbers were oppoſed to courage, and victory for a long while fluctuated from one ſide to another. At length *Ringolt*, ſupported by a body of choſen troops, broke in upon the *Tartars*, and defeated them with terrible carnage. Their confuſion produced diſorder among the *Ruſſians*, which was improved by the ſkill and intrepidity of the *Lithuanian* duke, who, dropping the purſuit of the fugitive *Tartars*, fell upon the rear of the *Ruſſians* with his ſelect corps, and without conſiderable loſs obtained a complete victory. In this engagement were ſlain three generals of the firſt diſtinction in the *Ruſſian* army, and the czar eſcaped being taken priſoner with the utmoſt difficulty. In a word, it was the moſt glorious and deciſive advantage ever obtained by the *Lithuanians* againſt an enemy: it opened the way to conqueſt, and laid the foundation of that liberty that was ſo bravely recovered by *Mendog*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of the intrepid *Ringolt*. After this victory, the prince crowned his reputation by a variety of acts of clemency and publ c ſpirit; but we are not informed whether he purſued his blow, enlarged his dominions, or aboliſhed the tribute, agreeable to his firſt reſolution. We may infer, that he ſtill conſented to acknowledge the ſovereignty of *Muſcovy*, as *Mendog*, *Vitenus*, and *Gediminus*, are called the firſt princes who reſtored and fully eſtabliſhed the independency of *Lithuania*.

MENDOG.

A. D. 1245. FULL of years and glory *Ringold* died, and left the dutchy of *Lithuania*, and vaſt territory of *Samogitia*, to his ſon *Mendog*, with the full conſent and approbation of his ſubjects. The young prince inherited all the good qualities of his glorious anceſtors: he had been taught the arts of war and peace under the immediate inſtruction of a father, who was the beſt ſtateſman and ſoldier in his dominions. His genius was quick, penetrating, and lively; and his capacity vaſt and extenſive. He entered upon the government with advantages which no former prince ever enjoyed: the revenues were in the beſt order, the army completely flushed with victory, and the people extremely attached to his perſon; conſequently he was enabled to enter upon ſtill greater deſigns than *Ringold*'s ſituation would permit. His firſt expeditions were againſt the knights of the *Teutonick* Order reſiding in *Pruſſia*, who, by dint of valour and intrigue, had gained poſſeſſion of a vaſt tract of country, were daily augmenting their territories, and were now become formidable to *Poland*, and all the neighbouring ſtates and kingdoms. It was policy, rather than any particular injury, that impelled *Mendog* to this enterprize. He perceived that the moſt rational means of eſtabliſhing the ſecurity of his own dominions was to attack an ambitious fraternity, who would certainly invade *Lithuania* as ſoon as a fair opportunity offered, and they believed themſelves ſufficiently powerful. With this view he advanced at the head of a numerous army towards *Pruſſia*, and penetrated into the bowels of the country before the knights had prepared the means of reſiſtance. Here he reduced a great variety of towns, and obtained ſuch important advantages, that the fraternity made all the conceſſions required, and gave full ſecurity that they would make no attempts to diſturb the peace either of *Lithuania* or *Samogitia*.

HAVING fully accompliſhed his deſigns on this ſide, *Mendog* turned his arms againſt the petty ſovereigns of *Smolenſko* and *Volhinia*, whom he ſoon reduced to a ſtate of dependence and fealty upon the crown of *Lithuania*. This drew him into a war with *Boleſlaus the Chaſte*, king of *Poland*, who claimed *Smolenſko* and *Volhinia* as provinces of the republic, which he was bound by the *pacta conventa* to protect and deliver down to his ſucceſſor. It is probable too, that *Boleſlaus* had taken part with the *Teutonick* knights, who had been greatly aſſiſting to him in the recovery of his right againſt the children of *Conrade* and *Henry the Bearded*, as well as in driving the *Tar-*

tars

tars out of *Poland.* Be this as it may, certain it is, that *Mendog*, or *Mimdacus*, entered the dominions of the republic, where he committed terrible ravages, almoſt without oppoſition, as the whole country was at that time divided into civil factions. The *Poliſh* writers however alledge, that he was at length met and defeated by the republican army, though nothing to this purpoſe appears in the *Lithuanian* annals. The truth is, that each nation endeavours to magnify victories, and conceal defeats, with as much induſtry as if the fortune of a war, carried on above five centuries ſince, could any way affect the reputation of the preſent generation. If we are to be determined by probability, the advantage was on the ſide of *Mendog*. He was poſſeſſed of great military talents; he was ſupported by a numerous army flushed with conqueſt; he fought a divided oppreſſed enemy; and he no ſooner rid himſelf of this enterprize, than he entered upon another ſtill more dangerous: but we can decide nothing with certainty, where the different relations are ſo contradictory.

MENDOG terminating the *Poliſh* war, as we conjecture to his ſatisfaction, employed his arms in the next place againſt *Daniel* duke of *Ruſſia*, or emperor of *Muſcovy*, over whom he obtained many ſignal victories, in deſpite of the ſuperiority of that powerful antagoniſt. We imagine the *Poles* were, at this time, in alliance with the *Ruſſians*; for *Guagnini* alledges, that the *Lithuanians* deſtroyed whole armies of Chriſtians, although we imagine the doctrine of the goſpel was not then publicly received in *Muſcovy*; and indeed it would ſeem from this expreſſion, that *Mendog* himſelf had abjured the truths which had been adopted by ſome of his anceſtors. This is farther confirmed by an expreſs declaration that he had been converted to Chriſtianity by the *Teutonic* knights, in acknowledgment of which ſervice he made over all his dominions to the order, by an irrevocable decree, at the perſuaſion of *Henry de Saltza*, or as he is frequently called *Herman a Salſen*, the fourth grand-maſter. This fit of gratitude was but of ſhort duration: *Mendog* began to reflect upon the deſpicable figure he ſhould make after he was diveſted of his dignity and dominions, which he now regarded as more than an equivalent for the new lights he had received. He repented of the exchange; and notwithſtanding ambaſſadors had been diſpatched to *Rome* to procure the pontiff's ratification, he determined to retract, and not only denied admiſſion to the pope's nuncio into the dutchy, but refuſed ſurrendering any part of his dominions to the knights, and returned, with his whole people, to the antient idolatry of the country. *Mendog* was too ſagacious not to penetrate into the

deſigns

deſigns of the holy ſee, and that aſpiring order, who, under pretence of giving ſalvation to the heathen world, were extending their own influence and power; but he firſt ſuffered himſelf to be inveſted with the badges of regal dignity by the pope, before he declared his intentions. When he had gained this point he threw off all diſguiſe, and the knights found it adviſeable not to purſue the dictates of reſentment. On the contrary, they clapped up a treaty with him, and entered into an alliance againſt the duke of *Mazovia*, whoſe territories now became the object of *Mendog*'s ambition. This country he invaded with a powerful army, and carried all before him by fire and ſword; but ſome advantage which the knights had taken of his abſence, obliged him to return before he had completed his deſign, and enter upon a freſh war with the *Teutonic* order. He attacked *Pruſſia* without the formality of remonſtrance or declaration, laid an infinity of cities, towns, and villages in aſhes, ſlew all the Chriſtians that came in his way, without diſtinction, and rendered the whole a moſt piteous ſpectacle of cruelty and barbarity. In the winter he returned with vaſt ſpoil into *Lithuania*, fully propoſing to renew his profitable incurſions the ſucceeding ſeaſon. The ſpring accordingly no ſooner arrived than he began his third expedition againſt the knights, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, after the grand-maſters of *Livonia* and *Pruſſia* had periſhed in the field. He next laid ſiege to *Carſowin* and *Heizburg*, both which places he reduced by famine, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, which encouraged him to inveſt *Konigſberg*, where he was repulſed with great ſlaughter.

On his return to *Livonia*, *Mendog* applied aſſiduouſly to repair his loſſes, and put the army and treaſury in the beſt condition poſſible; after effecting which he formed a new project againſt *Mazovia*, and entered into an alliance with *Swarno* prince of *Ruſſia*. Collecting a vaſt army he made a ſudden irruption into the dutchy, laid half *Mazovia* in aſhes, and, by the celerity of his motions, found means to ſurpriſe duke *Zemovitus* in his palace of *Jaſdow*, together with his ſon *Conrade*. The duke, attempting to make ſome reſiſtance, was ſlain by the hand of *Swarno*, who cut off his head at one blow; but *Conrade* was ſaved by the generoſity of *Mendog*, and ſet at liberty the following year, at a moderate ranſom. There now remained nothing to oppoſe him; the *Lithuanians* ravaged all *Mazovia* and *Cujaiva* at pleaſure; he burnt the towns, deſolated the country, and carried off the men, cattle, and other booty, in what numbers and abundance *Mendog* thought proper. As if his reſentment and cruel diſpo-

diſpoſition had not been yet fully ſatiated, he returned as ſoon as the rigour of the ſeaſon would permit; but finding his expectations of plunder diſappointed, he fell upon ſome lands belonging to the archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, reduced and pillaged his towns, and carried off immenſe booty; for in thoſe days almoſt half the wealth of the republic was in the hands of eccleſiaſtics. He ſcarce met with any oppoſition in theſe barbarous incurſions; and it doth not appear that the *Poles* at all intereſted themſelves in revenging the injury done to the firſt prelate of the republic, probably becauſe the civil commotions which had for ſo many years diſtracted the kingdom, were not yet ſubſided. Whether it was that *Boleſlaus* had not gained poſſeſſion of all the provinces belonging to the republic, particularly of *Mazovia*; or that he preferred ſitting a tame ſpectator of the ruin of part of his dominions, to entering upon a war which might endanger the whole: certain it is, that neither the *Poliſh* nor *Lithuanian* writers take notice of any mutual hoſtilities between the two nations until the death of *Mendog* and the *Poliſh* monarch, when the great alliance was formed between the *Ruſſians*, *Tartars*, and *Lithuanians*, for the deſtruction of the republic, in the reign of *Lechus* VII. furnamed *the Black*. The military operations were wholly on the ſide of the *Lithuanians*, who enriched themſelves almoſt without reſiſtance, by robbing and deſpoiling all their Chriſtian neighbours. *Mendog* grew more inveterate againſt them, after he had abjured their faith, and ſeemed to regard them as a ſet of impoſtors, who gained preſent advantages from the credulous, for vain promiſes of future felicity. It pleaſed God at laſt to remove this ſcourge of piety and religion, by the hands of his own children. His grandſon *Stroinat*, and his ſon-in-law *Dounant*, ambitious of ſharing his dominions and regal dignity, entered into a conſpiracy againſt his life, and aſſaſſinated him while he was aſleep in his palace, in the year 1263.

STROINAT.

DEATH had no ſooner ſealed the eyes of the dreaded *Mendog*, than his grandſon ſeized upon his dominions; but we do not find that he aſſumed the regal dignity. *Lithuania* and *Samogitia* fell to his ſhare; while the partner of his crime was forced to content himſelf with the ſmall territory of *Coſian*, where he built the caſtle and palace of *Uſcian*. The ſucceſs conſequent on the firſt villainy committed by *Stroinat*, impelled him to deeds equally atrocious and cruel with the murder of his grandfather and ſovereign. He now polluted

polluted his hands with the blood of his legitimate brother *Forcivil*, duke of *Polocz*, whoſe dominions he ſeized, adding one crime to another, until he became the deteſtation and horror of all his ſubjects. Several conſpiracies were formed to depoſe or aſſaſſinate him; but that juſt retribution was reſerved for *Woiſalk*, the ſon of the late king *Mendog*, then a monk in the *Ruſſian* dominions. This young prince, fired with the ambition of revenging his father's death, and relieving his oppreſſed country, that lay expiring under the moſt cruel ſtripes of tyranny, privately quitted the habit, came in diſguiſe to the court of *Stroinat*, formed a conſiderable faction, and put the tyrant to death; upon which he ſtept into his throne, with the unanimous conſent of the people.

WOISALK.

THOUGH *Woiſalk* had led for ſome years the life of a recluſe, and had, during his youth, diſcovered no ſparks of ambition, yet he no ſooner aſcended the throne, than it became apparent that the warlike genius of his anceſtors was not extinguiſhed in him. He contented himſelf with the title of duke of *Lithuania*, not chuſing, though he acknowledged the ſupremacy of the holy ſee, to own obligations to the pontiff for his confirmation. Some writers, indeed, inſinuate that he renounced Chriſtianity upon his acceſſion; and poſſibly this might have been made a condition of his elevation, by an ignorant people, immerſed in the moſt abſurd and groſs idolatry. It is certain that he ſoon began warlike preparations, and exhibited ſuch proofs of ſpirit, vigour, and intrepidity, as greatly aſtoniſhed the people, becauſe they had miſtaken his character. He made dreadful irruptions into *Poland*, and brought back immenſe treaſures in booty. *Pruſſia* and *Mazovia* were likewiſe the ſcenes of his ravages and conqueſts. Succeſs begot confidence; *Woiſalk*, imagining nothing could reſiſt him, entered *Pruſſia* at the head of a powerful army, fully intending to ſubdue the whole empire; but he had ſcarce penetrated beyound the frontiers, when he
A. D. 1267. fell into an ambuſcade, and was ſlain in the monaſtery of *Wrowsko*, after his army had been defeated by duke *Leo*, who, in commemoration of this victory, built the ſtrong fortreſs of *Leopold*.

VITENUS, or UCIENUS.

THE loſs of this ſpirited prince was the more regretted by the *Lithuanians*, as in his perſon the ducal family was extinct. Great diviſions aroſe about the choice of a ſucceſſor; but at laſt the crown was decreed to *Vitenus*, ſaid to be collaterally

laterally deſcended from the *Kitauri*, antiently princes in that country. *Vitenus* had no ſooner ſurmounted oppoſition than he became exceeding popular, the whole nation chearfully offering to aſſiſt him in revenging the late diſgrace in *Ruſſia*, and the death of the ſovereign. He took advantage of the general reſentment expreſſed againſt the *Ruſſians*, raiſed a great army, penetrated into the frontier provinces, and made terrible havock among the cities and villages, which he pillaged and deſtroyed. It does not appear that the enemy oppoſed him by a regular army, depending, perhaps, on the neceſſity he ſhould be under of retiring for want of proviſion and forage; nor were they diſappointed in this expectation. The fury of the *Lithuanians* had almoſt proved the deſtruction of the whole army. Neglecting the means of retreat, they deſolated the country, and on the approach of winter, were forced to return by the ſame route, deſtitute of every neceſſary, pining under want, pinched with cold and hunger, and oppreſſed with fatigue and diſeaſe. Several thouſand men periſhed in this expedition, which proved every way unfortunate, neither the booty, the glory, nor the injury done the *Ruſſians*, having at all correſponded with the ſanguine hope entertained: however, the event did not deter *Vitenus* from proſecuting his ambitious deſigns, and embarking the next ſeaſon in an expedition againſt the knights of *Pruſſia*, who had made ſome incurſions into the *Lithuanian* territories during his abſence. Here the fortune of war proved various; frequent battles were fought, ſeas of blood were ſpilt, but ſcarce any advantage was gained by either party, and at length hoſtilities ceaſed, as if by mutual conſent, rather from inability to purſue them than from motives of policy, or becauſe their reſentment was extinguiſhed. It was during this ſhort intermiſſion that *Vitenus* died, with the reputation of an ambitious, reſtleſs, turbulent prince, leaving his ducal crown and dominions to his ſon

SWINTHORUS,

who immediately ſtruck up a peace with the *Teutonic* knights, applied himſelf diligently to repair the ravages of war, and entered upon a ſyſtem of policy entirely different from what was purſued by his father. *Swinthorus* had a pacific diſpoſition, and was perfectly acquainted with the true intereſt of *Lithuania*. He cheriſhed trade, encouraged induſtry, protected the peaſants againſt the tyranny of the lords, rigorouſly executed the laws, and was preparing a new and more complete plan of legiſlation, when he was ſurpriſed by death in the midſt of all his projects for perpetuating the happineſs of *Lithuania*.

GER-

GERMONTUS.

THIS prince was the only ſon of *Swinthorus*; and as his diſpoſition extremely reſembled his father's, great expectations were entertained from his government, in which unfortunately his ſubjects were diſappointed. He had ſcarce wielded the ſceptre a complete year, when he was ſeized by a diſorder which ended only with his life.

TRABUS.

THE reſpect which the *Lithuanians* entertained for the memory of his father and grandfather, determined them unanimouſly to confer the ſupreme dignity on *Trabus*, the ſon of the late excellent monarch. The felicity which they firſt taſted under the tranquil reigns of *Swinthorus* and *Germontus*, gave them a more favourable opinion of pacific talents; for till now the *Lithuanians* eſtimated a prince's glory by the quantity of blood he had ſhed, the extent of his conqueſts, the ſtrength of his arm, and the cruelty of his ravages. Had thoſe excellent dukes lived to accompliſh the ſalutary ſchemes they had projected, it is probable the barbarous inhabitants of the great dutchy would have been civilized long before their union with *Poland*; whereas now they owe this bleſſing intirely to the accident by which *Jagello* ſucceeded to the throne of *Lewis*, by his marriage with *Hedwiga*, heireſs to the *Poliſh* dominions. Had *Trabus* given proper attention to the growing diſpoſition of the people, he might have ſucceſsfully purſued the maxims of his father and grandfather; but though he was far from being of a turbulent humour, yet he gave way to his ambition, and again involved the dutchy in wars with her neighbours. The *Ruſſian* provinces, which he held by conqueſt, and had continued annexed to the grand dutchy and *Samogitia* ever ſince the reign of *Vitenus*, occaſioned a rupture with the czar, which *Trabus* did not take the ſame care as the two laſt princes to avoid. Several campaigns were made, and ſucceſs was ſo equally ballanced, that the contending parties, finding no benefit was likely to reſult from the proſecution of the war, agreed upon a treaty, whereby things were eſtabliſhed on the ſame footing as at the commencement of hoſtilities. Writers ſpeak as if this duke had alſo waged war with the *Pruſſian* knights; but we know nothing either of the operations or the iſſue.

TRABUS now at laſt devoted himſelf to the true intereſt of his people, and began by beautifying the country with ſeveral magnificent towns and palaces, one of which remains

to

to this day, and bears his name. He diſplayed a taſte, rather indeed for the elegant than the uſeful arts; but ſtill this proved of the utmoſt advantage to the *Lithuanians*, as it employed a great number of idle hands, gave them a taſte for labour, and weaned them from thoſe ſavage notions of preying upon the neighbouring powers: yet he neglected the great object purſued in the late reigns, that of eſtabliſhing a regular ſyſtem of civil policy. At his death the *Lithuanians* could only be ſaid to be leſs addicted to war and plunder; they were not more civilized than on his acceſſion.

NARIMUNDUS.

NARIMUNDUS was the oldeſt of five legitimate ſons left by *Trabus*; and he ſucceeded him in the government of *Lithuania* and *Samogitia*, each of the others having certain provinces aſſigned them, dependent on the ducal crown. *Downant*, the ſecond brother, had for his portion the diſtrict of *Coſian*, where, according to ſome writers, he built the fortreſs of *Uſcian*, which others aſcribe to a former prince of the ſame name. *Holſanus*, the third brother, had a diſtrict aſſigned towards the eaſtern frontier of the dutchy, beyond the river *Wilia*; while the fourth brother, *Giedutus*, fixed the ſeat of his government at a place which he built and called by his own name, upon a beautiful lake, now well known from an antient family deſcended from him, that ſtill enjoys great power in *Lithuania* (B). As to *Troidenus*, the fifth brother, we know of no other proviſion made for him beſides the reverſion of the dominions of his elder brother.

THE firſt act of *Narimundus*'s government was to tranſlate the ducal reſidence from *Novogrodec*, where it had for ſeveral ages been eſtabliſhed, to *Kiernow*. Soon after he entered into an alliance with *Ruſſia*, the duke of *Mazovia*, his brothers, and other princes and ſtates, againſt the *Poliſh* republic, the particulars of which we have related in the preceding part of this volume. He likewiſe carried on wars with the *Teutonic* knights, during which his brother *Downant* took the opportunity of debauching and carrying off the princeſs his wife, in a manner the moſt baſe and inſidious, which occa-

(B) To *Narimundus* the *Pruſſian* annaliſts aſcribe the invention of the *Lithuanian* device, or coat of arms; *viz.* a *field* in *gules*, a warrior armed at all points, *ſables*, riding full ſpeed on a horſe, *argent*, and flouriſhing a ſword over his head, with a lance couched. This laſt part has ſince been omitted (1).

(1) *Guag. pag.* 48.

ſioned a civil war between the brothers. *Narimundus* purſued the dictates of his juſt reſentment with all that fire and impetuoſity natural to his conſtitution, excited by ſuch an unpardonable and irreparable injury to his peace of mind and honour. He defeated his brother in the field with terrible ſlaughter, drove him for ſhelter into the caſtle of *Vezina*, beſieged him, reduced the fortreſs, and recovered his wife; but *Downant* unfortunately eſcaped by a poſtern gate, juſt as the duke's forces had entered the caſtle by aſſault. His revenge was not ſatiated with recovering his loſs; it was neceſſary to puniſh, in the moſt ſignal manner, the author of her diſgrace. Accordingly the duke ſtripped his treacherous brother of all his dominions, and baniſhed him for ever from the territories of *Lithuania*; but his addreſs and intrigue procured him not only an aſylum, but a friendly eſtabliſhment in the *Ruſſian* dominions, where he was raiſed to the dignity of duke of *Polocz*, which country it ſeems had been reſtored by ſome of the former dukes of *Lithuania*. Here he ſoon extended his dominion, and became one of the moſt powerful and formidable of the petty princes, who, in thoſe days, governed the northern provinces by the title of dukes (C).

TROIDENUS.

On the deceaſe of *Narimundus*, the dutchy of *Lithuania*, with *Samogitia* and its other dependences, devolved, agreeable to the will of *Trabus*, to the younger brother *Troidenus*. The people unanimouſly annexed in the preference given to this prince, as he joined to great military talents an extreme affability, generoſity, and dignity of mind, which rendered him equally popular and reſpected. *Troidenus* had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when he diſtinguiſhed himſelf deſerving of the public eſteem. He promulgated ſeveral uſeful laws and regulations, put the treaſury and army in the beſt condition, ſuppreſſed robberies, eſtabliſhed an excellent ſyſtem of œconomy, through all the different departments of the ſtate; and as ſoon as an opportunity offered for extending his dominions, he embraced it, raiſed an army of thirty thouſand

(C) The veſtiges of *Giedutus*'s palace may be traced to this day, and the principal ſeat of the noble family of *Giodlotus* is ſcarce removed a ſtone-caſt from the antient ſituation. It ſtill ſtands on the lake, about five miles from the capital of *Lithuania*. The revenues of this family are greatly diminiſhed; but the title of duke is ſtill preſerved, and it bears great influence, on account of the great number of vaſſals and dependents.

men,

men, and poured his troops into the dutchy of *Mazovia* on the one hand, and the territories of the *Pruſſian* knights on the other. His meaſures had been concerted with ſuch prudence and ſecrecy, and executed with ſo much rapidity, that he ſwept all before him, over-run almoſt all *Pruſſia* and *Mazovia*, and returned laden with the richeſt ſpoils which had ever been brought into *Lithuania*. Notwithſtanding he had deſolated and laid waſte the dutchy of *Mazovia*, he owed duty and filial reverence to the old duke, to whoſe daughter he was married. By this lady he had a ſon, who profeſſed Chriſtianity, and took upon him the clerical habit, according to the rites of the *Greek* church, living in a monaſtery, from which it was difficult to recal him upon the vacancy of the throne.

TROIDENUS next year begun a ſecond expedition againſt *Pruſſia*, and fought ſeveral deſperate battles with the knights, reputed the moſt warlike body of men in the northern hemiſphere. It is a proof of the capacity and valour of the *Lithuanian* prince, that he was not only in a condition to defend his own dominions againſt this aſpiring fraternity, but to reduce many of their towns, *Burgelaw*, *Lubaw*, and other places: in a word, to over-run the whole diſtrict of *Culm*, and retire with an infinity of priſoners, and prodigious droves of cattle, which in thoſe times conſtituted the richeſt plunder. The ſucceſs with which all his enterprizes were crowned invited *Troidenus* to freſh attempts; without any provocation he entered the biſhoprick of *Cujaiva*, and deſolated it with all the fury of an enraged enemy, deſtroying whatever he thought undeſerving of the trouble of being removed to *Lithuania*. Even the churches were deſpoiled of their ornaments, and the crucifixes and images broken in pieces, altho' it is alledged that the prince had actually embraced Chriſtianity, at the perſuaſion of his dutcheſs. But heaven, ſay the eccleſiaſtical writers of that age, would not ſuffer his ſacrilege to paſs with impunity. His brother *Downant*, envying his proſperity, and ambitious of recovering the rights of primogeniture, hired three ruffians, who aſſaſſinated him before he got back to his own dominions, and then made great preparations for invading *Lithuania*. He had advanced with an army to the frontiers of the dutchy, when he was met by *Rimuntus*, the ſon of *Troidenus*, who had now laid aſide the habit, to revenge his father's death, and reſcue his country from the impending danger: a battle was fought with great obſtinacy, and after dreadful carnage on both ſides, victory at length declared for *Rimuntus*, and his father's murderer was ſlain, though he was entirely unexperienced in the

art of war. Thus did Providence, by means the moſt improbable, protect innocence and juſtice, and puniſh the ſacrilege and fratricide of two ambitious princes, who meaſured all equity by ſtrength and power, perſuading themſelves that the blackeſt crimes were converted into virtues, if they proved ſucceſsful. Such at leaſt are the inferences of the ſuperſtitious writers of the times, who do not reflect that we are led inſenſibly into a labyrinth of abſurdity, and even impiety, by preſuming to judge of the diſpenſations of heaven. The ſame rule that directs us to admire the wiſdom of the Almighty, in puniſhing wickedneſs, ſeduces us into the horrible impiety of taxing his juſtice when we ſee vice triumphant and virtue unfortunate.

RIMUNTUS.

THE young prince was no way elated with his victory, which he piouſly aſcribed to the Supreme Being, whoſe inſtrument he regarded himſelf. The popularity which he acquired, in conſequence of his ſucceſs, and the modeſty with which he ſupported proſperity, did not give him a taſte for ſovereignty. He ſighed after that ſolitude which he had been forced to abandon, from a pure deſire of ſerving his country; and now that he had eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of the dutchy, he began to look out for a perſon qualified to manage the reins of authority, to whom he might ſafely reſign them, without injury to his people. The ſtates beheld his reſolution with ſilent grief and aſtoniſhment; and as they acknowledged the merit of the hero whom he had adopted for his ſucceſſor, and had the utmoſt regard for the felicity of a prince who loaded them with ſo many obligations, they conſented to the propoſal made by *Rimuntus* at a diet aſſembled at *Kiernow*. Here *Vitenus* was nominated great duke of *Lithuania* and *Samogitia*; upon which *Rimuntus* put the enſigns of authority into his hands, reſerved a ſmall annuity to himſelf, and retired with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and compoſure, to ſpend the remainder of his days in a monaſtery, where he could freely indulge his paſſion for eaſe and works of charity and devotion.

VITENUS

A. D. 1281. Deduced his origin from *Palæmon*, the firſt prince who is reported to have ſwayed the *Lithuanian* ſceptre. He delighted in being thought a deſcendant of the antient *Roman* patricians; and during the courſe of a glorious reign, emulated the virtues of thoſe conquerors of the univerſe. He had already diſtinguiſhed his valour in the late battle in which *Dumant* was ſlain; and had beſides exhibited many other proofs of capacity,

capacity, magnificence, and unbounded generoſity. It was from a perfect knowledge of his ſuperior merit, that he was raiſed to the throne by *Rimuntus*, in preference to his couſins the children of *Giedrutus* and *Holfanus*. Being interrogated "Why he did not chuſe a ſucceſſor out of the numerous fami-"lies left by his uncles?" *Rimuntus* anſwered, "That a duke "of *Lithuania* ought to equal the idea entertained by *Nari-*"*mundus*, when he contrived for the arms of the country a "warrior armed at all points, ruſhing on horſeback againſt "his enemies; that himſelf had reſigned becauſe he was "ſenſible he did not come up to this idea; and he could not "with any propriety adopt children."

VITENUS was not long ſeated on the throne before he reſolved to approve himſelf deſerving of the honour, tho' he was perhaps miſtaken in the means he purſued. His genius was turned to war, and the only battle in which he had ever been engaged, when he acquired ſo much glory, had only given breath to the ſparks of ambition that were intimately wrought with his conſtitution. The unſettled ſtate of *Poland*, under *Lechus the Black*, opened a large field for military atchievement, and vaſt proſpect of conqueſt. *Vitenus* accordingly aſſembled an army, compoſed of *Lithuanians* and *Pruſſians*, who acknowledged his ſovereignty, and marched into the palatinate of *Lublin*, which he pillaged, burnt, and deſtroyed, for the ſpace of fifteen days, without meeting any reſiſtance. At laſt king *Lechus*, encouraged, as is alledged, by a viſion, ventured to give him battle, in which he proved victorious, after an exceeding bloody conflict. This action was fought between the rivers *Narew* and *Niemen*, and is commemorated by a church which *Lechus* built at *Lublin*, and dedicated to *St. Michael*, as a teſtimony of the aſſiſtance which he acknowledged to have received from the archangel. A. D. 1282.

VITENUS was not diſcouraged by the unfortunate iſſue of a battle, in which he diſplayed every quality of a ſoldier and general. On the contrary, he reſolved immediately to wipe off the diſgrace by ſome ſignal ſtroke of vengeance. Near the ſpace of four years were employed in preparations, and forming ſuch powerful alliances as threatened the intire deſtruction of the *Poliſh* republic, then too divided into factions, and weakened by civil commotions. An accident, however, ſaved *Poland*, and blaſted all the hopes of *Vitenus*, who was forced to relinquiſh his deſign. He was deſerted by *Peluſa*, one of his generals, who had conceived ſome diſguſt, and reſolved to revenge himſelf by encouraging the *Pruſſian* knights to invade *Lithuania*. Quitting the camp with

the utmoſt privacy, he repaired to *Konigsberg*, where he perſuaded *Albert de Miſſen*, the *Teutonic* commendator as he was called, to aſſiſt him with twenty officers and a body of ſoldiers, with which he promiſed to ſurpriſe *Vitenus* and his army. He explained his ſcheme with ſuch plauſibility, and enforced it by ſuch irreſiſtible arguments, that the commendator was brought over to his opinion, and the more eaſily, that he was fully convinced that *Pruſſia* would ſoon become the object of the *Lithuanian* operations, and of the ambition of *Vitenus*. For this reaſon he complied with the requeſt made by the fugitive *Lithuanian*, who ſet out at the head of his party, and advanced by forced marches in the night towards the *Lithuanian* camp, which he attacked before break of day, while the whole army was wrapt in profound ſleep, with ſuch vigour, that ſeventy of the principal officers and nobility were ſlain upon the ſpot, before they could recover from their ſurprize, or ſtand on the defenſive; a great number of ſoldiers were put to the ſword, and crowds of men and women were dragged into ſlavery; but the main deſign of the expedition failed. *Vitenus* had fortunately left the camp the preceding day, by which means he eſcaped falling into the hands of his own perfidious general; and the *Pruſſian* party was too ſlender to execute all that had been promiſed by *Preluſa*; namely, the entire deſtruction of the *Lithuanian* army.

VITENUS was greatly incenſed at this unprovoked attack; but he determined to ſuppreſs his reſentment, in order to proſecute his deſigns againſt *Poland*, engage the aſſiſtance of the knights in that enterprize, and then ſeize the firſt opportunity of revenging the injury which his intereſt and honour ſuſtained. This project he executed with the greateſt addreſs, entering into a negotiation with the *Teutonic* body, as if he owed them no grudge, and was aſſiduous equally to promote their intereſt and his own at the expence of *Poland*. They fell into the ſnare, and engaged by treaty to join him with a certain number of forces, to execute the plan concerted for making an incurſion into the territory of *Dobrzina*. *Vitenus* aſſembled his army, and then dividing it into ſeveral corps, which he ordered to advance by different routes, fell upon the capital at a time appointed, and after having reduced the city, and maſſacred the garriſon and burghers, retired with immenſe plunder, carrying off a prodigious number of women and children into ſlavery.

In this predatory manner did the greateſt heroes of that barbarous age wage war. All their valour conſiſted in acts of cruelty; and their policy was marked by the moſt ſavage perfidy and mean treachery. *Vitenus* having now gained his point,

point, turned his thoughts to the means of revenging himself on the *Pruſſian* knights, and effecting the ruin of that very fraternity with which he was engaged in the ſtricteſt alliance. Without giving any previous intimation of his deſign, or even demanding ſatisfaction for the late injury, he fell with eight thouſand men into the territory of *Sambia* in *Pruſſia*, deſtroyed, burnt, and pillaged cities and towns, maſſacred all the male inhabitants fit to bear arms, and returned with great booty, and an infinity of female priſoners and children, whom he condemned to perpetual ſervitude (A). This act of hoſtility produced an open rupture between the crown of *Lithuania* and the fraternity. The knights expoſtulated with *Vitenus* upon this extraordinary infraction of the late treaty; and the duke vindicated it by referring them back to the injury which had given birth to the enterprize, and rouſed his juſt indignation. They found means, however, to draw him into a negotiation, under pretence of making conceſſions; and as ſoon as they had completed their levies, and made the neceſſary preparations, they ſuddenly invaded the grand dutchy, where they committed terrible ravages, put all to fire and ſword, and, by the good conduct of the commendator of *Konigsberg*, aſſiſted by the counſels of the traiterous *Peluſa*, gained poſſeſſion of the ſtrong and important fortreſs of *Merabde*, or *Mederabbe*. They returned loaded with booty; and before the rigorous ſeaſon came in the grand-maſter made another expedition, at the head of a numerous army, penetrated into the bowels of the dutchy, and reduced the diſtricts of *Paſtonow* and *Garſow* to a heap of rubbiſh. Neither the *Poliſh* nor *Lithuanian* hiſtorians mention an alliance between the republic and the *Pruſſian* knights againſt *Vitenus*; yet it is highly probable that a treaty ſubſiſted, whereby he thought himſelf aggrieved, and *Poland* guilty of a breach of neutrality; for, inſtead of carrying his arms into *Pruſſia*, he invaded the palatinate of *Cujaiva*, burnt and deſtroyed great part of the country, eſpecially the city and diſtrict of *Breſcia*, or *Breze*. When he was returning home laden with ſpoils, the *Poliſh* monarch *Uladiſlaus* made repeated unſucceſsful attempts to cut off his retreat, harraſs his army, draw him to an engage- A. D. 1219.

(A) It was the barbarous cuſtom of the *Lithuanians* to immolate their priſoners at the ſhrines of their falſe gods, when ever any extraordinary event happened, ſuch as an eclipſe of the ſun, violent claps of thunder, terrible ſtorms, or any other natural phænomenon, which they aſcribed to the wrath of their heathen divinities (1).

(1) *Vid. Hiſt. Poland in this vol. pag.* 110.

ment in difficult ſituations, and cut off all ſources of proviſion. The genius and intrepidity of *Vitenus* triumphed over all obſtructions, and brought his troops ſafe back into *Lithuania*, in the face of an enemy greatly ſuperior in point of numbers.

FOR two years after this expedition peace and tranquillity reigned through every part of the dutchy; and the *Lithuanians* began to hope that their prince, now tired of the fatigue conſequent on an ardent purſuit after glory, would devote himſelf to the arts of repoſe, and try to eſtabliſh the happineſs of his ſubjects with the ſame aſſiduity that he had hitherto ſtudied the honour of his crown; but theſe hopes were diſappointed, leſs through the ambition of *Vitenus*, than the reſtleſſneſs of the *Teutonic* knights, who had not yet ſatiated their revenge, and carefully watched every opportunity to moleſt their inveterate enemies the *Lithuanians*. Early in the ſpring of 1293, *Conrade de Stange*, commendator of *Ràgneta*, entered the frontiers of the dutchy with a conſiderable body of men, and fell upon the caſtle of *Mendog*, which being intirely unprovided made but a ſlight defence. *Vitenus* ſoon retaliated, by entering *Pruſſia* at the head of an army ſo formidable, that the enemy durſt not appear in the open field, and pillaging, ravaging, and deſolating the country for the ſpace of two months. The damage he committed was incredible, and the ſevereſt blow which the knights had for many years ſuſtained. Not contented with this revenge, he ſet out the enſuing year at the head of eighteen hundred horſe, through almoſt impenetrable foreſts and bye-paths, and ſurpriſed a vaſt concourſe of people aſſembled at the collegiate church of *Lanſchat*, upon ſome devotional occaſion, killing, maiming, and carrying great numbers into captivity. The church was plundered, and crowds, who fled for refuge into the woods, periſhed in the general conflagration of the *Pruſſian* foreſts. It is reported, that *Vitenus* burnt a ſpace covered with woods of upwards of twenty *Poliſh* miles, and that he reduced above threeſcore eccleſiaſtics to a ſtate of irredeemable ſlavery, out of animoſity to the Chriſtians, whom he deteſted in general on account of the grudge he bore to the *Pruſſian* military order, and the *Poles*. While he was committing theſe and other acts of barbarous hoſtility, he was attacked by *Caſimir*, palatine of the diſtrict, with great fury. That nobleman ſaw with horror and indignation the dreadful cruelties that laid his country deſolate; he aſſembled all the inhabitants able or willing to bear arms, gave battle to *Vitenus*, and was, after a ſharp conflict, overpowered by numbers, and ſlain in the action. This battle was fought near

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Zobaczow; the enemy conſiſted chiefly of *Poles*, and the victory was ſo complete, that above twenty captives fell to the ſhare of every inferior officer.

THE whole life of *Vitenus* was a ſcene of war and bloodſhed: he was perpetually engaged either in defending his frontiers againſt the incurſions of the *Poles* and *Pruſſians*, or in making expeditions into the enemy's country. Every ſeaſon produced a freſh invaſion of the dominions of one of the parties, which ſeemed to have no other object than a trial of cruel and barbarity. In the year 1295, the grand-maſter of the *Teutonic* order entered *Lithuania*, and renewed the devaſtations in the diſtricts of *Garſow* and *Poſtaniow*, before they had well recovered the late ſevere misfortune. This again provoked *Vitenus*, and drew him into the field with a more numerous army than he had aſſembled upon any former occaſion. He penetrated into the diſtrict of *Culm*, and after deſolating the whole country, bent his courſe towards *Livonia*, where he attacked the knights with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that they were forced to ſue for peace on ſuch conditions as he thought proper to preſcribe. Next year he ravaged the ſurrounding country, and pillaged the town of *Strasburg*; but was near being defeated on his return by the enemy, who retook the greater part of the plunder. In 1299, *Vitenus* diſpatched a flying corps of ſix hundred horſe, who carried fire and ſword into *Pruſſia*, deſtroyed all the houſes, drove away the cattle, and carried off three hundred knights out of the town and country, after having ſlain a much greater number. In this manner was *Vitenus* employed when *Gediminus*, his maſter of horſe, an aſpiring, ambitious impetuous nobleman, entered into a conſpiracy with the grand-dutcheſs againſt the life of her huſband and ſovereign; which he effected by a piece of treachery that will tranſmit his memory with infamy to the lateſt poſterity, notwithſtanding all his endeavours to wipe off the memory of one baſe action, by a ſeries of gallant and intrepid conduct.

GEDIMINUS.

THE removal of *Vitenus* was not alone ſufficient to raiſe *Gediminus* to the ducal throne. He had no natural right; but he acquired pretenſions by marrying the inſidious unnatural widow of the deceaſed. Every poſſible art was tried to varniſh over an act of the blackeſt parricide, and their endeavours ſucceeded, becauſe the people choſe rather to wink at the crime, than run the hazard of a civil war, by excluding the right which *Gediminus* acquired by his marriage with A. D. 1300.

the dowager. They were beſides well acquainted with his capacity; they knew the neceſſity of committing the adminiſtration to a prince of ability, at the preſent critical juncture; and they were in hopes that his ambition, being now fully gratified, he could have no farther temptation to commit the worſt of all crimes, treaſon and aſſaſſination united.

THE new ſovereign, determined to impreſs his ſubjects with a favourable opinion of his ſpirit, laid immediate claim to ſeveral *Ruſſian* provinces, which he alledged had been annexed to the grand dutchy, either by right of conqueſt, or by treaties; and he enforced his demands by ſuch formidable preparations, as terrified the *Ruſſians* into compliance. He likewiſe recovered ſome provinces from the *Poles*, which had long been diſputed; but while he was thus engaged in aſſerting the dignity of his crown, *Samogitia* was ſuddenly invaded by the united forces of the *Pruſſian* and *Livonian* knights, who poured in a vaſt army, and threatened deſtruction to the whole *Lithuanian* dominions. Before *Gediminus* could recover from the ſurprize occaſioned by this unprovoked and unexpected attack, the knights had over-run all *Samogitia*, burnt and deſtroyed the country, and reduced *Kunoſſow* by a regular ſiege, where they took the grand-marechal of *Lithuania* priſoner. It was impoſſible to put a ſtop to their conqueſts and ravages; *Gediminus* was engaged with the bulk of the army on the frontiers of *Poland*, the remaining forces were inſufficient to oppoſe ſo powerful an army; and before the duke could return, the enemy were in full poſſeſſion of the whole territory of *Samogitia*, and were preparing to penetrate into *Lithuania*, which he happily prevented by his arrival. This obliged the knights to retire, after they had put garriſons in all the fortreſſes in their new conqueſts.

DURING the ceſſation of hoſtilities, occaſioned by the ſeverity of the winter, *Gediminus* was making preparations for recovering *Samogitia*, and revenging the injury done him by the *Teutonick* knights. He entered into an alliance with the *Ruſſians* and *Tartars*, and gained their friendſhip by certain conceſſions, which he reſolved to retract as ſoon as he had ſerved his purpoſe by their aſſiſtance. Early in the ſpring he advanced againſt the enemy, and came up with them on the banks of the river *Okmelna*, when a furious engagement began, that raged with violence for the ſpace of ſix hours before victory ſeemed to incline to either ſide. At laſt the *Samogitians* deſerted the knights, which immediately turned the ſcale, and introduced confuſion and diſmay among their ranks, which fell in diſorder, and gave *Gediminus* every advantage he could deſire. He improved the favourable juncture; ordered the

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Samogitians to charge in the flanks, while, at the head of the *Lithuanians*, he bent his chief ſtrength againſt the centre of the enemy, and broke and defeated them with prodigious carnage. It is reported that above five thouſand knights periſhed in the field, and that more than half that number were taken priſoners, and carried into ſlavery by the conqueror. This was too ſevere a blow to the knights to be eaſily recovered, and *Gediminus* purſued it to the beſt advantage. He ſeized the opening which it made into *Pruſſia*, penetrated to the very heart of that country, and, finding that nothing was able to oppoſe him, he deſolated the whole kingdom, reduced and deſtroyed the cities *Ragneta* and *Cilza*; then turned his arms towards the recovery of *Samogitia*, drove the *Teutonick* garriſons out of the fortreſſes, filled them with his own troops, and after fully accompliſhing his ſchemes, returned triumphant and laden with ſpoils into *Lithuania*.

THE ſucceſs of this enterprize depended in a great meaſure on the aſſiſtance afforded by the *Ruſſians* and *Tartars*; but *Gediminus* was one of thoſe princes who never ſuffered gratitude to ſtand in the way of his intereſt, and indeed who could forget obligations as ſoon as the remembrance proved inconvenient. He now made no ſcruple to retract the conceſſions he had made to the *Ruſſians* as the price of their aſſiſtance, and even made preparations for the reduction of provinces to which he never had any claim. His firſt attack was on *Volhinia*, which he over-ran, after having defeated and ſlain duke *Valodomirus* in a pitched battle, in which above ten thouſand *Ruſſians* periſhed. In conſequence of this victory, *Vlodomira*, the capital of the dutchy, fell into the hands of the conqueror, and the whole province acknowledged his ſovereignty, and took the uſual oaths of allegiance. His ambition was now ſpurred by this ſucceſs to undertake new conqueſts. *Gediminus* accordingly marched againſt *Leo* duke of *Luccoria*, and having defeated him in a bloody battle, ſeized upon his capital, and thereby gained the abſolute dominion of the two moſt conſiderable frontier provinces of the *Ruſſian* empire. This was the work of one campaign only: next year he reſolved to extend his conqueſts, and indeed ſeemed to meditate the deſtruction of all the neighbouring petty princes and ſtates. *Staniſlaus*, duke of *Kiovia*, was the next who felt the effects of the ambition of *Gediminus*. He attacked him without the leaſt provocation, defeated him in the open field with great ſlaughter, and involved in his ruin a great number of the adjacent princes, who had come to his aſſiſtance to oppoſe the common enemy. Fluſhed with this victory, he advanced farther into *Ruſſia*, took and deſtroyed an infinity of cities,

towns,

towns, and villages, returning laden with plunder and priſoners to *Lithuania*, where he was received as the greateſt conqueror who had hitherto graced the annals of the dutchy. We are told, that he crowned this laſt expedition with obliging the *Ruſſians* to renounce their pretended ſovereignty over *Lithuania* by a formal inſtrument: for this reaſon *Gediminus* is reckoned, with *Mendog*, one of the princes who reſtored *Lithuania* to a ſtate of liberty and independence; from whence we may infer, that the tribute had been paid by ſome of the ſucceſſors of the laſt named duke.

GEDIMINUS was at length tired of war, and ſatiated with conqueſt: he gave his mind up to repoſe, and amuſed himſelf with the pleaſures of hunting, while he adorned the country with magnificent buildings and fine cities. Every little accident furniſhed him with an opportunity of indulging his taſte for architecture. Frequently the ſpot where a ſtag was killed became the foundation of a large town; and this was particularly the caſe with *Troki*, which he built for his reſidence, tranſlating it thither from *Kiernow*; though ſome writers give greater antiquity to this city. A ſimilar accident
A. D. is reported to have given birth to *Wilna*, now the capital of
1306. *Lithuania*, which all agree was built by *Gediminus*, though they differ with reſpect to the occaſion. The ſtory related by *Guagnini* ſavours ſtrongly of the credulity and ignorance of that age. According to him, *Gediminus*, tired with the chace, and benighted, ſat down to refreſh himſelf on the mountain formerly called *Krzynnagora*, now *Turzagoria*, or *Liſſa*, where falling aſleep, he dreamed that he ſaw a monſtrous wolf, whoſe body was of iron; that he heard him roar hideouſly; and that he contained in his bowels an hundred ſmaller wolves of the ſame metal. The terror with which he was ſeized awakened him, and he communicated the dream to the ſurrounding courtiers, each of whom interpreted it after his own manner, but no way ſatisfactory to *Gediminus*. He therefore deſired the opinion of a certain prieſt in company, who had gained great reputation as an interpreter of viſions, and by his aſtoniſhing knowledge in futurity. He was one of the perſons who preſided over the ſacred fire: ſome ſay he was the *ziutz*, or high prieſt, and was in the greateſt eſteem on account of his wiſdom and function. "Be not terrified, ſaid he to the "prince. This dream bodes you no evil; but it will prove, "in the iſſue, highly advantageous to your country. The "iron wolf, whoſe monſtrous ſize and hideous roaring ap- "peared ſo frightful in your dream, denotes a city, the foun- "dation of which you are to lay; and the ſmaller wolves "incloſed in his bowels, mean nothing more than a multi-

"tude

" tude of inhabitants contained within impregnable walls. " Do you build a city, in compliance with this warning from " ſome divinity, fortify it with ſtrong ramparts and towers, " and I will forfeit my life if the intention of the dream be " not accompliſhed." This interpretation was perfectly agreeable to the humour of *Gediminus*: he followed the advice, built two caſtles, one on the ſpot where he ſaw the viſion, and another on the plain; he joined them by a city, and gave the whole the name *Vilna*, from the river *Wilia*, upon which this capital is ſituated. Thither he removed his reſidence from *Troki*, and the place hath ever ſince continued the metropolis of the dutchy (A).

WHILE *Gediminus* was buſied in building his capital, the factions and diviſions in *Poland* once more rouſed his ambition, and inſpired him with hopes of profiting by the wretched ſituation of the republic. With this view he began an expedition againſt that country; and penetrating through woods and foreſts entered *Lower Poland*, plundered and burnt *Kaliſch*, and after ravaging the whole country, returned with a great number of captives and exceeding rich booty. The *Poliſh* writers are intirely ſilent about this expedition, which, according to *Guagnini*, happened the year ſucceeding the reſtoration of *Uladiſlaus Locticus*. It is probable, therefore, that *Uladiſlaus* did not attempt to revenge this attack, as he was then deeply involved in a war with the *Teutonick* knights, and exerting his utmoſt endeavours to draw the *Lithuanians* into an alliance againſt theſe common diſturbers of the northern kingdoms. It was not, indeed, difficult for the *Poliſh* monarch to ſucceed in this project; for the knights had, at this very time, imprudently given umbrage to *Gediminus*; the grand maſter, *Henry de Pleczko*, a *Saxon*, having penetrated into *Samogitia*, where he took the fortreſs of *Gartin* by ſtorm, and maſſacred all the *Lithuanian* garriſon in cold blood, after they had thrown down their arms, and begged quarter. Several regiments of *German* auxiliaries ſerved under the grand maſter upon this occaſion: to their cruelty are aſcribed the dreadful ravages committed in *Karſonin*, and the prodigious numbers of cattle and priſoners carried into *Pruſſia*. *Gediminus* had his revenge: he ſent a body of forces to join the *Poles* under *Ula-* A. D. 1306.

(A) *Guagnini* likewiſe alledges, that the *Radzivil* family deduce their origin from the prieſt who had adviſed the building of *Vilna*, whence he was called *Radzivil*, which, in the language of the country, ſignifies *the counſellor to build Vilna* (1).

(1) *Guagn. Deſcript. Lith. p.* 50.

diſlaus,

diſlaus; they penetrated into the heart of the country, and eaſily reduced the knights to the moſt abject ſupplications, with which the *Poliſh* monarch's reſentment was diſarmed, at a time when he might have exterminated the order, and cleared *Pruſſia* of thoſe diſturbers of the public tranquillity.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Poland* and *Lithuania* would ſeem to be combined againſt the *Teutonick* knights, they had not yet laid aſide their own private animoſities; for we are told by the writers of the latter, that a body of *Lithuanian* forces penetrated this year into the palatinates of *Kaliſch* and *Siradia*, which at this time acknowledged the ſovereignty of *Uladiſlaus*, and were regarded as a part of the republic. The damage ſuſtained by the inhabitants was prodigious: houſes, villages, corn-fields, and folds of cattle were deſtroyed, and great numbers of the people carried off into bondage.

BY this time *Olgerdus*, the ſon of *Gediminus* by a former marriage, was arrived at a ſufficient age to take the command of an army deſtined to invade *Pruſſia*, and give the knights one more ſevere blow before they could recover their late loſſes. To diſplay his ſpirit, and impreſs the minds of the enemy with terror, this young prince deſtroyed all before him with fire and ſword, robbing churches, ſacking towns, maſſacring the old men, violating matrons, deflowering virgins, and carrying off children and young men into ſlavery, in imitation of his father's practice. The *Pruſſians* endeavoured to return the compliment, by carrying deſolation into the *Lithuanian* territories; but they were met by the prince, and obliged to retire with precipitation, to avoid coming to battle with an army greatly ſuperior in numbers. *Olgerdus* purſued, and a ſecond time entered the *Pruſſian* dominions, deſolating with more fury than before, ſurpriſing the territory and city of *Dobrina*, which he burnt to the ground; and returning with barbarous triumph, loaded with ſpoils and glory. Some years after he made an incurſion into *Livonia*, and, after defeating the knights in the field, reduced their fortreſſes, and deſpoiled their country.

A. D. 1315.

FOR the ſpace of five years *Lithuania* drew breath, after the fatigue of perpetual war; but this repoſe was broke by an incurſion which *Henry*, grand marechal of *Pruſſia*, made in the year 1320 into the dutchy; where having committed terrible ravages, he was returning by a narrow paſs, which he found blocked up with large trunks of trees, and other works, thrown up by the *Lithuanians*. In this ſituation he was ſurrounded and attacked: the *Lithuanians*, pouring in crowds from the hills, made dreadful havock; and nothing but the ſeaſonable intervention of the night could have ſaved the knights from a

total

total defeat, and probably the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion. This advantage was preceded by another, leſs important, but ſtill of ſome conſequence, obtained by the ſtaroſt of *Gartin*, who, in the midſt of winter, made an irruption into the *Pruſſian* dominions, and brought off ſome very rich booty, and ſeveral hundred priſoners. The ſame year the *Lithuanians* took the fortreſs of *Memel* by ſurprize, penetrated into the heart of *Pruſſia*, and defeated the commentator of *Capian* in a regular battle, in which that general periſhed. *Guagnini* ſpeaks as if this victory had been gained by the ſame ſtaroſt of *Gartin*, who is highly extolled for his courage, activity, and heroiſm, and reported to have carried fire and ſword ſoon after into the dutchy of *Mazovia*.

About the beginning of the year 1323, the *Lithuanians* fell once more upon the unfortunate territory of *Dobrina*, rather with a malicious deſign of preventing its recovering the late misfortunes than from any expectation of booty, burnt the capital, deſolated the country, and carried nine thouſand *Poles* into ſervitude, few of whom ever recovered their liberty, except ſome perſons of diſtinction, who paid a high ranſom. Next year the intrepid ſtaroſt of *Gartin*, who was diſtinguiſhed over all the northern countries by the appellation of the *conquering David*, was ſent by *Gediminus* to lay waſte the dutchy of *Mazovia*. He executed his orders punctually, and burnt or otherwiſe deſtroyed to the number of one hundred and thirty villages, thirty towns and cities, carrying off four thouſand priſoners, many of whom were perſons of the firſt rank and quality. Notwithſtanding this was one of the moſt memorable expeditions, and indeed fatal accidents which had befallen *Poland* for a ſeries of years, yet we find it intirely omitted by the beſt writers of that country, and explicitly related by *Guagnini* alone; *Cromer*, *Hartnoch*, and *Stella*, contenting themſelves with obſerving, in general terms, that the *Lithuanians* had this year made an incurſion into one of the provinces of the republic. It is, indeed, equally unentertaining and uninſtructive to enter upon a minute detail of the particulars of theſe predatory wars, carried on between ſtates ſcarce emerged from barbariſm; yet in theſe cruel incurſions conſiſt the whole hiſtory of thoſe nations, who, being totally deſtitute of civil policy, can ſcarcely afford the proper materials for an hiſtorian, who would deſcribe variety of incidents, manners, and characters. All that we meet with in the ancient annals of the northern countries is one tiſſue of ſlaughter, deſolation, and robbery.

In the year 1325, a treaty of marriage, which was concluded between *Ann*, daughter of *Gediminus*, and *Caſimir*, for-

to *Uladiſlaus* king of *Poland*, brought about a ſolid peace with the republic, after the nations had been in one continual ſtate of animoſity and hoſtilities for ſeveral paſt ages. By this treaty all the provinces conquered by *Gediminus* were reſtored to the republic; and the two princes entered into a perpetual alliance, offenſive and defenſive, againſt the enemies of either: an alliance which, though prudent, and mutually beneficial, proved fatal to *Gediminus*. In conſequence of *Uladiſlaus*'s quarrel with the *Teutonick* knights, they became the enemies of his ally, who marched againſt them in perſon, drove them out of the field, laid ſiege to *Friburg*, a town which the knights ſtill held in *Samogitia*, and there received a mortal wound by a fired arrow, which, piercing his breaſt, paſſed through the body. Thus fell the greateſt prince, the moſt renowned warrior, and profound ſtateſman, who had ever governed *Lithuania*; a prince who aſcended the throne polluted with the blood of his ſovereign, and deeply ſtained with the crimes of parricide and treachery; yet whoſe talents were ſo conſpicuous, whoſe ſervices to his country were ſo extraordinary, and whoſe valour, prudence, and public ſpirit were ſo univerſally acknowledged, that he died equally eſteemed, beloved, reſpected, and admired; his dominions being more extenſive, and his ſubjects more free, wealthy, warlike, and happy than at any preceding period.

JANUNUTUS.

GEDIMINUS left ſeven ſons by his two wives; but we are not informed how many of theſe were of the laſt marriage with the dutcheſs dowager. It is likewiſe a difficult point to determine to whom the *Lithuanian* dominions belonged, by right of primogeniture. We find that, upon every diviſion, the grand dutchy was always left to the elder ſon; yet now we find it beſtowed on *Janunutus*, called the ſixth ſon by *Guagnini*, who likewiſe makes *Olgerdus* the third ſon of the ſecond marriage; though, by his own confeſſion, *Gediminus* married the dowager in the year 1300, and *Olgerdus* commanded an army and diſtinguiſhed his valour in 1313, that is, at ten years of age, admitting that the dutcheſs had a child every year. To remove this abſurdity, we have ſuppoſed, and we think with good reaſon, that *Olgerdus* (A) was of a prior marriage, though partiality to *Janunutus* made him be ſet aſide for the children of a princeſs, by whom *Gediminus* acquired any right.

(A) It is ſcarce worth while to beſtow labour upon a point of ſo little conſequence to hiſtory as the ſucceſſion of barbarous princes,

right. Be this as it may, certain it is, that the dominions of *Gedimimus* were divided, and that *Junonutus* had *Lithuania* for his portion. *Montividus*, who is called the oldeſt ſon, had *Kiernow* and *Stonim* for his ſhare. The conqueſts and acquiſitions in *Ruſſia* fell to the lot of *Narimundus*; to *Olgerdus* were given *Krewo*, and a large tract of country extending to *Beriſina*; *Keijuſtutus* was made ſovereign of *Samogitia*, *Troki*, and *Witeſbo*; *Koriatus* had the city of *Novogrodec*, with its territories; while ſcarce any proviſion was made for *Lubartus*, the youngeſt ſon, becauſe he obtained the ſucceſſion of the *Ruſſian* dominions by his marriage with the duke's only child and heireſs. The good fortune of *Junonutus* excited the envy of *Olgerdus* and *Keijuſtutus*. The former had been accuſtomed to govern: his father had intruſted him with the command of armies, and even conſulted with him upon all affairs of importance, by which he was taught to regard himſelf as the ſucceſſor to his dominions. He could not, therefore, brook dependence on a younger brother, whoſe underſtanding he held in contempt, and therefore conſpired with *Keijuſtutus* to dethrone *Janunutus*. At the time appointed for executing the deſign, either of murdering or depoſing their brother, *Olgerdus* was neceſſarily abſent upon account of ſome important buſineſs that required his preſence. The conſpirators had bound each other by oaths to the moſt inviolable ſecrecy and fidelity. *Keijuſtutus* therefore determined to ſeize the opportunity, even without his brother's aſſiſtance; and in conſequence, as ſoon as matters were ripe for execution, he marched with a body of men, with great privacy and celerity, to *Vilna*, ſurpriſed the city, reduced the caſtles, and forced *Janunutus* to ſeek ſhelter in a neighbouring wood, where he was taken by his purſuers, brought before his brother, and after the moſt ignominious treatment clapped in chains, and thrown in a dungeon. It was ſome time before he recovered his liberty, upon accepting of the palatinate of *Breſlaw* in *Ruſſia*, in exchange for the great dutchy of *Lithuania*.

OLGERDUS and KEIJUSTUTUS.

ALTHOUGH ambition had ſpurred theſe princes to an act of injuſtice to the younger brother, they nevertheleſs preſerved

princes, elſe it might be proved, from the contradictions in *Guagnini*'s account, that *Olgerdus* was actually the elder ſon of the firſt marriage, and *Janunutus* of the ſecond, by which means he ſucceeded to the dutchy of *Lithuania*, as the legitimate heir of his mother, who was regarded as the ſovereign upon the death of *Vitenus* her huſband.

the moſt rigid equity with reſpect to each other. *Keijuſtutus* it certainly was that executed the plan they had concerted; and he might have eſtabliſhed himſelf ſingly in the ſovereignty of the great dutchy, had he been diſpoſed to lay aſide the pretenſions of *Olgerdus*; but he ſhewed the utmoſt reverence for his brother's birthright, and the engagements he had contracted. As ſoon as *Olgerdus* returned, he made him an offer of the crown, which he ſaid was due to his ſeniority; but which the other refuſed, anſwering, with equal moderation, "that he would never accept, on account of his age, what "was neither due to his fortune nor his merit." However, a partition was at length agreed upon: *Vilna*, with the ſupreme authority of *Lithuania*, fell to the ſhare of *Olgerdus*; while *Keijuſtutus* was fully compenſated by a large portion of all the other dominions belonging to the ducal crown. To preſerve this diviſion inviolate, and prevent civil commotions, they very prudently took a ſolemn oath never to attempt an infraction of the treaty, nor encroach upon each other's dominions.

OLGERDUS alone.

When *Olgerdus* had gained poſſeſſion of the ducal authority, by the means we have related, he began to think of extending his dominions, and purſuing the ancient national animoſity againſt the knights of the *Teutonick* Order. With this deſign he levied an army of *Ruſſians* and *Lithuanians*, with which he invaded *Pruſſia* and *Livonia* at the ſame time, took ſeveral fortreſſes, ravaged the open country, obliged the knights to ſkulk in their faſtenings, and returned laden with ſpoils and glory, without ſuſtaining one loſs or repulſe. He now blighted, by one act of barbarous ſuperſtition and filial piety, all the laurels he had gathered during the campaign. On his return to his capital, he ſacrificed the captives to the manes of his father, killed by the knights at the ſiege of *Friburg*.

Having performed theſe ſavage rites, he led his forces ſuddenly into the *New Marche* of *Brandenburg*, which he deſolated quite up to *Frankfort* along both ſides of the *Oder*; returning, in the uſual manner, fraught with ſpoils of cattle and captives, which always conſtituted the moſt valuable part of the plunder.

The next enterprize attempted by *Olgerdus* was againſt the *Tartars*, whom he drove out of *Podolia*, after defeating the three brothers, their leaders, with incredible ſlaughter. This victory incurred the reſentment of *Ianowitz*, czar of *Muſcovy*, who regarded the *Tartars* as his vaſſals and dependents, as they paid

paid him tribute. The czar was proud, inſolent, and vain of his power and the vaſt extent of his dominions. The inſulting meſſage which he ſent to *Olgerdus*, then confined by a fever at *Witeſbo*, ſufficiently demonſtrates the haughtineſs of his diſpoſition. "Tell the *Lithuanian* chieftain, ſaid he, that "unleſs he makes proper conceſſions, before the expiration of "a month, for the injuries done to my people, I will pay "him ſuch a viſit as ſhall convert his fever into an ague." To which *Olgerdus* replied, with great ſpirit and moderation, "Let your maſter know, that I will ſave him the trouble of "a long journey, and wait upon him in perſon at *Moſcow*." Upon this he leaped out of bed, in deſpite of the remonſtrances of his courtiers, put himſelf at the head of his army, entered *Muſcovy*, laid ſiege to the capital, reduced it, took the czar priſoner, and obliged him to purchaſe his releaſe at the price of an inglorious peace and great part of his dominions. This expedition was truly glorious, and advantageous to *Lithuania*: the czar's inſolence had occaſioned it; that prince was ſufficiently puniſhed, and *Olgerdus* more than indemnified for the expences of the war by the ceſſion of all thoſe provinces which had ever been claimed as dependences on the ducal crown. It is beſides alledged, that he forced the czar not only to relinquiſh all pretenſions of ſuperiority over *Lithuania*, but to pay an annual tribute, whereby he acknowledged himſelf his vaſſal; but this was a triumph of no long duration. It could not be ſuppoſed that ſo vaſt an empire as *Ruſſia* would long ſubmit to the indignity of becoming dependent on a dutchy, comparatively ſo inſignificant as *Lithuania*: this mark of ſubjection, therefore, continued no longer than the reign of *Olgerdus*, which ended ſoon after with his life.

THE reign of this prince was fortunate to *Lithuania*, and glorious to himſelf. If he acquired poſſeſſion of the throne by an unjuſtifiable act of ambition, he ſoon wiped out the memory of that crime by his ſpirited and politic conduct. No ſovereign better underſtood or more cloſely purſued the true intereſt of his country, and the honour of his crown. *Olgerdus*, indeed, was engaged in conſtant wars; but they were ſo managed, that he rather enriched than impoveriſhed his people. The ſcene was always laid in the enemy's territories, whence he returned with the richeſt plunder: this ſpecies of military trade he practiſed with more ſucceſs than any former prince, as he declined coming to deciſive actions, except where circumſtances rendered the iſſue certain, and the victory eaſy. In a word, *Olgerdus* was a brave, polite, generous, and magnificent barbarian. In a more civilized age

and country, he would have completely filled the idea we entertain of an hero.

JAGELLO.

THIS prince was the eldeſt of twelve ſons left by *Olgerdus*: he therefore aſcended the vacant throne, by his father's appointment, with the full approbation of the people, and even at the requeſt of his uncle *Keijuſtutus*, who had an indiſputable right to ſucceed his brother, had he choſe to enforce his pretenſions. He entered upon his government with the moſt flattering expectations, as he found the revenue large, the treaſury well repleniſhed, the army in the beſt condition, and all the frontier towns well garriſoned and provided. It likewiſe increaſed the public hope, that he expreſſed an inclination to purſue the meaſures which had proved ſo fortunate during the laſt adminiſtration. *Jagello* did not diſappoint his people: he carried terror and deſolation into the *Ruſſian* provinces, and the dominions of the *Pruſſian* and *Livonian* knights, in order to ſtamp a deep impreſſion of the ſtrength of his arm and the vigour of his genius. In all theſe expeditions victory was his inſeparable companion; and he might have emulated the glory of his ſire, had he not become the dupe of an artful minion, to whom he reſigned the intire direction of his underſtanding. To this courtier may be aſcribed all the misfortunes which befel *Lithuania* in the beginning of *Jagello*'s reign. *Voidilus*, a perſon of obſcure parentage, was raiſed from the employment of baker to the court to the rank of ſecretary and prime miniſter. How he firſt inſinuated himſelf into the prince's favour is not well aſcertained: it is ſuppoſed that they had contracted an intimacy in their childhood; and it is certain he grew ſo faſt in *Jagello*'s eſteem, that he no ſooner aſcended the throne than he beſtowed his ſiſter in marriage upon his favourite. The whole nation exclaimed againſt the honours poured upon ſo undeſerving an object; and the duke's uncle *Keijuſtutus*, in particular, remonſtrated warmly againſt the diſgrace offered to the ducal blood, in contaminating it by a mixture with the dregs of the people. This was an injury which *Voidilus* reſented, and determined to revenge. Beſides, he imagined that it was neceſſary to his perſervation to effect an irreconcilable breach between the uncle and nephew, leſt the influence of the former might one day loſe him the favour of his ſovereign. With this view he found means to perſuade the credulous *Jagello*, that his uncle aſpired at the crown, and was now laying the foundation of a general rebellion. Improbable as the accuſation appeared, the prince entertained no doubt of the truth of intelligence

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which came from ſo good authority, and was aſſerted by the man whom he regarded as his moſt faithful counſellor: he therefore ſtruck up a peace with the *Teutonick* Order and the *Ruſſians*, and entered on the moſt vigorous preparations for puniſhing and preventing the conſequences of his uncle's ſuppoſed treachery. *Keijuſtutus* was alarmed: he knew his own innocence; but, ſenſible of the malice of the favourite, and the influence he had over his maſter, he thought it neceſſary to arm in his own defence; and was accordingly taking the proper meaſures, when his ſuſpicions were quieted by his ſon *Vitoldus* (A), who gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that nothing was meditated againſt him by *Jagello*. The young prince had no intention to deceive his father; but, thoroughly perſuaded that the ſovereign's preparations were intended againſt ſome foreign power, he feared leſt the ſuſpicions entertained by *Keijuſtutus* might kindle a civil war. He was ſoon undeceived: *Jagello* invaded *Polocz*, which country belonged to *Keijuſtutus*, and then *Vitoldus* was convinced that his father's conjecture was well-founded. Still, however, he laboured to bring about a reconciliation; though he could not prevent his father from penetrating into *Lithuania*, reducing *Vilna*, and retaliating the injuries ſuſtained by his ſubjects of *Polocz*. He was proceeding in the conqueſt of the whole dutchy, when the intreaties of his ſon at length prevailed, and he concluded a treaty with *Jagello*, which proved his ruin. *Keijuſtutus* no ſooner thought himſelf reconciled to his nephew, than, relying upon the faith of treaties, he evacuated *Lithuania*, leaving only a ſlender garriſon in *Vilna*, and employed his arms in puniſhing *Korcbuth*, a nobleman whoſe fidelity he had cauſe to ſuſpect. His nephew ſeized this occaſion of again attacking him: he drove his garriſon out of *Vilna*, and not only recovered all he had loſt in *Lithuania*, but inveſted *Troki*, and had it betrayed into his hands. *Keijuſtutus* flew to the relief of *Troki*, and marching with his ſon *Vitoldus* to give battle to the enemy, was treacherouſly delivered into their power by his brother *Skirgello*, who pretended he would compromiſe the differences, and bring about an amicable interview. *Jagello*, ſtimulated by the baſe *Voidilus*, forgot all the obligations which he owed to his uncle, and even the dictates of nature. He threw the unfortunate *Keijuſtutus* into priſon, and not long after had him privately ſtrangled. The ſame

(A) Several of the *Poliſh* writers call this prince *Vitowda*, and ſpeak of him as the diſtant relation of *Jagello*. We do not recollect that he is once called the ſon of *Keijuſtutus* by any ancient writer, beſides *Guagnini*.

fate was deſigned for *Vitoldus*, his couſin, who was removed to *Kreva*, the priſon in which his father had ſuffered; from whence he eſcaped by a ſtratagem, juſt as orders had been iſſued to put him to death. His wife had always been allowed free acceſs to him, and to her invention he owed his ſafety. When ſhe found matters drawing to a criſis, ſhe changed habits with one of the ſervants, and ordered *Vitoldus* to diſguiſe himſelf in hers; by which means he paſſed the guards without examination, and reached the court of *Mazovia* before his flight was ſuſpected: but not believing he could remain there in ſafety, he went into *Pruſſia*, demanded protection of the knights, and was at firſt coolly received, becauſe he only ſought their friendſhip in adverſity. The politic order, however, ſoon altered their behaviour, upon finding that he could be ſerviceable to them, and promiſed their utmoſt aſſiſtance to reſtore him to his eſtate and honours. Accordingly they aſſembled in a great body, and, in conjunction with the *Samogitians*, made an inroad into *Lithuania*, which was every where marked with deſolation. *Troki* was reduced after a ſhort reſiſtance; but the knights were forced to evacuate their conqueſt, and retire, on the approach of *Jagello* with a powerful army. *Vitoldus* countenanced, but he did not take any ſhare in this expedition; for he never could be perſuaded to unſheath his ſword againſt his country: however, *Jagello* perceiving that his reſidence in *Pruſſia* would always furniſh the knights with a handle for attacking his dominions, ſet on foot a ſecret negotiation to recal and reſtore him to his birthright. Several meſſages paſſed with the utmoſt privacy, and at laſt a reconciliation was effected: *Vitoldus* quitted *Pruſſia*, and, upon a promiſe of fidelity to his couſin, was reinſtated in all the dominions of his father; to which were added *Volhinia*, *Podolia*, and divers other valuable territories.

A. D. 1388. It was ſoon after this event that *Jagello* was called to the throne of *Poland*, in conſequence of his marriage with *Hedwiga*; the circumſtances of which the reader hath already ſeen in the preceding hiſtory of that kingdom[a]. It will therefore be neceſſary to confine ourſelves, in this place, to what immediately relates to *Lithuania* (A). *Jagello*'s abſence, and

[a] Vide this volume, p. 108.

(A) It deſerves notice that *Guagnini*, *Stella*, and ſome other antient writers, date *Jagello*'s acceſſion to the crown of *Poland* in 1386; affirming, that he was baptized that year, in conſequence of his engagements to the *Poles* and *Hedwiga* (1).

(1) *Guag. p.* 52. *Stel. apud Piſt.*

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the removal of the whole court to *Cracow*, furniſhed *Conrade Zolner*, great maſter of *Pruſſia* and *Livonia*, with a fair occaſion of attacking *Lithuania*; and, indeed, the proſpect of being able to reduce the dutchy, while the ſovereign was employed in ſcenes of mirth and feſtivity in his new acquired dominions. He had maintained for ſome time a clandeſtine correſpondence with *Andrew*, the duke's brother; and it was adjuſted between them, that this prince ſhould be raiſed to the throne of *Lithuania*, which he was to hold in dependence on the knights. The dutchy was invaded, and conſiderable progreſs was made in the conqueſt; but *Jagello* having ſent his brother *Skirgello* and couſin *Vitoldus* againſt the knights, they were defeated, and forced to retire with precipitation. The traitorous *Andrew* was taken priſoner, and thrown into a dungeon, where he became a moſt wretched monument of blaſted ambition, until he was at length releaſed at the interceſſion of the humane *Vitoldus*.

It was after this event that *Jagello* returned to *Lithuania*, to attempt the converſion of the people to Chriſtianity; a circumſtance which the *Teutonick* knights turned to their own advantage, taking this occaſion of exciting the inhabitants to revolt againſt their lawful ſovereign, who, they ſaid, took this method of ſubjecting the dutchy to the republic of *Poland*. The *Lithuanians* had, indeed, followed the example of their prince: they ſuffered their temples and falſe gods to be deſtroyed, and ſeemed convinced of the abſurdity of their religion, becauſe their deities did not reſent the groſs injuries offered by *Jagello*; but they ſoon gave way to the inſinuations of the knights, and were the more convinced that *Jagello* had deſerted their intereſt, that he fixed his reſidence in *Poland*, and committed the government of the dutchy to his tyrannical and vicious brother *Skirgello*.

Another circumſtance likewiſe favoured the deſigns of the *Teutonick* Order. The inſolence of *Skirgillo* had obliged *Vitoldus*, whom *Jagello* had ſent as a check upon his brother, to make his complaints to the king; and finding him deaf to his remonſtrances, he was obliged to ſeek refuge a ſecond time in *Pruſſia*, where he was joyfully received by the knights. After many abortive attempts to terminate in an amicable manner his differences with *Skirgello*, he at length entered into the deſigns of the fraternity, and aſſiſted them in the invaſion of his native country. We have related the particulars of this affair elſewhere: it is ſufficient to mention in this place, that *Jagello*, at length convinced of his brother's cruelty, of his couſin's innocence, and of the importance it was to the peace of *Lithuania* to be upon good terms with a prince

ſo well-beloved as *Vitoldus*, took him again into favour; and, as a teſtimony of the ſincerity of his reconciliation, made him great duke of *Lithuania*, in the room of *Skirgillo*.

VITOLDUS.

It muſt be obſerved, that though the great dutchy was united to *Poland*, and the ſovereignty of both countries was veſted in *Jagello*; yet the governors of *Lithuania* bore the title of dukes, and were regarded by the bulk of the people as the real ſovereigns. Hence it is, that *Vitoldus* is always diſtinguiſhed by the name of duke in the antient hiſtories; a dignity which excited the envy of *Skirgello* and *Swidrigello*, the king's brothers, who could not without indignation behold the ſuperior regard paid to their couſin. They began to foment diviſions, and ſet on foot conſpiracies againſt him; but being diſcovered, they fled to *Pruſſia*, the ſure refuge of all diſcontented *Lithuanians*, and aſſiſted the knights in ravaging their country. In this they met with conſiderable ſucceſs, *Vitoldus* being at that time employed in an expedition againſt the *Tartars* [a]. Several towns ſurrendered, after a feeble reſiſtance; and they were making rapid progreſs in their conqueſts when *Vitoldus* returned, defeated, and drove them out of the country. *Jagello*, thinking it would greatly weaken his enemies to detach his brothers from their intereſt, effectually executed that purpoſe by giving *Skirgello* certain *Ruſſian* provinces; which he governed in ſo deſpotic a manner, that, unable longer to endure the ſcourge, the people revolted, and he was poiſoned by a monk.

No prince ever ſwayed the *Lithuanian* ſceptre with more ability and dignity than *Vitoldus*. He defeated the *Tartars* in numberleſs engagements; and though he was once worſted by the lieutenant of *Tamerlane the Great*, the reſiſtance he made againſt ſuch ſuperiority of numbers was truly glorious. He likewiſe conquered the duke of *Podolia*, and obliged him to make the moſt abject conceſſions. His frequent victories over the *Teutonic* knights were alone ſufficient to raiſe his military reputation to an extraordinary pitch; but he added to theſe ſtill more extraordinary victories, obtained over the duke of *Ruſſia*, who was deſirous of revenging the diſgrace of his predeceſſor, and aboliſhing all memory of the tribute exacted by *Olgerdus*. With this deſign the czar had penetrated into the *Ruſſian* provinces dependent on *Lithuania*, which obliged *Vitoldus* to take the field in his own defence. He came up with the czar, gave him battle with inferior

[a] Vide p. 112.

forces,

forces, defeated him, and having driven the *Ruſſians* out of his territories, purſued them into their own, which he ravaged and deſolated without oppoſition, returning home laden with the richeſt plunder of the country. Next year he aſſembled a greater army, and again penetrated into *Ruſſia*, with ſuch impetuoſity as threatened the intire ſubverſion of that vaſt empire. The pretence was to afford aſſiſtance to his couſin *Swidrigello*, and revenge the death of *Skirgello*, the former having ſucceeded the latter in the government of the *Ruſſian* provinces. He was ſweeping all before him like a torrent, when the *Teutonic* knights, ever reſtleſs and aſpiring, took advantage of his abſence to commit divers infractions of the treaty. However, they found themſelves diſappointed in their expectation that *Lithuania* was left defenceleſs. *Sigiſmund Coributt*, brother to *Vitoldus*, levied a body of men with great expedition, marched againſt the knights, forced them to retire to avoid hazarding a battle, purſued them into *Pruſſia*, and after plundering, ſacking, and deſolating the country, returned loaded with ſpoils. This hoſtility was ſoon revenged; for the knights, collecting a body of the moſt deſperate partizans, ſet out for *Lithuania*, through bye and unfrequented paths, fell upon the great dutchy juſt as *Sigiſmund* had diſbanded his army, attacked *Wolkowiſko* before the garriſon had any ſuſpicion of an enemy, reduced, plundered, and burnt the city. *Vitoldus* was returned in the mean time; but having diſmiſſed his troops on the frontiers, he was forced to retire with his family into a thick foreſt, and defer his vengeance until the enemy were retired. As ſoon as he perceived himſelf at liberty to appear in public, he convoked the ſtates, and repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the expediency of giving a mortal blow to the *Teutonic* order, the diſturbers of all *Europe*, and the inveterate enemies of *Lithuania*. The ſtates concurred with his opinion, and offered him all manner of aſſiſtance to execute any project which he imagined might curb the inſolence of thoſe troubleſome neighbours. Great preparations were made for giving ſome deciſive ſtroke; but they all terminated in making an inroad into *Pruſſia*, and committing the uſual barbarities; for the knights ſkulked in ſtrong retreats, becauſe they were in no condition to face ſo potent an enemy.

VITOLDUS was chagrined at his diſappointment; he A. D.
expected nothing leſs than the intire extirpation of the *Teu-* 1415.
tonic order: however, that he might in ſome meaſure anſwer the great expectations of the people, he undertook an expedition againſt the *Ruſſians*, advanced to the very heart of the country, took ſeveral cities and towns, and returned with

a greater quantity of gold and ſilver than had ever before been ſeen in *Lithuania*. Afterwards he attacked the provinces of *Novogrodec* and *Pzkovia*, and obliged the people to ranſom their country at an exorbitant expence. In a word, the affairs of *Lithuania* were in a moſt proſperous ſituation, when the intrigues of the emperor *Sigiſmund*, and the *Teutonic* knights, had almoſt involved the dutchy in civil commotions. *Sigiſmund* knew that the ambition of *Vitoldus* aſpired at the regal dignity, and at leaſt the holding the ducal crown independent on his couſin *Jagello*, now called *Uladiſlaus*, the fifth of that name. He was likewiſe ſenſible that the king of *Poland* could never ſuffer the dutchy to be diſmembered from his crown, both on account of his hereditary right, and his engagements with the republic. He therefore ſet on foot a ſecret negotiation with *Vitoldus*; emiſſaries paſſed on both ſides, and the project of claiming independency was in great forwardneſs, when it was accidentally diſcovered by *Jagello*, who ſeized upon *Baptiſta Cigula* and *Sigiſmund de Rota*, the imperial envoys; and by the papers which were found upon them, got the moſt convincing proofs of the treaſon that was preparing, and the alliance forming againſt *Poland*, between *Vitoldus*, the *Teutonic* order, the emperor *Sigiſmund*, and the different ſtates of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and the empire. It was likewiſe found, that *Sigiſmund* had reſolved to ſend a crown to *Vitoldus*, and that the ambaſſadors were ready to begin their journey: however, the ſeizure of the envoys, and the vigorous meaſures taken by *Jagello*, broke the whole ſcheme; and *Vitoldus* was ſo affected with the diſappointment, that he died of chagrin, leaving the reputation of a prince whoſe ſole crime was ambition, which ſometimes obſcured his reaſon, and led him into meaſures very contrary to his judgment, and the general ſyſtem of politics which he purſued. He had completed his eightieth year when he died; yet did he enjoy the perfect uſe of all his faculties of mind and body, and the fire and vigour of youth. His genius was active, his temper amiable, his life abſtemious, and his character, except in the laſt inſtance, unblemiſhed. Courage, generoſity, and magnificence, were his moſt ſhining qualities. Every thing about his court was princely; yet he lived himſelf upon the plaineſt diet, drank nothing but water, and dreſſed rather meanly. To conclude his character, his virtues are thoſe of a hero; and his vices ſuch as are almoſt inſeparable from an elevation of mind.

A. D. 1430.

SWIDRIGELLO.

We have already obſerved, that notwithſtanding the union between *Poland* and *Lithuania*, the latter dutchy was intirely independent. The ſame ſovereign preſided over both; yet each was governed by peculiar laws, enjoyed diſtinct privileges; and the latter, during the reign of *Jagello*, had its own court and prince, with all the appearances of ſovereign power, though in fact he held his dignity of the king of *Poland*, as great duke of *Lithuania*. During the government of *Vitoldus*, the king ſcarce ever meddled with the affairs of the dutchy; and that prince might rather be regarded as the ally than the ſubject of *Jagello*. In all deeds and public inſtruments, he was honoured with the title of grand duke; and this dignity was likewiſe continued to his ſucceſſor *Swidrigello*, brother to the king of *Poland*, though extremely undeſerving. *Jagello* knew that the *Lithuanians* expected a court would be kept up at *Vilna*, that they might enjoy all the badges of independency: he knew likewiſe that his brother, unleſs gratified with this dignity, would be perpetually fomenting diviſions, and ſtirring up factions againſt his government. Theſe were the motives, and not any miſtaken notions of his merit, which induced him to appoint *Swidrigello* to the ſupreme adminiſtration of the great dutchy; a meaſure of which he ſoon found cauſe to repent. This prince was violent, paſſionate, and addicted to drinking, which led him into the moſt ridiculous and dangerous exceſſes. He no ſooner aſcended the throne, than he forgot his obligations to his brother, and the duty he owed to his ſovereign, though it muſt be confeſſed he had ſome provocation. The *Poles*, at the death of *Vitoldus*, had ſeized upon certain towns, which had long been the ſubject of diſpute between them and the *Lithuanians*. It was this infraction of the union that enraged *Swidrigello*, and made him break out into the moſt abuſive and ſcurrilous language againſt his brother, who was then paying the laſt duties to the memory of his couſin *Vitoldus*. He threatened the king's life, and obliged the *Poliſh* court and guard to keep perpetual watch round *Jagello*'s perſon, at laſt forced his brother to promiſe he would make reſtitution of all the places that had been violently extorted from the dutchy; for which purpoſe he ſent orders to the governors to ſurrender their ſeveral charges into the hands of a commiſſary appointed by *Swidrigello*. Had this prince proſecuted the intereſt of his country with leſs violence, his conduct would have been applauded, and the whole world would have joined in praiſing his public ſpirit and courage;

but

but the outrages which he committed againſt decency intirely deſtroyed the merit of the meaſures he purſued. Theſe now involved him in a war with his brother, and filled *Lithuania* with all the horrors conſequent on civil diviſions. Great numbers of the nobility reſented the indignity with which he treated the king, and made this a pretence for breaking out into open rebellion, to which their diſlike to *Swidrigello* rendered them before well diſpoſed; yet ſtill the multitude took part with him, and he was regarded as a patriot, becauſe he had dared to defend the rights of his country. The origin of this war requires to be clearly explained, as we find it variouſly related by different writers, and ſcarce at all underſtood by the *Poliſh* hiſtorians.

It was to oblige the *Poliſh* nation that *Jagello* had winked at the infractions of the union, and the ſeizure of towns which the *Lithuanians* claimed as dependences on the grand dutchy. Fear now conſtrained him to ſign an order for reſtoring them; for as he was then in the capital of *Lithuania*, ſurrounded only by a few *Poliſh* guards and noblemen, he apprehended ſome violence might be offered to his perſon by *Swidrigello* and the *Lithuanians*. Two *Poliſh* noblemen, entruſted with the order, ſaw clearly into the king's reaſons for making this conceſſion, and contrived a ſtratagem to obviate the conſequences, and retain the poſſeſſion of the towns to the republic. They wrote to *Michael Baczatio*, governor of the new acquiſitions, acquainting him that the king had been forced, by a concurrence of circumſtances, to ſign the order of reſtitution now in their hands, and deſiring, that inſtead of complying he would ſeize upon the *Lithuanian* commiſſary, as before the time the letter could reach him, the king would be ſafe in his *Poliſh* dominions. *Baczatio* executed all that was required; the commiſſary was ſeized, the *Poliſh* envoys kept themſelves out of the reach of danger, and the towns were preſerved without breach of the royal promiſe. *Swidrigello* was incenſed at the trick put on his underſtanding; and indeed the *Lithuanians* in general ſhared in his reſentment. Preparations were made for ſubduing them by force, and every thing threatened the intire diſſolution of the union between the republic and grand dutchy, when the nobility, who profeſſed themſelves enemies to *Swidrigello*, raiſed forces, joined the *Poles*, and obliged their prince to make all the conceſſions required by *Jagello* and the republic. Some blood however was ſpilt before *Swidrigello*, who was then with an army in *Podolia*, could be brought to reaſon; after which he purchaſed the king's pardon with a ſum of money. He did not long enjoy the fruits of this bargain; for growing every

day

day more vicious, he was depoſed by the *Lithuanians*, who requeſted *Jagello* to give them another governor.

SIGISMUND.

JAGELLO was ſenſible that the reſentment of the *Lithuanians* was well founded; he did not therefore attempt to intercede for his brother; but in compliance with their requeſt ſent his couſin *Sigiſmund*, ſon of *Keijuſtutus*, and brother of *Vitoldus*, to take upon him the government of the dutchy, veſting him with all the badges of ſupreme authority, and the prerogatives enjoyed by the two laſt dukes. This prince was ſcarce eſtabliſhed in his new dignity, when he was treacherouſly ſlain by the czar of *Muſcovy*, in open violation of the faith of treaties, and the laws ſubſiſting among the moſt barbarous nations; upon which *Caſimir*, the ſecond ſon of *Jagello*, was appointed his ſucceſſor. *Caſimir* held the reins of authority but a ſhort time, when he was called to the throne of *Poland*, on the death of his brother *Uladiſlaus* VI. by which means *Lithuania* devolved to *Alexander*, the younger ſon of *Caſimir*. His government too was but of ſhort duration, when he was elected king of *Poland*, on the death of his brother *John-Albert*. A. D. 1432.

FROM this time, a more ſtrict union ſubſiſting between *Poland* and *Lithuania*, it was deemed unneceſſary to continue a repreſentative of the grand duke, and a court in *Lithuania*. The ſupreme management was therefore committed to the ſenate, grand-general, grand-treaſurer, grand-marechal, and other great officers, under direction of the king of *Poland*, as grand duke of *Lithuania*, and the diet which met occaſionally at *Grodno*.

END *of the* HISTORY *of* LITHUANIA.

The

The HISTORY of PRUSSIA.

Containing an Account of the preſent State, and antient Religion and Government of this Country, as far as can be collected from the imperfect Materials which have eſcaped the Ravages of Time. Together with a Succeſſion of the Great Maſters of the Teutonick Or*der of* Pruſſia.

NOTWITHSTANDING the large diſtrict called *Pruſſia* hath, for a ſeries of years, been divided into the *German* and *Poliſh* departments, they were certainly once united under the ſame princes, ſubject to the ſame government, and inhabited by the ſame people, deſcended moſt probably from the *Sclavonians*, the general ſtem of all the northern nations in the neighbourhood of *Poland*. *Stella* conjectures that the country derives its name from the *Boruſſi*, a particular clan of the *Sarmati*, who, migrating from the foot of the *Riphæan* mountains, were tempted by its beauty and fertility to fix their habitation here; whence, by an eaſy corruption, is derived the appellation of *Pruſſia* [a]. It would be vain to ſearch antiquity for the etymology of a word which will admit of a thouſand various conjectures; we think *Stella*'s opinion the moſt plauſible, though he neither pretends to aſcertain the æra of this migration, nor to relate any of the particulars (A).

PRUSSIA, including the preſent kingdom of that name and the *Poliſh* province, is of great extent, being waſhed on the North by the *Baltic*; bordered on the South by *Poland*

[a] STELL. apud Piſtor. tom. i. pag. 9.

(A) It is allowed by the beſt authorities, that the name of *Pruſſen*, or *Pruſſia*, was firſt known about the beginning of the tenth century. It was differently written by almoſt all the old hiſtorians: by ſome it was called *Pruzi*, *Prucci*, or *Pruti*; by others, *Bructia*, *Boruſſia*, *Porruſſia*, which laſt etymology is by ſome moderns eſteemed the moſt probable. *Por* in the language of the country ſignifies near; and *Porruſſia*, near *Ruſſia*, whence comes *Pruſſia* (1).

(1) *Æn. Sylv. apud Piſtor. lib.* i.

and

and the palatinate of *Mazovia*; on the Weſt by *Pomerania*; and on the Eaſt by *Lithuania* and *Samogitia*. It is, beſides, watered by a variety of fine rivers, as the *Viſtula*, *Niemen*, *Pregel*, *&c.* which, with its maritime ſituation, renders it extremely commodious for commerce; and accordingly we find, that a conſiderable trade hath long been carried on by *Dantzick*, *Marienburg*, *Pillau*, *Konigsberg*, and other cities and towns, ſituated either upon the ſea, or the borders of navigable rivers. The ſoil in general is fertile; the climate not extremely ſevere, and the people more induſtrious than their neighbours of *Poland* and *Lithuania*; nevertheleſs, great part of the country lies uncultivated, and almoſt unpeopled. It has been affirmed, that the juriſdiction of the antient kings of *Pruſſia* was confined intirely to *Regal Pruſſia*, now ſubject to the *Poliſh* republic, and never extended to *Ducal Pruſſia*, or the diviſion belonging to the houſe of *Brandenburg*; but we think it much more probable, that *Venedut* and his twelve ſons were ſovereigns over the whole tract of land called by the common appellation of *Pruſſia*; and we are certain, that the *Teutonic* order not only poſſeſſed this whole country at one period, but likewiſe great part of *Pomerania*, and divers *Poliſh* provinces.

PRUSSIA affords great abundance of corn, culinary vegetables, fruit, and paſturage; it is alſo well ſtocked with horned cattle, horſes, and game of every kind; but its chief commodities are wool, honey, wax, flax, pitch, coals, hemp, hops, buck-wheat, and amber. A conſiderable trade hath been driven in oak; but that timber is now greatly diminiſhed in *Pruſſia*. As to amber, it is found in great quantities on the coaſts of the *Baltick*, eſpecially in *Samland*, upon great trees, which are buried under ground in a vitriolic earth, containing an oily ſubſtance: whence ſome naturaliſts are of opinion that amber is a concretion formed from the coagulation of the oil by the vitriolic acid, and that it is waſhed off the trees, and driven on ſhore by the ſtrong weſterly, or north-weſt winds. The profits ariſing from amber are ſaid to bring into the royal treaſury of *Pruſſia* above twenty-ſix thouſand ducats yearly. To theſe particulars we may add, that all the rivers, bays, lakes, and canals, with which the country is watered, abound with fiſh; ſalmon, ſturgeon, ſole, turbot, lampreys, and other kinds the moſt delicious and highly rated [b].

THE kingdom of *Pruſſia*, from which the preſent elector of *Brandenburg* deduces his regal title, excluſive of the *Poliſh*

[b] BUSCHING, tom. i. pag. 528.

diviſi

diviſion, is reported to contain about ſix hundred and forty thouſand perſons capable of bearing arms, according to an eſtimate made ſeven years ſince by his *Pruſſian* majeſty. Since the year 1719, it is computed that no leſs than thirty-four thouſand *Calviniſts* have removed from *France*, *Switzerland*, and *Germany*, into this kingdom, to whoſe induſtry it owes great part of its opulence, felicity, and beauty, they having built four hundred villages, eleven towns, eighty-ſix fine private country-ſeats, fifty new churches, beſides founding a thouſand village ſchools. Before theſe migrations the inhabitants were compoſed of native *Pruſſians*, who appear by their language and manners to be the genuine deſcendants of the *Sclavi*; of *Lithuanians*, whoſe anceſtors were the *Nadrauvians*; and of *Poles*, intermixed with great numbers of *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*.

DUCAL, or the preſent kingdom of *Pruſſia*, was, at the firſt introduction of Chriſtianity into the country, divided into four dioceſes; *Culm*, *Ermeland*, *Samland*, and *Pomeſan*, all under the juriſdiction of the archbiſhop of *Riga*. When *Pruſſia Ducal* was ſecularized by the margrave *Albert*, he committed the ſupreme direction of eccleſiaſtical affairs to the biſhop of *Pomeſan*. Some years after both this biſhopric and that of *Samland* were ſuppreſſed, two conſiſtories being erected in their ſtead, whereof one was held at *Konigsberg*, and the other at *Saalfeld*. To them belong the right of iſſuing all commiſſions, examining all accompts, and giving proper vouchers with regard to the eccleſiaſtical revenues; nor can there be any appeal from their authority, except on extraordinary emergences, to the ſupreme court of judicature in the kingdom [c].

It will furniſh a different idea from what is generally entertained of the kingdom of *Pruſſia*, if we conſider it in a commercial view. Before the flames of the preſent unhappy war broke out, and involved this as well as the neighbouring countries in confuſion and devaſtation, trade was aſſiduouſly cultivated, under the immediate eye, and cheriſhed by the munificent patronage of the ſovereign. The manufactures of every kind were daily improving and multiplying; and moſt of thoſe luxuries of life, which in the laſt reign were imported from other countries, were now the produce of the art and ingenuity of the inhabitants. Glaſs and iron works were erected and brought to conſiderable perfection; powder, paper, braſs, and copper mills; manufactures of linen, cloth, thin ſtuffs, ſilk, and cotton were ſet up, with

[c] Frederician Code, tom. i.

all the appearance of ſucceſs. In a word, every kind of domeſtic induſtry was eagerly puſhed, and a commercial, buſy, thriving ſpirit ſeemed to be univerſally rouſed, when war, the bane of all the civil arts, nipped the promiſing bud, and employed the whole attention of the people on the means of ſafety. However, as only general relations of the preſent poſture of affairs in that country have come to our hands, we ſhall proceed to deſcribe what it was as late as the year 1755.

In the preſent reign a college of commerce and navigation was erected, for the more eaſily adjuſting all diſputes, and promoting all ſchemes which might be deemed advantageous to the traffic of the kingdom of *Pruſſia*. This board will appear the more neceſſary if we take a view of the extent of the *Pruſſian* exports. In grain no leſs than thirteen thouſand laſts are annually vended to foreign merchants, and exported by ſhipping: beſides twelve thouſand ſtone of wax and honey, a prodigious quantity of graſs-manna, linſeed-oil, flax, hemp, lin-ſeed and hemp-ſeed. The export of the two laſt articles ſingly amount to five thouſand laſts. To theſe we may add, pine trees for maſts, deal boards, oak planks, tar, wood aſhes, pot aſhes, leather, elks ſkins, furrs, amber, mead, dried fiſh, ſturgeon, butter, tallow, ſtags horns, hogs briſtles, elks hoofs, and other articles, either the immediate produce of the country, or brought by the induſtry of the *Pruſſians* from the great dutchy of *Lithuania*. To carry on the whole commerce of *Pruſſia*, no leſs than five hundred and fifty veſſels are continually employed, which import wine, ſalt, ſpice, fine linen and cloth, herrings, tin, lead, tobacco, ſugar, rice, coffee, tea, raiſins, almonds, indigo, and other commodities of the different kingdoms of *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*, taking in exchange the native articles above mentioned. The preſent king, like a true politician, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to become a maritime power; yet, notwithſtanding his vaſt abilities, all attempts to that purpoſe have hitherto proved unſucceſsful.

The *Pruſſian* ſyſtem of laws have long been celebrated over *Germany* for their preciſion and brevity, though they were defective in one particular, that they were not founded upon general principles, deduced from the laws of nature. Beſides, a variety of abuſes had crept into the practice of the law, which furniſhed the preſent monarch with the nobleſt idea which ever entered into the breaſt of any legiſlator. The *Frederician* Code, now received as the ſtandard of law over the whole *Pruſſian* dominions, is the fineſt inſtitution extant, and will remain an eternal monument of the penetration and

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ſagacity of this all-accompliſhed prince. Here the law is made clear and expreſs, and the ſubject eaſed of all apprehenſion of tedious and expenſive litigation; the expence and duration of every cauſe being limited, and none admitted into the profeſſion of advocates but ſuch as have paſſed ſtrict examination, and can give ſurety for their integrity. However, the *Frederician* Code is modelled to the purpoſes of an arbitrary government, which will appear to many perſons an inſuperable objection to the excellency of the *Pruſſian* laws; yet, while the ſceptre is held by a virtuous able ſovereign, they are the beſt calculated of any others to produce felicity. The *Koniglich Regierung*, or Royal Court of Regency, is the ſupreme tribunal, to which the laſt appeal is made in all caſes political, civil, or eccleſiaſtical; and the ſame power is there veſted in the ſovereign alone, that is in this country divided between the prince and the repreſentatives of the people. Every member of the ſupreme college is likewiſe a privy counſellor, or miniſter of ſtate and war, each having his particular department, and their number being five, and two ſecretaries. There are alſo two chambers of war and the revenue at *Konigsberg* and *Gumbinnen*, which direct every thing relative to the exciſe, revenue, trade, manufactures, magazines, forage, and the affairs of the colonies; though moſt of theſe particulars are referred intirely to the college of trade and navigation. Subordinate to the members of this chamber, who are ſtiled counſellors of war and the demeſnes, are the counſellors of the taxes, the provincial receivers of the taxes, the commiſſaries of war, the officers of exciſe and licences, the farmers of the crown-lands, and the officers of the revenue in the different cities.

As to the *Pruſſian* revenue, it ariſes from the cuſtoms, exciſe, and ſervices; ſtampt paper, news papers, almanacks, *&c.* the crown-farms and diſtricts, the corn and other mills, timber out of the royal lands; duties on veniſon, and the ſkins of ſtags, elks, and other beaſts; pine-trees for maſts out of the king's foreſts; the public granaries, manufactures, poſt-houſes, ſalt and iron works; feofees, and knights military ſervice, which is ſtill maintained in *Pruſſia*; the cheſts of forfeiture and recruit, in which is depoſited the purchaſe-money of all public employments; the ſale of amber, and duties on ſturgeon, *&c.* In a word, the public revenue is conſiderable, and the taxes oppreſſive, except when an active commerce is purſued; nor need we be ſurpriſed at the loads impoſed on the ſubject, when we conſider that the *Pruſſian* is now a kind of military government; and that, before the commencement of this bloody war, the king had the fineſt

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standing army in the universe. If we mistake not, his majesty, perceiving that furnishing the army with recruits was the greatest obstruction to industry, issued an order some years since, signifying, that the regiments should not henceforward be recruited out of the young men of the district where they were quartered, but by volunteers and foreigners. What alterations the necessity of war may have produced, we know not: certain it is, that at present great part of the *Prussian* army is composed of *Saxons*, and other foreigners, incorporated in the different regiments.

WITH respect to *Prussia Royal*, or the division annexed to the *Polish* crown, it differs but in few particulars from what we have related of *Ducal Prussia*. This district is computed about thirteen *German* miles in length, and twelve in its greatest breadth. The commodities yielded by the country are similar to those we have mentioned; nor doth it differ considerably in fertility or soil, except to the south side, which is more barren, and unfit for pasture. *Prussia Regal*, or *Polish Prussia*, is a distinct political body, independent, and enjoying nothing in common with the *Polish* republic, except being governed by the same monarch: like the great dutchy of *Lithuania*, it is connected with the crown of *Poland* by a perpetual indissoluble alliance. When *Regal Prussia* put itself under the protection of *Casimir* IV. it was expressly stipulated, that it should own no dependence on the republic; but that the sovereign should personally order and determine all matters relative to *Prussia*, and frequently visit their country, to summon and preside at general diets. Hence, though annexed to the crown, *Prussia* hath nothing to do with the republic; but is, in fact, a free state, possessing the same right as *Poland* and *Lithuania* to vote at the election of a sovereign; to whom the *Prussians* never pay homage until he hath sworn, in the most solemn manner, to preserve them in all their rights and privileges. Nor can the king determine, in regard to any affair of public concern, without the concurrence of the states, who are divided into spiritual and temporal members, the former being composed of the mitred prelates, and the latter of the nobility and burghers. Regal Prussia.

FORMERLY the diets of this country were, like those of *Poland*, *ordinary*, or in course, and *extraordinary*, or upon critical and important occasions. For the last century the ordinary diets have been discontinued, because the usual rotation of affairs did not require that the nobility and burghers should be put to a certain periodical expence, when there was perhaps nothing which demanded their attendance, besides the observance of the constitutional form. Still the extraordinary

diet is convoked; but the king has the choice of time and place; though, as to the latter, *Marienburg* and *Graudentz* are fixed upon alternately. Previous to the general *Pruſſian* diets, the leſſer diets are held by the king's appointment, as in *Poland*, and their intention is directly ſimilar; namely, to nominate deputies to the general aſſembly of the ſtates. The inſtructions of the deputies are in the *Poliſh* language, their expences are defrayed in part by the public, and the aſſembly hath for its head the king in perſon, or his commiſſioner. All decrees are tranſlated into the *Latin* tongue by the ſecretaries of *Thorn*, according to the ſenſe of the ſtates; and at the cloſe of the diet are publicly read, and ſealed with the arms of *Pruſſia Regal*. Further, the *Pruſſian* diets are divided into *conventus ante-comitiales*, and *conventus poſt-comitiales*; in the former of which the king directs the matters to be deliberated, that muſt be afterwards determined in the general diet of the *Poliſh* republic, and the repreſentatives are choſen to attend the *Poliſh* diet. In the *conventus poſt-comitiales* new taxes are impoſed; old ones aboliſhed; former accounts are reviſed, paſſed, and confirmed; and whatever hath been tranſacted in the general diet of *Poland*, which is thought to be detrimental to the particular intereſt of *Pruſſia*, is verbally cenſured, and then proteſted againſt in writing. It may be deemed oppreſſive to the *Pruſſians*, that, beſides attending their own diets, they are under the neceſſity of ſending deputies to the diet of *Poland*; yet, though this augments their public expence, it is eſſential to the preſervation of liberty, and is ballanced by the diſuſe of the ordinary diets. They beſides pay no toll, or cuſtom; and, when they are in *Poland*, no more is demanded of them than the duties of the frontier, which are of long ſtanding.

MANY, indeed, are the privileges enjoyed by the *Pruſſian* ſubjects of his *Poliſh* majeſty. They are not, for inſtance, obliged to ſerve in any military expedition beyond the limits of the province. However, this privilege is denied to the citizens of *Thorn*, who, in conſideration of the liberty of purchaſing and holding eſtates like the nobility, oblige themſelves to ſend thirty horſemen into the field, completely mounted. Formerly *Pruſſia* had its own coin: now the money is reduced to the ſtandard of *Poland* for the greater conveniency of the whole republic. The three principal cities, indeed, of the province enjoy the permiſſion of coinage in gold or ſilver; but whether this privilege be an article in the alliance with *Poland*, is what we cannot determine upon any authority.

We muſt obſerve, that cauſes are tried within the diſtrict called *Regal* or *Poliſh Pruſſia*, by the noble laws of the country, and the ſyſtem of laws compoſed in *Culm*, generally diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the *Culmean* Code. In *Elbing*, and ſome other towns, the *Lubec* laws are practiſed; but the nobility in every palatinate make uſe of the provincial and caſtle law. From this variety of law proceed infinite inconveniences: litigations and appeals are multiplied, without rendering the diſtribution of juſtice more certain: hence it is probable, that the *Frederician* Code, now univerſally received in *Pruſſia Ducal*, may one day take place in *Pruſſia Royal*, under ſuch reſtrictions and modifications as are required by the differences of the two conſtitutions. We muſt not omit a kind of aſſociation that was formed among the ſmall towns, during the government of the *Teutonic* order, and which ſtill ſubſiſts. By this union they are to ſupport each other in vindication of their common privileges; to conſult their intereſt as a community in their particular aſſemblies; and to recommend their common concerns, in the general diets of the province, to the repreſentatives of the great cities, as thoſe of *Thorn*, *Elbing*, and *Dantzick*.

To conclude this general account of *Ducal* and *Regal Pruſſia*, and proceed to a ſhort deſcription of the great cities, we ſhall take notice, that *Regal Pruſſia* is properly divided into two dioceſes, thoſe of *Ermland* and *Culm*. The former claims vaſt prerogatives: the biſhop is preſident and chief among the nobility: he acknowledges no ſubordination to the primate archbiſhop of *Gneſna*; but holds immediately of the pontiff: his dioceſe is of great extent, within which he is ſupreme in all cauſes, civil and eccleſiaſtical: his revenues amount to ſixty-four thouſand dollars yearly, and he is elected out of their own body by the chapter, the king firſt nominating the perſon moſt agreeable to him: he ſtiles himſelf prince of the holy *Roman* empire, in all public and private writings, by virtue of the dignity conferred on one of the biſhops by the emperor *Charles* IV. he likewiſe claims the title of highneſs; but he is never addreſſed ſo by the ſtate officers, or royal chancery. As to the biſhop of *Culm*, neither his dioceſe nor his privileges are ſo extenſive: his revenues are nevertheleſs very conſiderable; and he enjoys one very peculiar prerogative, namely, that he is qualified, in conſequence of his ſacred function and preferment, to be chancellor of *Pruſſia*; an employment equally honourable and lucrative. To the title of biſhop of *Culm* he adds that of biſhop of *Pomeſan*, juſt as the other prelate ſtiles himſelf biſhop of *Ermland* and *Samland*.

Konigsberg.

We now proceed to deſcribe a few of the principal cities in *Ducal* and *Royal Pruſſia*, beginning with the former. The firſt city in opulence and power, and indeed the capital of *Ducal Pruſſia*, is *Konigsberg*, called in *Poliſh*, *Krowlewies*, and in *Latin*, *Regiomontum*, or *Mons-regiut*, ſituated on the river *Pregel*, over which the inhabitants have built ſeven bridges, to render convenient the communication between the different quarters of the city. *Konigsberg* was founded in the year 1255, when the firſt *Premiſlaus*, king of *Bohemia*, came to the aſſiſtance of the *Teutonic* knights againſt the *Pruſſian* idolaters. It was by the direction of this prince that a caſtle was firſt built on the ſpot where the city ſtands, to which, in progreſs of time, a town was added. The city is of great extent, and the rampart with which it was ſurrounded in 1626, meaſures about ſeven miles in circumference, having thirty-two ravelins and eight gates. Encloſed in this wall are ſeveral gardens, the large caſtle ditch, meadows, and fields; whence we may conceive that the place is not impregnable, as it would require a numerous army for its defence. Notwithſtanding theſe extraordinary dimenſions, the number of houſes doth not exceed three thouſand eight hundred, and the inhabitants are computed at ſixty thouſand. Here is an univerſity of ſome reputation among the northern nations, called *Academia Regiamontana*, *Albertina*, or *Pregelana*, from the name of the city, the founder, or the river *Pregel*. In 1544, it was founded by the margrave *Albert*, and endowed with extraordinary immunities. Appointments were made for thirty-eight profeſſors, excluſive of the tutors; and a refectory provided of eight tables, at each of which ſat twelve ſtudents upon the foundation; beſides which there are twenty-eight conſiderable exhibitions to be given according to merit, after public examination. It would be too minute to enter upon a deſcription of all the public edifices with which *Konigsberg* is adorned: we ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the exchange for merchants is a magnificent edifice, embelliſhed with great variety of curious paintings. The palace, with its ſuburbs, is truly royal. It is built in the form of a parallelogram, the encloſed area containing one hundred and thirty-ſix paces in length, and ſeventy-five in breadth. The foundation of this building appears to have been laid at an early period of the *Teutonic* order; and it is affirmed, that the wall on the north ſide is the ſame that was firſt erected many centuries ſince, and now exhibiting no ſymptoms of decay. In a word, the city of *Konigsberg* hath always made a conſiderable figure in trade and navigation. Formerly it was engaged in the aſſociation of hanſe-towns, and its commerce

merce is still in a flourishing condition. Here the *Pregel* is navigable for the largest shipping; and as late as the year 1752, there were not fewer than five hundred ships at *Konigsberg* in the space of twelve months.

THE next city that deserves notice is *Pillau*, in the province of *Samland*. This is an exceeding strong place, with a fine harbour, and hath always been reputed the key and bulwark of *Prussia* towards the sea. *Pillau* stands on a point of land projecting into the sea; it is well fortified, much frequented by foreigners, rich, and populous. The fort is nearly a regular pentagon, well planted with cannon; the bastions make a fine appearance, and all the buildings belonging to the fortifications are strong, beautiful, and regular. Pillau.

In the same province, but in a different government, stands the antient, regular, and well built town of *Velau*, at the conflux of the rivers *Alle* and *Pregel*. This town carries on a considerable trade, though it has hardly recovered the damage sustained by a great fire in the year 1736. Velau.

IN the province of *Oberland*, and government of *Marienwerder*, stands the town of that name, called by *Latin* writers *Insula Mariana*, situated on the frontiers of *Pomerania*, at an inconsiderable distance from the *Vistula*. This town is well built, regular, and fortified with a strong castle. Formerly it was the residence of the grand-masters of the *Teutonic* order, and was founded as early as the year 1233. It is but indifferently situated for foreign commerce: however, as the inhabitants are industrious, they have set on foot several manufactures, and among the rest salt-works, by means of which they carry on a tolerably brisk trade with *Pomerania* and the neighbouring countries. Marienwerder.

LITTLE Lithuania is always reckoned among the provinces of *Ducal Prussia*, and acknowledges the sovereignty of the same monarch. Here stands *Memel*, a trading town, fortress, and sea-port, built in the year 1279, fortified in 1312, and given in 1328 to the grand-master of the *Teutonic* order in *Prussia*, by the governor of *Livonia*. The port is good, the town populous, the trade flourishing, and the place fortified with three whole and two half bastions, besides strong outworks and a regular citadel. Memel.

NEXT to *Konigsberg*, the largest and most opulent town in *Prussia Ducal*, is *Tilsit*, honoured in the year 1552 with the privileges of a city. It stands on the *Memel*, is fortified by an old castle, and drives a vast trade with the capital in corn, linseed, butter, and other commodities. Besides these, there are great variety of smaller trading towns in the different governments, upon which the reader may consult modern topo- Tilsit.

graphical writers, and among the reſt M. *Buſching*, the moſt accurate and recent in this particular [a].

POLISH or *Regal Pruſſia*, is more remarkable for ſtrong, opulent, conſiderable, and commercial cities than the *German* department which we have now deſcribed. Here ſtands Dantzick. *Dantzick*, one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the North, of which we have already ſpoken in the hiſtory of *Poland*.

Culm. In the palatinate of *Culm* ſtands the capital of the ſame name, called *Chelmno* by the *Poliſh* writers. This city was founded on the banks of the *Viſtula*, as early as 1239, and bequeathed by one of the dukes of *Mazovia* to the knights of the *Teutonic* order, in conſideration of certain ſervices performed by the fraternity. The *Poliſh* writers, as we have ſeen, give a different account of the firſt introduction of the knights into *Pruſſia*. Here the high tribunal of all *Pruſſia* was held, while the *Teutonic* knights poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of *Culm*; whence the *Culmean* law acquired ſuch reputation. Formerly it was a hanſe-town, reckoned among the great cities ſubject to the crown of *Poland*, and conſequently endowed with the privilege of ſending repreſentatives to the ſenate, *Pruſſian* council, and ſtates.

Thorn. *THORN* is ſituated in the ſame palatinate, and is more antient and conſiderable than the former, though not the capital of the province. It ſtands on the *Viſtula*, was founded in 1231, is the repoſitory of the records of *Pruſſia*, and its magiſtrates are honoured with the precedence of thoſe of the other cities. Some antiquaries conjecture, that it was called *Thorn*, becauſe the *Teutonic* knights, by means of this city, opened to themſelves a *thor*, or door, into *Pruſſia*; which is indeed corroborated by the city arms, repreſenting a door thrown open. *Thorn* enjoys many privileges in common with *Elbing* and *Dantzick*; but it hath others of ſome conſequence peculiar to itſelf. The recorder of this city is to write down the decrees of the diet of *Pruſſia*, in the name of the whole country, as we have mentioned a little before: he is to read them publicly, and then depoſit them among the archives in the chamber of records in *Thorn*. Of this honour the city and recorder are extremely jealous and tenacious. Two members of the council of *Thorn* aſſiſt at the ſeſſions of the *Culmean* judicature, which is annually held here by the nobility. "As *Thorn*, for centuries paſt, ſays *Buſching*, hath been the "ſtaple city, it is confirmed in the inviolable poſſeſſion of "that advantageous privilege; and as the *Viſtula* waters "its territory, the iſlands and fiſheries on that river were

[a] Vid. vol. i.

"main-

"made the property of the city." [a] But the immunity that is eſteemed ſuperior to all others, is the privilege which the burghers of *Thorn* enjoy of purchaſing fiefs and eſtates, which none beſides, except the nobility, poſſeſs in this country.

THORN conſiſted formerly of the *old* and *new* town, each having its reſpective council, magiſtracy, and police: for the three laſt centuries they have been incorporated, though they are ſtill ſeparated by a wall and moat. The fortifications are conſiderable, and the garriſon intirely compoſed of burghers, the quartering regular troops here being inconſiſtent with the privileges of the city. For a great number of years the commerce of *Thorn* flouriſhed; and it was formerly conſidered as one of the principal of the hanſe-towns. Independent of the other cities of the aſſociation, *Thorn* carried on a prodigious trade in the *Baltick*; but a variety of accidents, by which the channel of the river became choaked up, deſtroyed that commerce, by preventing large ſhips from entering. From this cauſe, and the misfortunes conſequent on war, *Thorn* ſuſtained divers rude ſhocks, which greatly diminiſhed its former grandeur: in 1655 it ſurrendered to *Charles-Guſtavus*, king of *Sweden*. Three years after it was vigorouſly beſieged, and in the end reduced by the *Poles* and *Brandenburgers*. *Charles* XII. of *Sweden*, in 1703, bombarded, took, and loaded it with the moſt oppreſſive contributions, and even deſtroyed the fortifications, contrary to the expreſs tenor of the capitulation. Six years after *Thorn* was almoſt depopulated by a dreadful plague; and the ſubſequent years were almoſt fatal to the revenues of the city, by the confederacies in *Poland*, and the diſputes about the crown of that kingdom. In the year 1718, a commiſſion to determine certain diſputes between the magiſtrates and burghers, put the city to immenſe charge, which was greatly encreaſed by the diſputes in 1724, which we have explicitly related towards the cloſe of the *Poliſh* hiſtory. To crown the misfortunes of this city, a dreadful fire broke out in 1734, which conſumed a great number of ſhips, warehouſes, private dwellings, public buildings, and ruined a variety of merchants, burghers, and gentlemen.

IT may be thought extraordinary that two languages are here ſpoken by all degrees of men, in the utmoſt purity. It is difficult to determine whether the *German* or the *Poliſh* be the vernacular tongue of a native of *Thorn*; both are ſpoken with ſuch purity and elegance, that great numbers of the *Poliſh* and *German* gentry ſend their children to this city to

[a] Vol. i. pag. 641.

complete their education, and acquire a perfect knowledge of their own languages.

THE *Lutheran* is the eſtabliſhed religion of *Thorn*. It was introduced at the reformation in 1520, and ſo ſucceſsfully propagated, that in 1557, conſiderable privileges in ſpiritual affairs were granted to the city by king *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*, which have been confirmed by ſucceeding monarchs. Theſe, however, had almoſt been revoked in the grand diſpute between the burghers and college of Jeſuits in 1724, before-mentioned.

Marienburg. IN the prefecture of *Marienburg* ſtands the capital of that name, formerly the reſidence of the great maſters of the *Teutonic* order. It is ſituated upon the *Nogal*, one of the branches of the *Viſtula*; was built in 1304, though the caſtle is ſaid to have been erected near a century before. For ſeveral years this city was mean and contemptible; but it was gradually beautified, adorned, and enlarged by the grand-maſters, tho' it dwindled by degrees after the extinction of the order. At preſent it is chiefly remarkable on account of a wooden bridge, laid over the *Nogal*, reported to be five hundred and ninety-five feet in length, and maintained at a prodigious expence to the inhabitants.

Elbing. THE laſt city we ſhall deſcribe is *Elbing*, in the prefecture of *Marienburg*, and ſeated on the river *Elbing*, whence it takes its name. This city dates its foundation in 1239, and its privilege of coining from the year 1246, which it ſtill maintains. *Elbing* is compoſed of the old and new towns, divided by the river: united, they form a large, handſome, and opulent city; but the fortifications are conſtructed after the old manner, and ſcarce capable of making any reſiſtance againſt the method of attack now univerſally practiſed. *Elbing* is a hanſe town; and as it was originally inhabited by a colony from *Lubeck*, it is ſtill governed by the laws of that city: however, the burghers poſſeſs certain important and peculiar privileges. The commerce carried on by this city is very conſiderable; and it hath for ages paſt been reputed, next to *Dantzick*, the moſt wealthy in *Pruſſia Regal*. In eccleſiaſtical matters, it acknowledges the juriſdiction of the biſhop of *Ermland*, as far as is conſiſtent with the difference of religion, the Evangelic Faith being chiefly profeſſed by the inhabitants. We have had occaſion, in the courſe of the preceding hiſtory, to relate the various revolutions which *Elbing* underwent; it would be, therefore, unneceſſary to recapitulate them in this place: ſufficient it is, that it may be reckoned among the moſt valuable cities ſubject to the crown of *Pruſſia*.

WITH

WITH reſpect to the antient ſtate of *Pruſſia*, the form of government, manners, and religion of the inhabitants, we have but a very ſcanty and imperfect knowledge. *Stella* is the only writer who hath treated of the antiquities of this country, and the greater part of his account is juſtly rejected as fabulous. We ſhall therefore venture only to relate a few of thoſe particulars, upon which the beſt authorities agree.

Cuſtoms of the antient Pruſſians.

THE antient *Pruſſians* were a ſet of barbarians and robbers, who lived upon raw fleſh, drank the blood of horſes at their feaſts (A), ſacrificed the priſoners taken in war, and were the perpetual foes and diſturbers of all the neighbouring nations. For a great number of years they had no form of government: property was in common, and every man ſeized upon whatever beſt ſuited his ambition and inclinations. Strength was the only ſtandard of right; and nothing but confuſion and anarchy reigned, until experience taught the neceſſity of veſting ſome individual of their own number with ſupreme authority. So extremely ſavage was this people, that they were even unacquainted with the method of conſtructing huts, taking up their dwelling in caves, and cavities of rocks and trees, in which they protected their children from the inclemency of the weather, and the cruelty of enemies. Polygamy was, in conſequence of their anarchy, permitted; and no other rule was obſerved, with regard to the number of wives, than the poſſibility of maintaining them. Fathers and mothers poſſeſſed an abſolute power over the wills and lives of their children; for, as there were no magiſtrates in public, every maſter enjoyed deſpotic authority in his own family; and it is probable, that the husband's power was as unlimited over his wife as over his children. Before the *Boruſſians*, or *Pruſſians*, a name at that time confined to the inhabitants of the interior parts of the kingdom, had borrowed any of the cuſtoms of the *Sudini*, the inhabitants of *Samland* and the ſea-coaſt, adulterers were burnt: afterwards they relaxed in the ſeverity of the puniſhment annexed to this crime. But the moſt barbarous practice of which they were guilty, was the putting to death all the ſick of whoſe recovery they deſpaired; a cuſtom ſtill prevalent among ſome of the negro nations on the coaſt of *Africa*. From the *Sudini*, or *Sudavicans*, they borrowed a ſuperficial knowledge in agriculture, fiſhing, and making

(A) *Stella* alledges, that they uſed to drink horſes blood, even to intoxication; but he does not mention any particular method uſed of communicating this inebriating quality to the blood of animals (1).

(1) *Apud Piſt. tom.* i. *p.* 4.

wine;

wine; for the uſe of which they exchanged the animal juices, which they formerly regarded as the moſt delicious potion. The arms of the *Pruſſians* were extremely ſimple, conſiſting chiefly in ſharp ſtakes hardened in the fire, which they made uſe of in the ſtead of lances and javelins. All booty that was made was immediately divided into three parts: the firſt was appropriated to the gods, the ſecond to the prieſts, and the third to the captors. Before the *Pruſſians* were incorporated with the *Sudini*, they differed little from the wild beaſts of the foreſts; and it is confidently affirmed, that before this period they were totally deſtitute of religious worſhip.

Religion. By this people they were taught their veneration for ſnakes, which they maintained in their caves as tutelary beings. From them alſo they learnt to revere the oak, as the king of the foreſt, and the nobleſt and moſt durable of trees. Afterwards, when their religion became ſomewhat better modified, though not leſs abſurd, public worſhip and private orgies were performed under the ſhade of a thick oak, or groves of this wood, conſecrated to the purpoſes of religion. There were, in particular, four large oak trees, which were looked upon as the chief temples, and peculiarly ſacred: under theſe worſhip was paid to the three chief divinities, whom they called *Percunos*, *Picoltos*, and *Potrimpos*, equivalent to the *Jupiter*, *Pluto*, and *Cupid* of the more civilized antients. The gods next to theſe in dignity were *Curcho*, *Warſchaito*, and *Iſchwambrato*; and the inferior order were choſen from the reptile or inanimate creation; for, beſides ſnakes and other inſects, it is ſaid the *Pruſſians* paid worſhip to trees, ſtones, and mountains, as is now cuſtomary in the little kingdom of *Whidah* on the negro coaſt. They moreover paid adoration to the ſun, moon, ſtars, eclipſes, thunder, ſtorms, and other natural phænomena, many of which they regarded as ſigns of the Divine wrath; to appeaſe which they ſacrificed their priſoners, after the manner of the *Lithuanians*.

Manners of the Sudini. *Stella* gives us a tolerable diſtinct account of the religion, government, and manners of the *Sudini*, who, in progreſs of time, became one people with the *Pruſſians*. They were tolerably ſkilled in agriculture, and divers arts of induſtry and commerce; and it is probable, from their ſituation, that they were not ignorant of trade and navigation; by which conjecture alone we are able to account for their being more civilized than their neighbours[a]. The men, we are told, wore woollen ſtuffs; while the women were cloathed with linen, and their necks adorned with rings of braſs, and other metals.

[a] Erasm. Stell. apud Pistor. tom. i. p. 11.

Their

Their ears too were pierced, and ſet off with ear-rings of curious faſhion; a vain cuſtom, ſays *Stella*, which continues among them to this day. The *Sudini* had the appearance of regular polity: they built houſes, villages, and towns, but without any fortifications: they carefully avoided civil commotions, and united conſtantly to oppoſe all external attacks, under the direction of certain chiefs. Whether theſe were choſen occaſionally, or were veſted with perpetual authority, is not determined; but all writers agree, that the *Sudini* were divided into twelve ſmall republics, independent on each other, and differing almoſt in every point of civil government: the religion, indeed, of all the cantons was ſimilar; and they were bound, by certain obligations, to conſider the enemies of either as the enemies of the whole body. The prieſts bore great ſhare in the government of affairs; and, next to the ſacred function, the ſureſt method of obtaining credit and influence was by the ſword, and acts of valour performed againſt the common enemy.

The union of the Sudini with the Pruſſians.

THE mixture of ſuch a people as we have now deſcribed with the barbarous *Pruſſians*, could not fail of producing extraordinary advantages to the latter; but we are not informed by what means, or on what occaſion, this incorporation took effect. The ſtory related by *Stella* of *Veneduutus*, or *Vidutus*, an *Alan*, and the firſt king of *Pruſſia*, hath all the appearance of a fable. Beſides that, according to this writer, *Veneduutus* had but four ſons; whereas all the other northern writers ſpeak of twelve ſons, among whom the father divided his dominions, which laid the foundation of twelve different republics. From this circumſtance it is probable, that, if ever ſuch a prince as *Veneduutus* exiſted, he was ſovereign only of that part of *Pruſſia* called *Samland*, antiently inhabited by the *Sudini*. When the nations were united, the ſame form of government took place; in which ſituation things continued, until the *Germans* and *Poles* conquered part of the country: but finding themſelves unable to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity, and drive the obſtinate inhabitants from their idolatrous religion, the *Teutonick* knights were called in, who, in progreſs of time, and after many bloody battles, ſubjected the whole country; and, as ſome writers believe, exterminated almoſt the whole antient race of *Pruſſians* (A).

PREVIOUS to our account of the eſtabliſhment of this military order in *Pruſſia*, where they reigned for many ages with

(A) This is all that is known of the *Pruſſians* from their origin, until the firſt arrival of the *Teutonick* knights, and their ſettlement at *Culm*, in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

deſpotic

deſpotic power, it will be neceſſary we ſhould make the reader acquainted with the origin of the inſtitution. When the emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa* engaged in a cruſade for the recovery of the Holy Land out of the hands of the ſultan *Saladin* of *Egypt*, he was followed by a great number of *Germans* volunteers, who enliſted in crowds under the imperial banners. Some were impelled by devotion, others excited by the love of glory. At the death of *Barbaroſſa*, the *Germans* who had ſignalized themſelves before *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, then beſieged by the Chriſtian forces, finding themſelves deprived of a chief, emulation and diſcord ſucceeding, and all things tending to anarchy and confuſion, reſolved to nominate a leader, and fixed their choice upon *Frederick* duke of *Suabia*, ſecond ſon to the emperor, and *Henry* duke of *Brabant*. Under theſe generals they diſplayed ſuch acts of gallantry, valour, and intrepidity, during the ſiege of *Ptolemais* and other cities, that *Henry* king of *Jeruſalem*, the patriarch, and ſeveral other princes, determined to reward their courage by inſtituting an order of knighthood in their favour. At firſt they had the title of *Knights of St. George*; but it was afterwards found more convenient to put them under the tutelage of the Virgin *Mary*, to whom there was already an hoſpital dedicated on mount *Sion*, for the relief of *German* pilgrims. From this time they were called *Knights of St. Mary*, *Equites Mariani*. Laws, regulations, and ſtatutes were drawn up for them by the Chriſtian kings in *Syria* and the patriarch; and, among other obligations, it was required, that every perſon admitted to the privileges of the order ſhould be of noble parentage; that the order ſhould defend the Chriſtian religion and the Holy Land; that they ſhould exerciſe hoſpitality towards Chriſtians in general, but particularly thoſe of their own country; and that they ſhould, with all their power, endeavour to propagate and extend the Chriſtian faith and the name of *Jeſus*. They ſoon became rich by the donations of miſtaken piety, and of ſuperſtition. In the year 1190 they elected their firſt grand maſter, *Henry Walpot*, a *German*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal and valour, and their choice was confirmed by the emperor. The following year pope *Celeſtine* III. confirmed the privileges granted to the order, by the name of the *Teutonick* Knights of the Hoſpital of St. *Mary* the Virgin. By the conditions of this bull they vowed perpetual continence, obedience, and poverty; obligations that were forgot as ſoon as the temptation offered.

Origin of the Teutonick *Order, and their firſt eſtabliſhment in* Pruſſia.

UPON the expulſion of the Chriſtians from the Holy Land by *Saladin*, a ſettlement was given the *Teutonick* knights in *Pruſſia* by *Conrade* duke of *Mazovia*, the competitor of *Boleſlaus*

slaus V. for the crown of *Poland*. Most writers date this event in the year 1210; yet it is certain that the dispute between *Conrade* and the *Prussians* happened twenty years later. All agree, however, about the fact; and nothing remains doubtful besides the chronology, which it would at this distance of time be difficult to ascertain, amidst the great variety of discordant opinions. *Culm* was their first residence in *Prussia*: they were confined, by the conditions of the donation, to this district, except their conquests over their pagan neighbours, all of which *Conrade* bestowed on them in perpetuity: we mean, that the Order was restricted from drawing the sword against Christian powers, and their possessions intirely limited to what they should gain from the infidels. The duke of *Mazovia*'s gift was ratified by the emperor, and further confirmed by a pontifical bull, which immediately set this ambitious fraternity upon enlarging their dominions, and extending their influence. *Herman de Salza*, the fourth great master, was now at the head of the order (A). He entered upon his design of conquering all *Prussia* by slight skirmishes, as trials of the skill and courage of the natives: then he proceeded to more general actions, and at length obtained several important victories. It could not be expected that the *Prussians*, ignorant of the art of war, and assisted only by their natural valour, could long withstand those veterans, whose numbers exceeded twenty thousand men: in fact, they soon yielded the province of *Culmigeria* and prefecture of *Marienburg*; in which last the knights built the city of that name, where *Salza*, their grand master, lies interred.

The second grand master of *Prussia*, and fifth of the order, was *Conrade* marquis of *Thuringia*, who was admitted with two thousand of his followers into the fraternity under the preceding master. This prince was equally brave and politic, by which means he greatly extended the influence and conquests of the *Teutonick* order, conquered the *Samlanders*, and erected *Konigsberg*, in honour of *Premislaus* king of *Bohemia*, who had come with an army to assist him in the reduction of the pagan natives.

The succeeding and third grand master of the *Prussian Teutonick* order was *Poppon de Osterman*, who also proved a glorious conqueror, defeating the *Prussians*, *Pomeranians*, and *Livonians* in divers bloody engagements, and rescuing *Poland* from the ravages of the *Tartars*. We have already seen, that

(A) The three first grand masters were *Henry Walpot*, *Otho de Kerpen*, and *Herman Barth*, all *Germans*: the latter died in the year 1210.

this

this hero was defeated, and ſlain in battle by the hands of thoſe barbarous people, who then over-run the whole republic of *Poland*. According to ſome of the *Poliſh* writers, it was now that the knights firſt had footing in *Pruſſia*.

In the room of *Poppon*, *John Sangerhauſe* was elected in the year 1263; and he began his adminiſtration with the wiping off the diſgrace ſuſtained from the *Tartars*, aſſiſting the *Poles* in driving them out of the territories of the republic, and extending the conqueſts of the order in *Pruſſia*; in all which he ſucceeded, leaving the knights ſtrictly allied with *Poland*, and infinitely more powerful than at his acceſſion.

The fifth grand maſter ſince the arrival of the order in *Pruſſia*, was *Hartmannus*, count of *Heidelberg*, an artful, cunning, and politic prince, who, by dint of treaty and negotiation, augmented the dominions of the *Teutonick* order more than any of his predeceſſors had done by the moſt deciſive battles. He died in 1282, with the reputation of the greateſt ſtateſman of his age.

BUCHARDUS à SWENDEN was the ſixth provincial maſter, and among the greateſt warriors who had ever preſided over the fraternity. He not only ſubdued the *Pruſſians*, but made conſiderable conqueſts in *Livonia*, which were farther improved by his ſucceſſor.

CONRADE de FEUCHIVANDEN trode in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, fought ſeveral battles againſt the pagan *Pruſſians*, reduced *Riga*, and eſtabliſhed the *Teutonick* government in that country.

CONRADE reſigned his office to his brother, who was maſter of that branch of the *Teutonick* order ſettled at *Marpurg*. As ſoon as *Sigifrid* was made grand maſter of *Pruſſia*, he removed his reſidence to *Marienburg*, where he governed for the ſpace of two years with great applauſe (B).

CHARLES BIFFART ſucceeded, and waged perpetual war with the *Lithuanians*, in which he diſplayed all the qualities of a hero, though they produced ſcarce any advantage to the order; who began now to be regarded by *Poland*, and the neighbouring ſtates, as an ambitious, reſtleſs fraternity, that aſpired at the conqueſt of all the northern countries. Some complaints had been preferred to the pope againſt this maſter: he went to *Rome* to anſwer to the charge, and died on his return at *Vienna*.

(B) *Guagnini* places *Godfrey* count of *Hohenloe* between the brothers; and relates, that he retook *Riga* from the *Ruſſians*, and demoliſhed the fortifications.

He was succeeded by *Vernerus Urselensis*, who, after a short and prudent administration, was murdered by one of his own order.

At the death of *Vernerus*, *Lewis* duke of *Brunswick* was elected to the dignity of great master, which he enjoyed for the space of four years only. His administration was prudent, pacific, and happy for himself and the order.

At the age of eighty, the count of *Algemberg* was chosen grand master, on account of his wisdom, eloquence, and valour. He governed for ten years with great justice and reputation, being succeeded by *Rodolph* duke of *Saxony*.

This prince was magnanimous, but unfortunate. While he was engaged in other foreign wars, *Prussia* was invaded, over-run, and desolated by the *Lithuanians*; which so affected *Rodolph*, that his intellects were disturbed, and in consequence he was deposed, to make way for one more capable of governing the fraternity.

The next person elected great master was *Henry de Desmer*, whose abilities were universally acknowledged. It was under his government that the war raged with fury against the *Russians* and *Lithuanians*, whom he defeated with dreadful slaughter in a pitched battle.

HENRY de Knippenrode succeeded, and renewed the war with the *Lithuanians*. It is remarkable that *Guagnini* should observe profound silence upon this particular in his history of *Lithuania*; and that he should even fall into contradiction, by alledging, in the history of the *Teutonic* knights, that *Knippenrode* defeated the *Lithuanians*, and took their duke *Keijustutus* prisoner: whereas *Keijustutus* never was duke, having, upon the murder of his brother *Janunutus*, resigned all right to the ducal crown to *Olgerdus*, the elder brother. This period was remarkable, chiefly on account of the progress which literature made in *Prussia*, under the patronage of a grand-master, who had a fine taste for science and the arts.

The war with *Lithuania* was transmitted to the succeeding master, *Conrade Zolner*, which he prosecuted with great vigour, but indifferent success, during the space of eight years, when he died.

CONRADE de Valenraden was next chosen, on account of his confessed talents, though he had certain peculiarities of temper that rendered him disagreeable. During his government the knights and *Lithuanians* harrassed each other by mutual incursions. *Conrade* in one of his expeditions penetrated up the *Niemen* by boats, as far as the castle of *Cowno*, where he erected magazines, by which means he was enabled

to

to deſolate the enemy's country, without hazard to his own troops of periſhing by the ſcarcity which their devaſtations occaſioned. On his death-bed he forbid that the eccleſiaſtics of his own order ſhould be admitted to adminiſter extreme unction, and ſeemed to be ſhocked at the pretenſions of the clergy to afford comfort in this aweful moment by their feigned abſolutions.

CONRADE de Jungingen, who ſucceeded, was of a diſpoſition the leaſt ſuited to gratify the ambition, and anſwer the aſpiring views of the fraternity. He was mild, pacific, and therefore little beloved by a reſtleſs turbulent people, though he governed with reputation and ability for the ſpace of twelve years.

His brother *Ulric*, of a very different diſpoſition, ſucceeded, and waged perpetual war with the *Lithuanians*, until he was defeated and killed in battle, with the ſlaughter of five thouſand knights.

HENRY count of *Plawen*, choſen his ſucceſſor, was preparing to revenge the late diſgrace, when he was depoſed for ſome miſconduct, impriſoned, and puniſhed with ſuch rigour, that he died in chains ſeven years after his firſt confinement.

A. D. 1323. The choice of the fraternity fell next upon *Michael de Sterbergen*, who, mortified with a variety of defeats ſuſtained from the *Lithuanians*, reſigned and retired to *Dantzick*, where he died.

PAUL RUDERSEIN was next choſen, and his adminiſtration was ſtill more unfortunate than that of his predeceſſor. Many of the *Pruſſian* provinces threw off the *Teutonic* yoke, and put themſelves under the protection of *Coſimir* IV. ſon of *Jagello*, or *Uladiſlaus* V. king of *Poland*, and great duke of *Lithuania*. The inſolence of the order rendered their government intolerable: all the great cities ſent deputies to *Poland*; they were received generouſly, and all the neceſſary aſſiſtance for revenging themſelves was furniſhed in the manner we have related in the preceding part of this volume [a].

The ſucceeding maſter *Conrade ab Herlinghauſen*, ſtruck up an inglorious peace with *Coſimir*, which, however, he ſcrupulouſly obſerved during his whole adminiſtration.

He was ſucceeded by his brother *Lewis*, ſtill more unfortunate than any of his predeceſſors. The reſtleſs ſpirit of this maſter excited a freſh revolt, and renewed the war with *Poland*. Several other towns and provinces revolted, and the

[a] Page 118.

garrison sold *Marienburg* to the *Polish* monarch for a sum of money. In a word, not only the greater part of *Prussia* was lost, but likewise *Pomerania*, which had for the space of one hundred and fifty years been the subject of continual dissention between the knights and the republic.

FROM this time we may date the decline of the *Teutonic* order in *Prussia*. *Henry* count of *Plawen*, who was now elevated to the dignity of master, was a person of extraordinary ability; but he enjoyed his new employment only for the space of eleven weeks. A. D. 1467.

HENRY of *Richtenburg* was next appointed, and he soon convinced the order that the loss of their former master was irreparable. *Henry* was proud, insolent, and cruel; his turbulent disposition involved him in quarrels with all his neighbours, while the tyranny of his government rendered him odious to his own people. Upon some distaste he threw a *Prussian* bishop into chains, and suffered him to perish with hunger in a dungeon; which action sufficiently marks his character. He governed for twelve years, and then died universally detested and despised.

MARTIN TRUSCHES (A) was appointed to succeed him; and he begun his administration with paying homage to the crown and republic of *Poland*, which secured the future tranquillity of his life. A. D. 1489.

THE succeeding master *John de Tiefen* swore allegiance to the king of *Poland*, on his first accession; and next year he joined him against the *Walachians*, by whom he was defeated and slain in battle, after a vigorous resistance. A. D. 1489.

THE next person who was nominated to the dignity of grand-master, was *Frederic* duke of *Saxony*. He refused acknowledging the sovereignty of the *Polish* republic, and for that reason saw his territories exposed to the most cruel desolation. A. D. 1498.

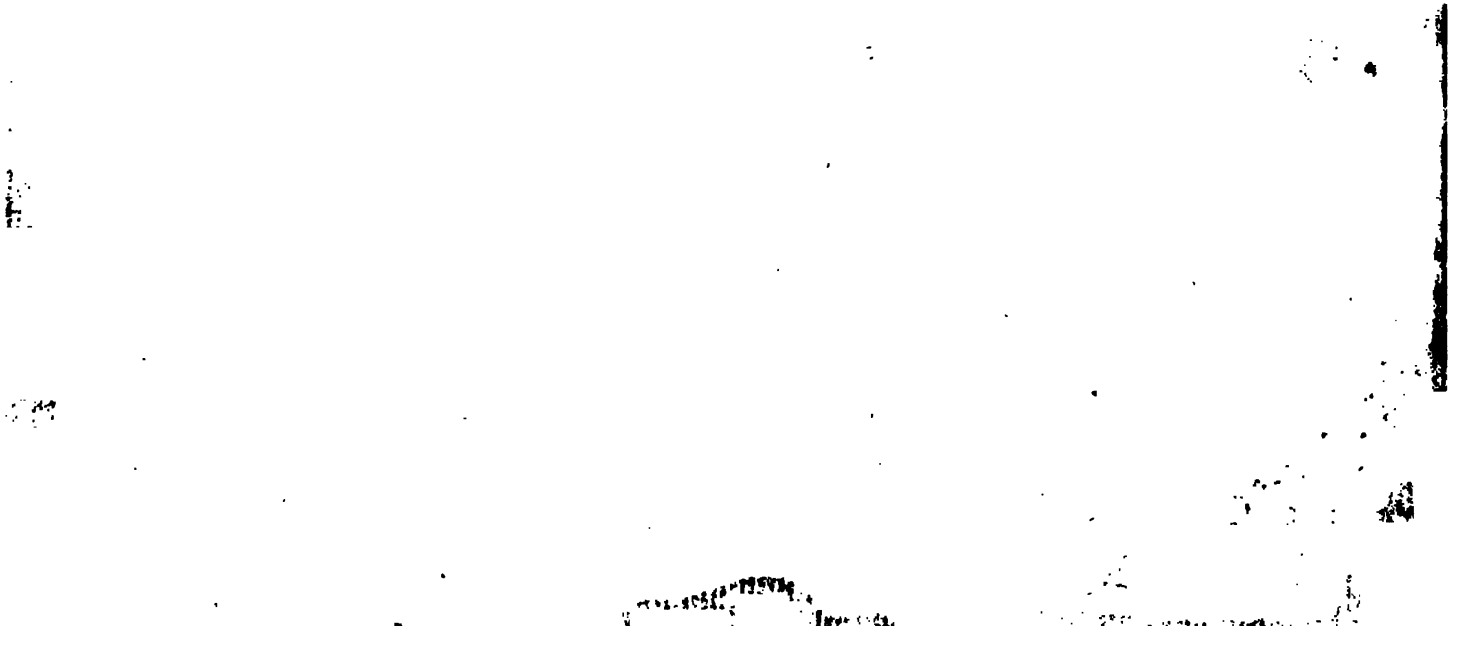
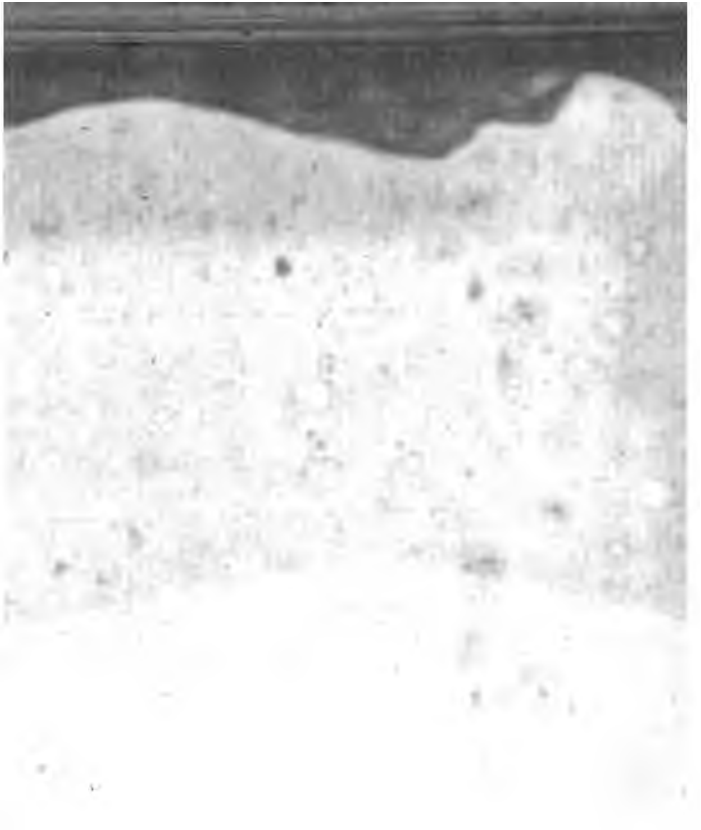
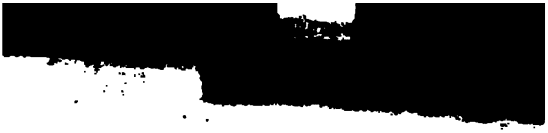
THE last great master of the *Teutonic* order in *Prussia* was *Albert*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, nephew to *Sigismund* I. king of *Poland*. He was elected by the chapter, from the expectation entertained that his relation to the king might be able to procure restitution of the places lost during the late unsuccessful war; but in this the fraternity were disappointed. *Albert* was so far from consenting to pay homage to his uncle, that he begun with making preparations for throwing

(A) *Ashmole* calls him *Tuchmer*; and we find him mentioned by *Moreri* by the name of *Dussoer*. According to this writer he resigned (1).

(1) *Vid. Art. Teutonique.*

off his dependency, and recovering all *Pruſſia* and *Pomerania* by force of arms. We have related the event of theſe meaſures in the hiſtory of *Poland*[b]; and it will be ſufficient to repeat in this place, that after being foiled in every attempt, *Albert* was forced to reſign the dignity of maſter; in recompence of which his uncle beſtowed upon him that part of *Pruſſia*, now diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Ducal*, in quality of a ſecular duke. It was now the intereſt of the houſe of *Brandenburg* to aſſiſt in the expulſion of the fraternity; accordingly being driven out of *Pruſſia* and *Pomerania*, they transferred their chapter to *Mariendal* in *Franconia*. Such was the end of the *Teutonic* government in *Pruſſia*, where they dictated, with unlimited ſway, for the ſpace of more than three centuries. Every perſon, the leaſt acquainted with modern hiſtory, knows that at preſent little more than the name of the order ſubſiſts in *Alſace*, *Burgundy*, *Franconia*, *Lorrain*, and other provinces of the empire, in which ſeparate branches of the fraternity had ſettled.

A. D. 1531.

[b] Page 128.

END *of the* THIRTY-FOURTH VOLUME.